NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

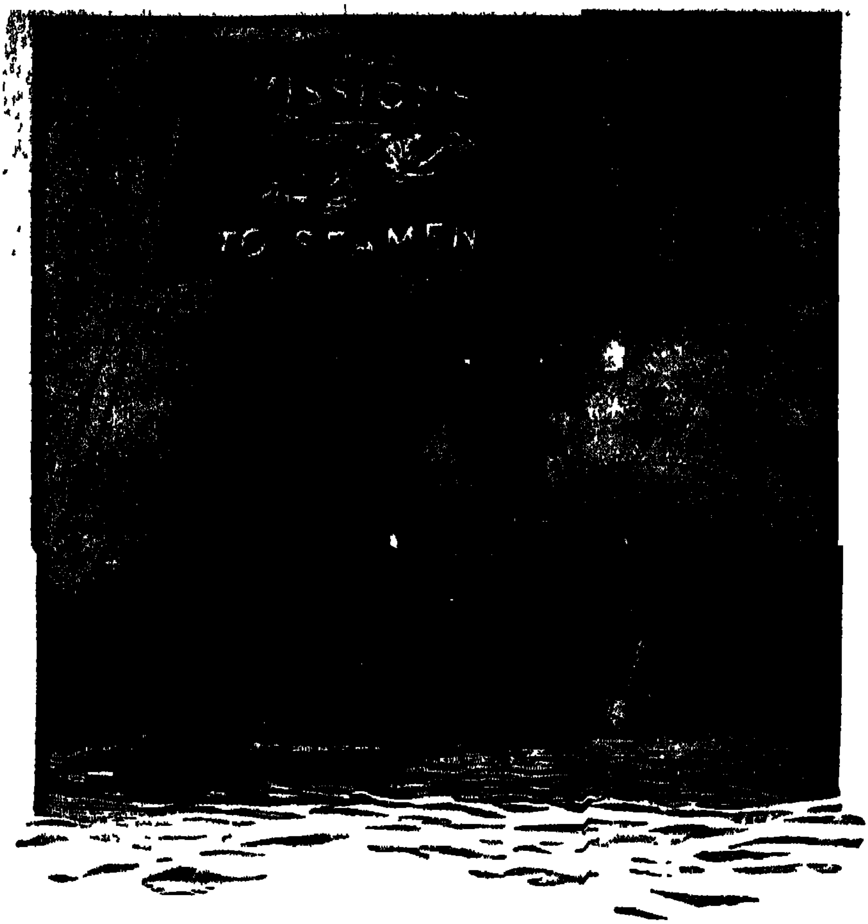
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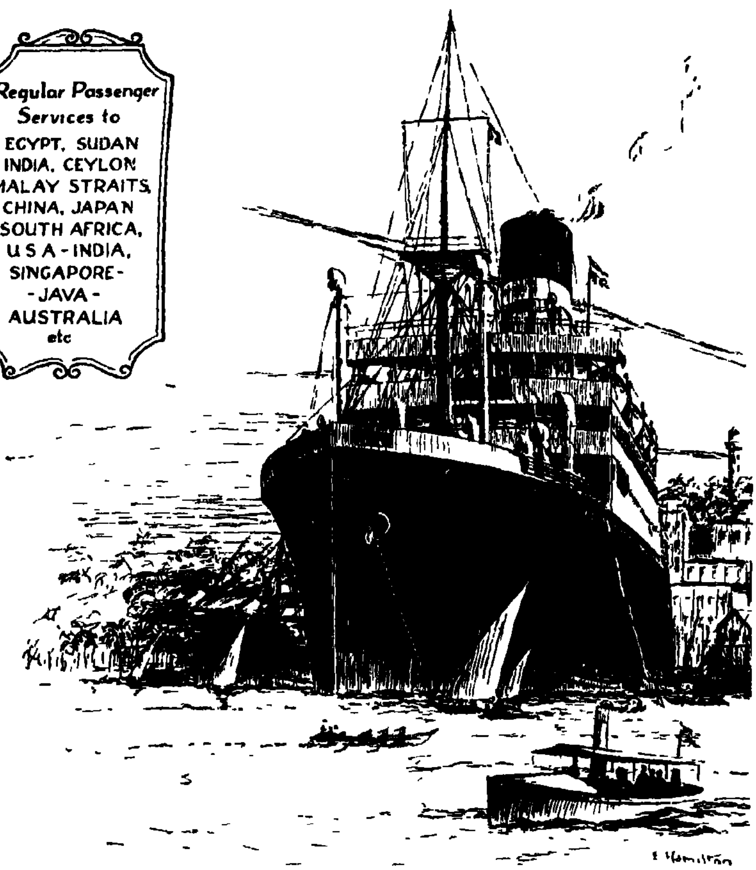
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THE
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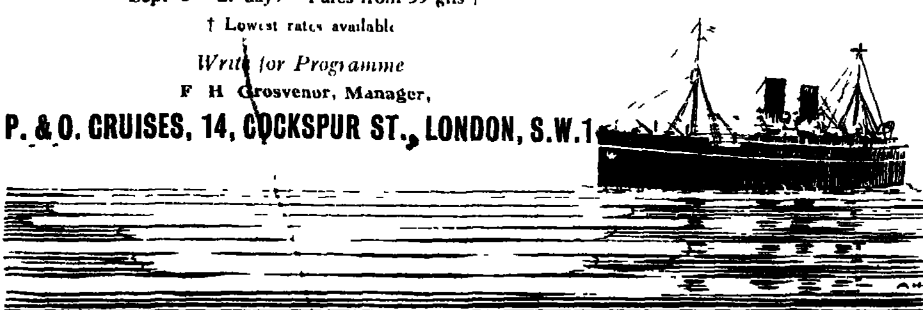
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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

AND AFTER

No. DCXVII—July 1928

THE PROBLEM OF THE SLUMS

On the conclusion of the war overcrowding was the greatest of the social problems which confronted the nation. The census of 1911 had shown that in the United Kingdom there already existed a serious shortage of houses. The war interrupted all attempts to remedy this defect ; it has been estimated that not more than 24,000 houses were built between 1914 and 1919 In 1919 reports from the local authorities showed that nearly a million houses would be required Great efforts have been made both to supply the initial deficiency in houses and to replace those which year by year fall out of use The most casual observer cannot fail to notice new houses appearing on the outskirts of almost every town and village ; trees and green fields are rapidly vanishing in many districts beneath a network of red brick streets and houses. While for over a century and a half the movement of population had been from the country to the town, now this has been reversed by the movement from the centre of the towns to the

new districts on their circumference. Some of the buildin schemes are very large in extent and result in the creation of nev towns; for instance, at Becontree the London County Counc are erecting houses for a population of 100,000, on the Downhan Estate for 35,000, near Morden they propose to build for 40,000 The total figures are very impressive; from the Armistice t March 31 last no less than 1,102,000 houses have been built in the United Kingdom, 412,000 have been built by local authorities the other 690,000 by private enterprise. In London alone *26,000,000l has been spent by the County Council on housing*, over 50,000 houses have been provided in London proper and 150,000 in Greater London. At no other time in the history of the world has there been such a wonderful effort to build houses for the people

But while all credit must be given to the enthusiasm and enterprise which have led to these results, it must not be imagined that the housing problem has been solved. In some districts the pressure on existing houses has been lessened, Many thousands are now living in healthier surroundings; many more have hope that before long they may have a house of their own, instead of two or three rooms in a crowded tenement: for all this there is cause for congratulation But the slums remain—dingy, crowded, insanitary, and dilapidated It was obviously impossible to close slum dwellings unless there were houses to which the occupants could go. It was thus necessary that more houses should be built before the slums could be dealt with on a large scale Now that we have over a million new houses and building still continues, it is time that attention should be directed to the most difficult and baffling problem of the slums

It is impossible to state accurately the numbers of those who are now living in them. It was said last year at the Edinburgh Trades Union Congress that there were '3,000,000 of our people living in disease-ridden fever-stricken slums'; this may be an overstatement, but there can be no doubt that the numbers are very large. It is said on good authority that in London there are 100,000 people dwelling in unhealthy areas, in addition to the 26,000 who will be dealt with by the County Council clearance schemes The special correspondent of *The Times* in a recent series of articles on 'The Slums' stated that in Bristol there are 25,000 people in insanitary houses; in Leeds there are 72,000 back-to-back houses, and in Bradford 33,000. He sums up the results of his investigations by writing: 'What is certain is that not only in the large cities, but in practically every town other than those of recent growth, there are areas where people are housed under wretched conditions as to comfort, lighting, ventilation, facilities for keeping food, and sanitation.'

But figures by themselves fail to convey what is meant by a slum. Statistics of this kind must be translated into human lives before their meaning can be understood. For some years past I have been brought into close contact with many of the poorest districts in South London, and I have often been supplied by competent observers with details of the cases of hardship they have known. Here are four taken out of a great mass of such cases :

(1) Three blocks of flats, five storeys high, each containing about a hundred flats Each block contains four staircases. Each flat has its own w c , but the sanitation is very defective and the smell intolerable. Owing to the height of the building and the closeness of the blocks to one another, many of the lower flats get no sunlight at all, and have to be lit by artificial light all day, whilst mothers living at the top have to carry their babies up and down five flights of steep stone stairs. Many flats are shared by several families

(2) A family of five persons—two adults and three children—lives in two rooms in a basement The rooms are so damp that everything is covered with mildew. One boy, aged eleven, contracted rheumatic fever and may be a permanent invalid

(3) A gloomy, dark, insanitary tenement house. A typical example is the M—— family, who live in two small basement rooms, the top of front windows being on street level The family consists of father, mother, and four children, two of whom, a boy and a girl, are adolescent and have to sleep in the same room. All the children are delicate Drainage bad.

(4) A street of twenty-three cottages, mostly of one bedroom, a living room, and a back kitchen In one of these houses there are father and mother, five boys and two girls They live in the small back kitchen. The downstairs rooms are infested with rats, so that they cannot use the front kitchen as a bedroom All nine persons sleep in the bedroom upstairs ; the eldest child fourteen, the youngest child six months.

These are only four cases typical of many : multiply them by 10,000 or 20,000, and some idea may be gained of the total amount of misery and loss caused by the continued existence of the slums.

It is hardly necessary to dwell on the evils which arise from life under these conditions Loss in physical health is undeniable ; many of the reports which have been sent to me speak of the suffering and delicacy of the children. Statistics are conclusive on this point. In 1923–25 the infantile death rate in Bermondsey was 76, compared with 31 in Lewisham , the figures for tuberculosis tell the same tale Closely connected with the low standard of physical health in slum children is their failure to make the best use of the education provided by the elementary schools ; the foul atmosphere of an insanitary home sends them to school tired and apathetic. Home life, too, suffers through the existence of the slums : the street, the public-house, the cinema are preferable to the discomfort of the dark and small rooms in which the slum

dweller must eat and sleep. Nor must be forgotten the political results : the more active and intelligent of those who live in such unfavourable surroundings easily become embittered against all society. The slum is fertile ground for the sowing of the Communist agitator. From it there will come the worst elements of the mob—men who feel that they have nothing to lose, and possibly something to gain, by revolutionary changes. The slums and unemployment are the strongest arguments to which the Bolshevik can appeal.

It would be inaccurate to imagine that no attempt has been made to sweep away insanitary areas. In many cases action has been taken by the public authorities as well as by private individuals. The State, by building new houses on a vast scale, has taken the first step towards dealing with the slums. Local authorities in some cases have carried out successfully large clearance schemes : the London County Council, for instance, have cleared 100 acres of insanitary property. Estates such as those held by the Ecclesiastical Commission or the Duchy of Cornwall have often had their slum areas replaced by healthy and comfortable houses or tenements. On a smaller scale reforms have been carried out by private owners or by housing utility associations On many sides there are signs of increased activity in the attempt to abolish the slums. But when the fullest allowance has been made for these public and private efforts, the fact remains that the work of slum clearance is extremely slow. Here are some significant words spoken by the Minister of Health last May in the House of Commons :

> Up to the present time, counting since the termination of the war, eighty-seven local authorities have submitted 118 schemes of slum clearance, and 111 of these schemes have been confirmed. They propose to deal with the demolition of a total of about 14,000 houses Really, when one thinks of the vast masses of people who to-day are compelled to live under slum conditions, one cannot help feeling impatience that up to now so little has been done to help

Many of the schemes submitted and confirmed have not yet been carried out, while apparently a large number of local authorities have made no attempt to deal drastically with the insanitary property within their jurisdiction. At the present rate of progress new generations will be born and will die in the existing slums. Before the present slums are abolished new insanitary areas will have come into being : inferior property erected a century ago is rapidly deteriorating, and within a few years it will have reached a state of dilapidation as bad as anything found in those districts which are now recognised as unfit for human habitation.

The reluctance of many local authorities to prepare slum clear-

ance schemes, and the slowness in carrying out those which have been confirmed, is due to many causes. Frequently the authorities have to meet the strong opposition both of the slum owner and the slum dweller. The slum owner's dislike of a clearance scheme is very natural. By section 46 of the Housing Act, 1925 (section 9 of the Act of 1919), he will receive compensation for the site value only of the property, and not for the buildings erected on it. Most housing reformers will support this clause in principle; there can be no sympathy with the man who had deliberately bought slum property with the sole intention of making money out of it. But occasionally there are cases of real hardship; the owner of the property may have spent trouble and money in keeping it in good repair; nevertheless, if it is situated in a condemned area, he will receive nothing more than the site value It is stated that the obvious unfairness of this frequently prevents local authorities from using their clearance powers. It is doubtful if there is any proof that this is actually the case. But whether this is so or not, it is only just that local authorities should be given some discretion to enable them to adopt a different basis of compensation in genuinely hard cases. This would enable a legitimate grievance to be met without any surrender to the demand of the unscrupulous speculator in slum property, or to the claims of the landlord who has made no attempt to keep his houses in good condition.

To the opposition of the slum owner there must often be added that of the slum dweller. Though he is dissatisfied with the conditions under which he is dwelling, nevertheless he is often vociferous in protest against any proposal to remove him from his present surroundings. Here again the reasons, though less obvious, are perfectly natural He is afraid that he may have to move to a locality at some distance from his work, the time and money spent in travelling to and fro are considerations which weigh with him The knowledge that some miles away there are more comfortable houses does not thrill him with joy; he knows perfectly well in the majority of cases that he cannot possibly afford the rent. Probably this accounts for the fact that on the London County Council estate at Becontree there are now from 600 to 800 houses standing empty; the rents are too high and the distances from their work are too great for the majority of the slum dwellers Moreover, there is another reason which makes them hesitate to leave their present surroundings: the very poor are largely dependent on credit, but they can only obtain this in districts where they are well known, and they dread the possibility of moving to some place where as strangers it will be impossible for them to obtain credit in a time of stress through illness or unemployment. There are also, of course, other and

less weighty reasons which encourage them in their reluctanc to move; often in the tiny back yard of some dilapidate dwelling they are able to keep rabbits, poultry, and pigeons (these may even have some lodgment within the house itself), anc they fear that their 'fancy stock' will be no longer permitted i *they are transferred to some new and more strictly controlled* houses.

But often when the local authorities are ready to brave the opposition both of the slum owner and the slum dweller they find that the cost of the clearance scheme is such that they dare not face it. There is no doubt that this is the most serious obstacle to drastic action. Higher rates may cause a storm of indignation. The difficulty of expense is the more serious when it is remembered that the most insanitary districts are usually in poor boroughs where already the rates are very high. The high cost of clearance and rebuilding is frequently a fatal barrier in the way of a comprehensive scheme for dealing with the slums.

If, therefore, the slums are to be abolished in a reasonable space of time, some other method in addition to complete clearance must be adopted. Slum clearance is the ideal policy: in many cases the condition of the dwellings is such that it is the only policy; the attempt to repair or improve them would be sheer waste of money. But there are many houses which have not yet reached the state when their destruction or collapse is inevitable: their deterioration can still be arrested, and wise expenditure on them might transform them into decent homes If this could be done—and it would only be possible when the general conditions of the whole area were favourable—the advantages would be great. Good houses would be provided quickly, at a comparatively small cost, near the tenants' work and at a lower rent than in the new districts. The problem of the removal of the occupants to a distance from their place of employment would be avoided This policy of reconditioning was recommended in 1920 by a committee of which Mr. Neville Chamberlain was chairman It was appointed by the then Minister of Health 'to consider and advise on the principles to be followed in dealing with unhealthy areas.' In its interim report it stated

> we are of opinion that it is wise to avoid a sudden change in the conditions and standard of life of the classes we are considering. It was the opinion of the late Miss Octavia Hill that old houses when carefully repaired and kept under kind but strict supervision provide quite as good homes for working class families as new buildings or houses And moreover the rents of such houses can be kept comparatively low, as large amounts of capital have not been laid out upon them . . Property managed on the Octavia Hill system exists in London to-day, and shows not only that it can be kept clean and comfortable, but that under this management

the general standard of life among the tenants rises very considerably. We believe that the system might be extended with immense advantage to all concerned pending the possibility of reconstruction, but we do not see how any such extension is to take place under the present system of ownership.

This reconditioning must be carefully distinguished from the temporary repairs to a house which are frequently carried out by the owner at the instance of the officers of the medical authorities. Such repairs are often of a trifling nature. The reconditioning which we are now advocating would be much more thorough: it would be carried out by the local authority after it had purchased the house or houses concerned.

If, however, this policy was to be adopted on a large scale, three conditions would be necessary. The local authorities would have to purchase and own the property: it would clearly be undesirable for large grants to be made out of public money for the repair of dwellings which still remained in private hands. Next, the State would have to give a subsidy to assist the local authority in this work of reconditioning in the same way, if not on the same scale, as it now helps in schemes for the complete clearance of a district: left to its own resources, the local authority would find the cost only less burdensome than that which would be involved by the more drastic method of action And, thirdly, it would be essential that the renovated property should be under proper management. The Octavia Hill system, under which trained women both collect the rent and supervise the property, endeavouring to form friendly relations with the tenants and advising them in their problems, has proved of great value. Unless some such method is adopted for the sympathetic supervision and education of the tenants, there is grave risk that the property will be allowed to deteriorate through misuse and ignorance into its former condition It has been proved that the majority of those who have dwelt in the slums can be changed into satisfactory tenants, who will keep their houses clean and neat, if they are given an opportunity in new surroundings. But it is not so easy to break the slum habit without some external help; and firmness as well as sympathy will be required in dealing with those who remain in their old environment.

It is clear that the Minister of Health is considering the possibility of legislation to facilitate slum improvement. In his speech last May he stated that the process of slum clearance is complicated, slow and costly, but

When I look round for any possible alternative method of dealing with slums I find some hope in the fact that whilst under all the schemes which have been submitted to us during the period of the ten years since the war

only 14,000 houses are affected, that is, only 1400 houses per year, yet at the same time every year over 500,000 houses, in 1926 over 600,000 houses, were reconditioned and put into a fit sanitary and habitable condition in the various towns throughout the country. Surely that contrast between the rate at which you can improve slum property by dealing with it by the drastic method of slum clearance or the less drastic but perhaps more practical method of slum improvement may give us some hint as to the direction in which we might move if we really want to make speedy progress.

In any future legislation it is important that the Ministry of Health should be given power to act where the local authority neglects to make a scheme for the clearance or improvement of slum property within its area. We are rightly jealous of interference with local self-government. But it would be utterly wrong if out of respect for the principle of local autonomy it was possible for some authority through its obscurantism or incompetence to neglect its duty towards those who are living under conditions which are ruinous both to physique and character. There are councils which so far have shown no sense of responsibility towards the slum dweller; there are some which believe it is a good policy to segregate their poor in certain districts: there seems little likelihood that such authorities will ever awaken to their duties. If they continue obdurate or incapable some power should be given to the Ministry of Health to deal with the problem The mere knowledge that the Ministry had such power would usually render it unnecessary for it to be exercised.

There is real danger at the present time that the urgency of the slum problem may not be recognised. The splendid success in providing over a million new houses may easily lead the nation to believe that the slums will gradually and automatically disappear. But such an easy-going optimism is entirely misplaced: the slums will only disappear through sustained and determined effort and education. There is no one method which by itself will be successful in the attack upon them. more houses, more slum clearance schemes, a large policy of reconditioning, better supervision are all required. But every year's delay means another year of avoidable suffering. In very literal truth those who live in the slums dwell in 'the land of darkness and of the shadow of death.' Every additional year the slums exist will mean additional mortality, ill-health, unhappiness, and crime which might have been avoided The children born this year in crowded and insanitary surroundings will suffer from disabilities from which other children are generally free, they will rarely share all the joys of normal childhood, and when they leave school in some fourteen years' time, below the average standard in physique and

mind, they will inevitably tend to drift towards the ranks of the unemployable. Through the continued existence of the slums the nation is extravagant in its waste of human lives and character. Mr. Neville Chamberlain has done much towards the completion of his task of supplying the deficiency in houses, but now we hope that without delay he will respond to the challenge offered him by a far harder task—the abolition of slums which too long have been a disgrace to our civilisation.

CYRIL SOUTHWARK.

THE CO-OPERATIVE CONGRESS, 1928

In an article in the September number of the *Nineteenth Century and After* last year entitled 'The Capture of the Co-operative Movement,' the history of this great organisation was traced from its humble beginnings at Rochdale, Lancashire, in 1844, through various vicissitudes, up to the year 1926, when the membership had reached the colossal total of 5,186,000, with a capital exceeding 104,000,000*l*, and a retail trade showing a turnover of 185,000,000*l*.

The article referred to was inspired by the momentous decision which was reached at the Cheltenham Congress in 1927, by a narrow majority on a card vote, to establish a working political agreement between the Co-operative Party and the Labour Party, and the writer pointed out that if this agreement should become actually effective, the co-operative movement would be degraded from its unique position as a social and economic factor of supreme importance in the daily lives of millions of working men and women, independent politically and prosperous financially, to become a sort of milch-cow from which the Socialists could replenish their party funds at the expense of the co-operators' dividends

The Co-operative Congress which opened at West Hartlepool on May 28 of this year has definitely indorsed the resolution of the Cheltenham Congress of 1927, in favour of a working agreement with the Labour Party, by a majority of 995 on a card vote This momentous decision was reached on a resolution by the Great Horton Co-operative Society proposed by Mr R. Weatherhead, which was as follows ·

(*a*) That the resolution regarding a closer working arrangement with the Labour Party passed at the Cheltenham Congress of 1927 be rescinded ; (*b*) and that in future no alliance or working arrangement be made with any political party or religious body, strict neutrality to be observed in regard to all political or religious parties or organisations, and that all necessary steps be taken to give effect to this principle.

Mr. Weatherhead said that he prophesied a year ago that politics would split the co-operative movement. This perfectly just

remark was received with loud laughter from a large section of the meeting, which thereafter showed every intention not to give the speaker a fair hearing ; the president had to intervene more than once, but it was clear from the outset that the organised opposition to the resolution was in a majority, and that no arguments would affect the predetermined views of the delegates entrusted with recording their card vote.

In a well-reasoned review of the situation which had been created by the alliance with the Labour Party, supported by indisputable facts and statistics, Mr. Weatherhead alluded to the results of a referendum held in the north-eastern section of the Co-operative Union to consider a resolution to rescind the political agreement, with the result that 266,000 votes were cast in favour of cancelling the political alliance, and 181,000 in favour of continuing it—a majority of 85,000 for cancellation. He said that every section of the Union should have done the same thing ; and repeated that the essence of the co-operative movement was that it was above and outside party, and that to compel every member to ally himself with the Labour Party was a betrayal of the most fundamental principles of their being ; it would be wrong to turn their great industrial business into a political one. He warned Congress of the dangers of cutting the movement off from the roots from which it had derived its very existence, and quoted the declaration of the third Congress of 1872 that the co-operative movement contained persons of all religious sects and all political views, and that co-operators as such were not identified with any religious or irreligious or political tenets ; and, further, that the greater international co-operative alliance emphatically repudiated party political attachments and declared inherent neutrality in all matters of religion and politics

'Politics,' he concluded, 'never grew an ounce of tea nor turned a wheel,' and he urged the co-operative movement to stick to trade and political independence and to follow no political will-o'-the-wisp, for by trade, and trade alone, would they attain the co-operative commonwealth and all that that glorious ideal meant

Mr. Rigg (Wallsend) most ably seconded the resolution ; he said that he did not want the co-operative movement to follow in the same track as the Labour Party and come to grief on the same rock by making membership of the party compulsory in trade unions. Speaking amid repeated interruption, he said that the co-operative societies would soon be requiring the aid of every member, Liberals and Tories, or whatever they were, in the coming fight against municipalisation, which was a serious menace to the co-operative movement Hampered by an alliance with the Labour Party, no Government would help them in that fight,

but they would be unassailable if they kept free from politica entanglements.

The resolution was opposed by Alderman Hayward (Burslem), chairman of the Central Board of the Co-operative Union, by Mr. Scott Morton (Stockport), an enthusiastic Socialist member of the Labour Party, and by Mr. A. Barnes, M.P., chairman of the Co-operative Party. Alderman Hayward stated that the political agreement was voluntary, and did not pledge societies to take any action unless and until it was agreed to by their members. This, of course, is technically correct, but the persistent activity of Socialist minorities, and the apathy of the more conservative co-operators who are desirous of preserving the non-political character of the movement, renders the victory of the Socialists all along the line a foregone conclusion—unless a referendum is adopted, to keep the movement free from minority voting.

A significant instance of the increased activity of the Socialists n the co-operative movement was furnished by the action of the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Manchester early in June, when a notice was issued by its executive that all eligible employees failing to join a trade union approved by the Trade Union Congress and to continue membership thereof would be dismissed from the employment of the society. This open attack on the freedom of employees has been met by Captain Cazalet in a Bill to provide that it shall be illegal for a co-operative society to make membership of a trade union a condition of employment.

Mr. A. Barnes, speaking in opposition to the resolution for rescinding the political agreement, argued that the resolution of the Cheltenham Congress last year armed the co-operative movement with a second line of defence He said they could build up on an autonomous basis a flexible political machine, tolerant in its operation, based on ten years of experience in the field of politics, and representing a guide to societies when they were ready to come into political operations : but a machine was not enough ; there must be steam to drive it, and that was what was provided by the resolution at Cheltenham. He alluded to the arrangement between the Central Board and the Trade Union Congress to prevent the co-operative movement being struck at by strikes and lock-outs, as it could be if it were a part of the capitalistic system, and asked Mr. Weatherhead whether this struck at the autonomy of which he claimed to be the defender, and why had he voted for the resolution approving of this agreement. 'It is,' said Mr. Barnes, 'because you know very well that we are marching to the same goal as the Labour Party, only along a different route. Thousands of Liberals and Conservatives have joined the London societies in the last twelve months. We do not drive them out or hamper their individual views, but a

...on who joins and takes our benefits is not entitled to go back ...the ideals and principles on which this great movement is ...nded.'

There had never been a doubt as to which way the voting ...uld go, and the card vote demanded by Mr. Weatherhead dis-...osed a majority of practically 5 to 2 against the rescinding ...esolution, and therefore a complete indorsement of the resolution ...arried at Cheltenham last year in favour of a working political ...agreement between the co-operative movement and the Labour Party.

An instructive and interesting sequel to the foregoing debate was furnished by a proposal of the Leeds Co-operative Society deprecating the running by the Co-operative Party of a parliamentary candidate in any constituency (unless such candidate had been successful at a previous election), if the members of the co-operative society in that constituency had declined to support the (political) Co-operative Party. In spite of the opposition of Mr. A. Barnes, M.P , a decision in favour of the Leeds proposal was carried by 1930 votes against 1727—majority 203. Perhaps this result was in some measure due to a reaction in favour of the assertion of autonomous freedom from political dictation.

The question of rescinding the Cheltenham resolution, although it was not reached until the third day of this year's Congress, has been given the first consideration in this article owing to its supreme importance in the political field of our national life. The Labour Party hope, by means of an alliance with the Co-operative Party, to tap the financial resources of the co-operative movement, and thus make good the losses which they have sustained through the 'contracting in' clause of the Trade Disputes Act adversely affecting the contributions of trade union members to their political funds If the pressure of the Socialists becomes intolerable, as was the case in the trade unions, then no doubt a Bill will be submitted to Parliament to extend the applicable clauses of the Trade Disputes Act to cover the case of the co-operative societies, adapted to meet their special requirements and constitutions But the replenishment of the party war-chest is not by any means the sole consideration. Mr Barnes, in presenting the report of the Co-operative Party (political) to Congress on the second day of its meeting, said : 'The Co-operative Party had no relation to the political circumstances and standards of the nineteenth century. They represented new ideas in politics as the co-operative store represented a new idea in trade. The co-operative movement had enormous reserve forces at its disposal which it could set in motion at need for political purposes through its economic organisation.' A weighty pronouncement, pregnant with possibilities !

Municipal trading came up for consideration on the first ... of Congress, on the report of Mr. F. Hall, adviser on studie... the Co-operative Union. He said that councils when promo... Bills in Parliament often sought powers to municipalise ... supply of milk, bread, or other commodities, and the Lab... Government had proposed to introduce an enabling Bill wh... would give all local authorities greater powers to enter upon so... of these trades. Co-operators were already engaged in many ... these trades with success. In view of the tendency of the tim... it appeared that thorough investigation was necessary, and ... thoroughly representative committee had conducted an inquir... and taken evidence, and made recommendations. The witnesse... included many collectivists who were advocates of municipal trading. The inquiry was confined to meat, bread, and milk, which represented together 25 per cent. of the trade of the retail societies.

The question was whether distribution of these commodities should be municipalised or left in the hands of the co-operative movement The committee came unanimously to the conclusion that the policy of development by co-operative societies was the most practical and satisfactory way of extending collectivist principles in meeting the needs of the community, but if those outside the movement could be got to agree with that view, the co-operators would have to show the whole country that they could do the work, and that every citizen could draw his supplies of these articles from that source at prices and with a dividend that would be acceptable. They must prove that they could do the business as effectively as any municipality. To do this 'they would have to leave off regarding the bread and milk departments as suitable for subsidising the dividends of other departments': the disclosure of this policy will come as a surprise to many co-operators.

Mr. Hall continued to unfold the policy of the committee by saying that they would have to sell as near cost price as possible and trade 'as nearly as possible on the lines which would be adopted by a municipality' An unsympathetic critic might have pointed out at this juncture that a municipality is in a fundamentally different position from a co-operative store, inasmuch as it can crush competition by selling at prices which may involve a trading loss, knowing that the penalty will not be the bankruptcy of the municipal shop, but merely borrowing (?) from the rates to make good the loss, whereas the private enterprise might have to face actual ruin. The co-operative store would have to subsidise those departments on which it was making no profit, or actually losing, in its efforts to throttle private enterprise, by drawing on excess profits derived from other departments. The

view, namely, the elimination of private trading, might be the same, but the means adopted would be widely t. In either case the ratepayer and consumer would from the creation of an uneconomic monopoly. The rtian situation in which the Labour Party and the Co-tive Alliance find themselves in this connexion is aptly hit off *Punch* in a cartoon (June 6) where two Socialists tied back to are addressing the public from the top of a tub labelled OCIALISM ':

1st SOCIALIST (politician) —' Vote for Municipal Trading '
2nd SOCIALIST (Co-op trader) —' Down with Municipal Trading and monopolies—except mine ! '

Mr. Davis, a director of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, had no hesitation in supporting the view that the co-operative movement, rather than the plans of any political party for nationalisation, municipalisation, or State purchase, was the proper machinery for satisfying the requirements of the people in these commodities.

The recommendations of the report were adopted unanimously.

The discussion on the report of the ' Joint Propaganda and Trade Committee ' disclosed the fact that the Co-operative Wholesale Society and the Co-operative Retail Societies are in opposing camps on the question of a change of policy which would allow the Co-operative Wholesale Society to open new centres of co-operative retail trading, instead of leaving this extension of co-operative activity in the hands of local societies.

A resolution was brought forward by Mr. Varley, chairman of the Propaganda Committee, suggesting that ' the time is now opportune for the Co-operative Wholesale Society to undertake retail trade in areas where there are not sufficient facilities for the same, and this meeting requests the Co-operative Wholesale Society to take steps to this end in consultation with the Co-operative Union ' (of retail societies). Mr Varley argued that the Co-operative Wholesale Society could undoubtedly open branches in districts where it would be impossible for mere beginners in co-operation, such as a newly-formed society of inexperienced enthusiasts, to meet multiple-shop methods and develop successfully : in these days of more attractive shops, arcades, and big stores it was impossible to start a new business without the capital necessary to furnish similar conditions of trading.

Mr. Wilkinson, of Compstall, which is a residential suburb of Manchester, in supporting the resolution, warned co-operators that in such areas as he came from they would lose their heritage and their right to supply the people's food unless they used all the resources of the movement to initiate developments in opposition

to the great multiple-shop businesses spreading from the cities to the villages.

The intrusion of the Co-operative Wholesale Society into the province of the local retail societies was warmly opposed by Mr. Joyce, a retail store manager at Kettering, who plainly intimated to the Co-operative Wholesale Society that it should mind its own business. Mr. Joyce's plan for meeting the situation was amalgamation of the smaller retail societies with larger ones in the big towns.

Mr. N. S. Beaton, who is a Scottish Wholesale Society director (the Scottish Wholesale Society is independent of the Co-operative Wholesale Society), was not in favour of the resolution, but, on the contrary, strongly supported Mr. Joyce's view that the solution of the problem was in the extension of the larger retail societies. 'You cannot cut co-operation off from its roots among the people,' he said 'Propaganda should start on the doorstep of the worker, not in the opening of a shop with which he has nothing to do until you ask him to come and spend his wages there'

Others spoke both for and against the resolution, and Mr Varley, replying to the discussion, stated that in Cornwall and Devon the Co-operative Wholesale Society had been obliged to take control of eighteen or nineteen village societies which had got into difficulties

It must be admitted that the case instanced by Mr. Varley forms a strong argument in favour of his policy, by exposing the inability of such a financially strong and prosperous retail organisation as the Plymouth society to extend its operations sufficiently to cover the Devon villages, where the local societies have failed to make good The explanation lies probably in a disinclination on the part of prosperous retail societies in large towns to risk the dividends of their members in what may prove to be unprofitable expenditure in less closely populated areas. The Co-operative Wholesale Society, on the other hand, with its vast resources, is well able to undertake competition with the capitalist multiple shop, and from the purely business point of view alone is justified in trying to secure approval for the policy indicated in the resolution; and it may be added that a network of Co-operative Wholesale Society stores all over the country controlled by a powerful central organisation in political alliance with the Labour Party offers an unrivalled field for the employment of 'the enormous reserve forces' at the disposal of the co-operative movement, which Mr Barnes said 'it could set in motion at need for political purposes through its economic organisation'

Mr. Barnes may be said to represent politics, Mr. Varley (the mover of the resolution) to represent 'big business,' and Mr.

Beaton (Scottish Wholesale director) to represent pure co-operation.

The voting by show of hands on Mr. Varley's resolution showed an evenly divided house; the tellers were accordingly put on, with the result that the resolution was carried by 2267 votes against 2033—majority 234.

On the second day of Congress a vigorous denunciation of the Government's policy of safeguarding industries and of its corrupting influence on persons engaged in the productive branches of co-operative industry was made by Mr. A V Alexander, M.P., in submitting the report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee. The report did not excite anything like the interest which was evinced in the debate on Joint Propaganda and Trade Committee's report, and was adopted—one might say ' by acquiescence.' One might hazard the opinion that more co-operators have been directly and indirectly benefited by the Government's safeguarding measures than Mr. Alexander would have had the meeting believe. But the adoption of the report shows that the political machinery of the co-operative movement will be employed at the General Election to fight protective measures in whatever guise they may appear on Conservative platforms.

Among other items of interest may be noted the president's remarks on ' the extraordinary growth of credit trading during the last three years,' which he said was ' another startling tendency demanding close examination. Eleven years ago the total amount outstanding for goods supplied on credit was less than 1,500,000*l* ; at the end of 1926 it was over 4,000,000*l*, and the figure for 1927 could not be much less than 5,000,000*l*, and nearly 1,000,000*l*. was owing by members on hire purchase and club systems '

The president had previously drawn attention to ' the apathy of the great majority of our five million members, as reflected in their indifference to the welfare of their own society '—an apathy indicated by the small minorities who voted at elections, the majority never voting at all.

This indifference and apathy is of course not peculiar to the co-operative societies, but some experience of co-operators and their societies leads one to believe that the predominance of Socialist and even Communist activity in many societies is responsible for the abstention of a large proportion of members from the local meetings. ' Oh yes, I deal at the shop, but I don't want to get mixed up with that Socialist crowd at the meetings,' is the attitude of a large proportion of the ' five million ' to which the president mournfully referred

The president also deplored ' our failure to secure an increasing proportion of the trade of all members of our societies.' This again

may be due in part to a similar cause: many of the co-operative societies have taken on such a pronounced political bias of a nature so repugnant to a considerable section of the membership that many of the members avoid dealing with the co-operative shop except in cases where the financial advantage is too obvious to be ignored.

After an unusually interesting session one is left with the impression that the co-operative movement tends to become more closely identified with political Socialism, and to be dominated by the party machine in the interests of the politician rather than of the co-operator; that this tendency may have the brake applied by a well-organised resistance to anything in the shape of a political levy without the option of 'contracting out'; and that it is likely to receive a substantial check which may result in severing the alliance between the Co-operative Party and the Labour Party, if and when the issue of granting trading facilities to municipalities under a Labour Government comes into open conflict with the policy of the co-operative movement. The desire to share the sweets of office and to wield political power may overrule the 'die-hards' of pure co-operation; but if such a thing should happen, the co-operative movement, which has grown from its infancy in 1844 to the stature of its full manhood in 1928, and established itself firmly as a beneficent factor in the home lives of the working classes, would lose its prestige and forfeit the affections and confidence of the people whose support has helped to build up an organisation of which every co-operator may well be proud.

F. G. Stone.

THE NATIVE QUESTION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Historical Survey

The Native Question in South Africa may be said to have arisen in the latter half of the eighteenth century, when the advance guard of European civilisation came into contact with the Bantu races who were pushing eastwards in search of new pasturage. The first clash came in what is to-day known as the Eastern Province

Initially the question was largely one of boundaries. The moribund Dutch East India Company administration contented itself with the definition of the boundary dividing European and Bantu, and this policy was followed by the British Government until the middle of the last century, when it was abandoned as impracticable Then, as now, the native question was for the most part the economic question of land Then, as now, this was only imperfectly realised by Europeans. The first Kaffir War took place in 1779, to be followed, at more or less regular intervals, by eight more, each more intense than the last; and as the pressure of economic conditions increased land prices rose steadily, and the land question also increased in intensity. Various attempts were made rigidly to separate white and black by the definition and control of the boundary, but these efforts were all unsuccessful because the Bantu recognised no boundary, and because the military establishment required for effective control was far beyond the resources of the young colony. This treaty system, adopted with a fair measure of success in India, was a complete failure along the Kei and Fish Rivers.

British policy at this time was largely controlled by a small and effective public opinion which had been born out of the Philanthropic and Anti-Slave Movements, and whose source of inspiration was the London Mission Society. Rousseau's 'noble savage' was a common phrase, and was the despair of the frontier farmer at the Cape Effective public opinion in Great Britain was all on the side of the treaty system, because that system had the appearance of being just in that it left the native to himself; it had the strong additional advantage of being a cheap policy.

Great Britain was loth to increase her South African commitments by the annexation of the native territories, but events forced her hand, and by the middle of the nineteenth century the treaty system was being definitely abandoned and a policy of annexation adopted Politically this meant that the European Government had definitely shouldered the responsibility of governing the natives—a responsibility that has sat heavily on the shoulders of the Europeans ever since No one can doubt that this new doctrine of responsibility was a big advance on the old policy of *laissez-faire*, but it is doubtful whether the policy was adopted from this point of view. There was really no choice, for the policing of the border had proved ineffectual; and the only way was to annex and rule.

When the emigrant farmers trekked from the British rule at the Cape, where they had no share in the government of the country, and carved out little democratic republics for themselves in the interior, the native question naturally increased in complexity and extent In a manifesto the emigrants express their determination 'to preserve proper relations between master and servant,'[1] and this phrase is partly a guide to their future actions in dealing with the natives with whom they came into contact The trekkers eventually occupied the present Orange Free State and Transvaal, while Natal was largely populated by settlers from Great Britain We need not concern ourselves here with the vexed and futile question of the rights and wrongs of this settlement. In most cases treaties were drawn up for the cession of the occupied territory; but treaties are easily made, and the native had probably the vaguest ideas on what was taking place. Effective occupation seems to be the only genuine test of the right of occupation, although such a doctrine would have to stand a severe strain when applied, shall we say, to Australia at the present time

Each of the newly formed States bordered on native territories. Natal had on her border the Zulus, the Free State had the recently established Basuto nation under the guidance of Moshesh, one of the ablest native statesmen in South African history; the Transvaal bordered on a number of Bantu tribes, and the old Cape Colony was left with the Xosas in the Transkei and Ciskei. The result of this establishment of small States was the absence of any uniformity in policy There was a similarity in the policies of the Transvaal and Free State, where 'the proper relations between master and servant' were strictly enforced when they referred to the natives who had settled within the borders of the two republics. Natal followed an individual course, and Sir Theophilus Shepstone dealt successfully with the Zulus, but

[1] Manifesto of Piet Retief

failed to transmit his system to his successors or to build up an effective body of native administrators who could follow out his ideas. The old Cape Colony stuck manfully to equalitarian principles, and legislated for equality in theory if not always in practice. The Cape policy was premature; the republican policy suited the facts, but was rigid and out of all touch with progress. More practical at the time, it has caused much more trouble than the premature policy of the Cape Colony.

When Natal and the northern republics had achieved a more settled state, and when native wars gave way to constitution-making, to the founding of towns and to the settled forms of agriculture, a new aspect of the native question began to show itself. The native became a worker. He began to hire himself out as an agricultural labourer and for domestic service, and, in course of time, most of the manual labour on the farms came to be done by the native worker, while European domestic servants are rare enough to-day even to excite remark. The discovery of gold and diamonds completed the process by which the native took his place in the economic life of the country. Native labour was cheap and was recklessly recruited to work the mines at Kimberley and Johannesburg The rapid development of the country which followed on the discovery of mineral wealth was soon reflected in the life of the Bantu, and contact with town life and with machinery gave a superficial education which was sufficient to break down the tribal restraints without putting anything in their place. In the course of twenty-five years the native question had become an industrial question without losing its character as a land question Had it remained purely a land question there may have been some reasonable prospect of a settlement; but the new complications called for an order of statesmanship that was not forthcoming, and the temptations of exploiting cheap labour were too strong The result is that the question has attained dimensions that will make any statesman hesitate before suggesting a solution.

When the National Convention met to form a union of the four provinces the native question played its part, and, as a result of long debates, it was decided to leave the provinces to do as they pleased, though a Union Department of Native Affairs was set up. Since union the problem has increased in intensity, and the last decade has seen a growth and development of the Bantu that is truly amazing. Not only is the Bantu everywhere striving towards education and cultural development, but he has begun to organise himself industrially. He has become articulate and is demanding reforms. To meet this demand is the task of South African statesmen, to whom the threefold problem is presented—economic, political, and social.

THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Viewed from the standpoint of economics, the problem is industrial and agrarian There is an extraordinary lack of economic data, and this lack is responsible for a great deal of mischief. Probably one of the primary needs is the setting up of a competent commission to go fully into the whole question and to make a comprehensive economic survey of the situation. The recent Economic and Wages Commission points out that four-fifths of the wage-earners of the country are non-Europeans, and the report of the Commissioners does not touch this vast field. Some bald facts may be quoted to indicate the nature and extent of the economic aspects of this problem, though it would be dangerous to generalise too freely from these figures. In 1921 there were just over one and a half million Europeans and four and a half million natives in the Union (*i.e*, excluding Basutoland, Swaziland, and the Bechuanaland Protectorate, where the natives far outnumber the Europeans) Of the natives in the Union over half a million are employed in mining industries and in urban areas. Three-sevenths of the native population are to be found in European areas, and about two-thirds of the total native population live in native areas Three questions present themselves: (*a*) Are the native areas sufficient for the native population? (*b*) What is the position of the million and a half natives employed in European areas? And (*c*) what is the position of the half-million natives employed in mining and in urban areas?

It will be noticed that I speak of 'native' and of 'European' areas as two different things. In 1913 the Botha Government passed a Land Act which inaugurated the policy of territorial segregation in the sense of setting aside definite areas for the natives and preventing them from acquiring land outside these areas. The Act provided for a delimiting commission—the famous Beaumont Commission—which reported in 1916 and recommended certain areas to be set aside But European opinion was so strongly opposed to these delimited areas that the Government was obliged to abandon them and to set up five local committees to make a new survey These local committees reported in 1918, and in 1926 General Hertzog published his Land Bill, which is now before the country This Bill amends the 1913 Land Act, and, while accepting the report of the local committees, throws open certain 'released areas' to European and Bantu competition. Since these released areas form part of the land set aside by the local committees, the present Bill really provides less land than was contemplated in the 1913 Land Act.

The fundamental question is, of course, whether this separation can be justified Public opinion is strongly in favour of such

territorial differentiation, and there is much to be said for it. The *native and the European are at very different stages of development, and to have no differentiation would be to reduce the level of stock and agricultural farming, producing serious effects for* European and native alike. Furthermore, to leave the purchase of land to unrestricted competition would be unfair to the native, who is not in a good bargaining position. There is therefore nothing fundamentally unjust in providing separate areas for European and Bantu. The crux of the whole matter is in the amount and nature of the land so set aside. Provided that sufficient good land is set aside for the native, and provided that adequate provision is made to encourage agriculture by experimental farms, by agricultural colleges and by the setting up of a native land bank, territorial segregation will be a fair and just arrangement. What is the actual position ? At the moment the native areas have reached saturation point, even when the million and a half who live in European areas are excluded, and no provision is made for the steady increase of population. The native leaders declare that the 1926 Land Bill does not provide sufficient land for the needs of the natives, and an important conference, called together by the Dutch Reformed Church, and at which all sections of European and Bantu thought were represented, declared that the land set aside by the local committees was the bare minimum which should be allotted. This conference also drew attention to the fact that the time was ripe for the expropriation of land and for setting aside Crown lands, but that the time was rapidly passing when such expropriation would be easy. On the other hand, there is a considerable conservative opinion that objects even to the land given by the 1926 Bill. There can be no doubt that the Bill is unjust in this respect. Apart from its injustice, it is uneconomic because it fails to make adequate provision for a large agricultural population, thus throwing away the opportunity of an increased agricultural production. There is plenty of land, but traditional European opinion is opposed to allowing natives to own land This opposition is not necessarily blind and unreasoning, but it is based on the economic theory, which includes large farms and which excludes intensive cultivation The theory assumes a large supply of cheap labour as opposed to peasant proprietorship. The great fault of all land legislation in South Africa has not been its injustice, but its failure to utilise the potential productive power of a large agricultural population. That is the fault, too, of the 1926 Land Bill.

The million and a half natives who are in European areas may be divided into two classes—domestic servants in urban areas and agricultural workers on the lands of European farmers. With regard to the former class the country is definitely com-

mitted to the location system. These locations are usually situated some little distance from the European towns, and are in reality, native towns where the domestic servants, shop-boys, and all natives engaged by Europeans live. Municipal authorities are responsible for the running of these locations, and are more and more waking up to the fact that they should run them efficiently. Some municipalities are fully aware of their responsibilities in this connexion and tend to provide proper facilities for the native inhabitants, but a great number of locations remain unhealthy, insanitary and squalid, while the absence of a secure tenure is an effective bar to progress The controversy going on in the Free State at the moment as to whether natives living in locations should be granted trading rights has tended to define opinion sharply. The majority of people consider the location as 'a reservoir for native labour' and are opposed to granting trading rights and other facilities, but there is a growing opinion that justice and expediency both demand that these locations should not be considered merely as reservoirs of labour for the benefit of the European Prejudice dies hard, and vested interests of the European traders are always on the look-out for any step that might threaten their monopoly. It should also be remembered that in South Africa (as in other countries) religion is often harnessed to the cause of the European. When a writer in a prominent newspaper some weeks ago could solemnly argue that according to the Bible the natives were the descendants of Ham, and that therefore they should always be servants, it will be realised of what strength this prejudice, reinforced by religion, is The principle of locations is, in itself, sound, as it simply marks a definite social fact, but its working out in practice is far from sound, and the native too often finds himself freed from tribal restrictions and taboos without proper incentives to the new citizenship. The Saxon abhorrence of a 'landless man' is not present in South Africa

As long as the native lives in native areas the economic question is one of markets. When he comes into contact with the European the great question of wages appears Domestic wages in South Africa are low as compared with other countries, but that is due to the low standard of living of the natives and to the almost boundless supply of labour Also, the native is largely unskilled. Up to the present there has been very little demand for increased wages for domestic service, though the wages have increased steadily through the last two decades. Recently natives employed in shops and in such trades as bricklaying have demanded an increase, but their lack of organisation has, so far, prevented effective agitation. The Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union (familiarly known as the I.C.U.) under

he leadership of Clements Kadalie is rapidly repairing this mission, and signs of unrest and agitation have been more requent of late. As is to be expected, the ignorance of the verage native labourer leaves him a prey to the agitator who is repared to promise anything at all, and very wild statements are nade about forcing the payment of wages which would drive most Europeans into the bankruptcy court. But even here there is nprovement, and the native leaders are realising that it is no use naking wild and absurd statements, but that their demands must e practical and must be backed by economic fact

The agricultural labourer is, in some respects, better off than his fellows in the towns. His tenure is, however, equally insecure, and the low degree of agricultural production is largely caused by this and by unscientific farming He mostly works for his keep and for payment in cash or in kind, and he is given a small patch of ground in usufruct. But he remains a serf in every sense of the term, and is essentially not a peasant proprietor. One of the clauses of General Hertzog's Land Bill tries to prevent native squatting by the imposition of heavy licence fees, but it is doubtful whether this will have any other effect than an increase of Government revenue or a townward drift of the natives The farmer must have labour, and there is nothing wrong in having native labour on the farms, because the native is much more of an agriculturalist than an industrialist ; but the system by which he is neither a proper wage-earner nor a peasant proprietor is definitely wrong, and a step in the right direction would be taken if legislation were passed controlling agricultural wages. It is well to remember in this connexion that the increased use of money (cash wages) was one of the important factors which helped to raise the status of the serf in the Middle Ages At present there is no incentive to a higher standard of work or of living, and the spending capacity of the native agricultural labourer is very low. As is to be expected, too, there is practically no organisation of labour among the agricultural labourers, though the I.C.U. is making determined efforts in that direction.

The position of the native on the mines differs in most respects from that of the native in the urban areas or on the farms. On the mines the native receives reasonably good wages and lives in compounds He is thus a wage-earner on definite contract, but the conditions of living on the compounds are unnatural and lead to unsettled habits of life. The native is removed from his tribal home and tribal restrictions and introduced into an unnatural home. This produces crime, and the policy of cheap native labour for the mines will eventually recoil on the heads of the Europeans in the shape of native and European unemployment and crime. In addition, Parliament has been forced into

the Colour Bar Act to protect European workers against the cheaper native workers.

To sum up the economic aspect of the problem: (1) The policy of separate areas for European and native has now been definitely embarked on, and there is no intrinsic reason why this should be unjust as long as ample opportunity is given to natives in the shape of increased territories and the establishment of a land bank to assist native farmers. General Hertzog's Bill does the second, but falls short with regard to the first of these two conditions. If the policy of separation is unfairly carried out it will eventually have to be abandoned. Its only chance of success is its fairness. (2) The use of native labour for agricultural and domestic purposes is not wrong provided that the urban areas are not considered as reservoirs of labour but as native cities, and provided that the agricultural labourer is given a proper status. Neither the Urban Areas Act nor General Hertzog's Land Bill provides for this (3) The lack of security of tenure of the agricultural labourer has a deleterious effect on the native himself, and is economically bad for the country as a whole. (4) The use of native labour in mines is bad, and the policy should be to replace it by white labour. (5) The native and the European are economically interdependent, and the policy of depressing the native will react on the European position. No legislation has realised this sufficiently.

The Political Problem

When responsible government was extended to the Cape Colony in 1872 no distinction of colour was made in the matter of citizenship and the rights of the citizen. In Natal and the northern republics, however, this distinction was made, and no natives became citizens with civil rights and the franchise. The result was that when the National Convention tried to unite the four provinces it was faced with the difficult problem of the political rights of the native. The delegates from the Cape Colony opposed any encroachment on the native vote at the Cape and gained their point, the Cape native vote being entrenched in the Act of Union. The northern provinces refused to adopt this principle, and the result was that, to ensure union, the voting qualifications in the four uniting provinces were to be left as they had been before the Act of Union came into force That has been one of the stumbling-blocks in the path of reform. The strides made by the natives since union have brought the question of the franchise to the fore, and natives are to-day talking about "no taxation without representation." This aspect of the native question is the most real to the popular mind. On the one hand a small party maintains that it is unjust not to allow the native

the vote, while on the other a far stronger party draws attention to the fact that if the native gets the vote we shall have a black parliament. The case is not so straightforward as either of these views would indicate. To the party which speaks about the injustice of withholding the vote from the native it must be pointed out that the big majority of the natives are at present entirely unqualified to vote. Wherever the fault may lie, the fact remains that they are illiterate and unable to speak or write either of the two official languages of the Union. Furthermore, they have no experience of political government (their typical form of government being that of the Chief and the Council), and to hand over the control of the country to the tender mercies of a large native electorate would be madness. The natives do benefit by good government in the matter of roads, peaceful conditions, etc, so that it does not seem unreasonable that they should contribute something towards the upkeep of the State. The tax (apart from local taxation) takes the form of a poll tax or a hut tax, and it is at a flat rate, varying from 10*s.* to 2*l.* per male person. This may not seem high, but it forms a considerable percentage of the yearly income of the domestic servant and a greater percentage of the income of the agricultural labourer, who gets most of his wage in kind. To give the vote to every tax-paying native would increase the voters' roll by about 600,000 names, a number that exceeds the present roll by about 200,000. The result may easily be imagined.

Opinion differs as to the value of the native vote in the Cape, but the balance seems to be in favour of the statement that, on the whole, the vote has not been misused, and that it has certainly added to the security of the natives there. Any attempt to extend it to the other provinces would, however, be met with a solid opposition. Even if much stricter voting qualifications in the form of an educational and civilisation test could be devised, the problem would still be great. Various suggestions have been made, and the one before the country at the present moment is the Prime Minister's Bill. This aims at extending the vote to all coloured persons in the Union (*i.e.*, the Cape coloured or half-caste community, of which numbers will be found outside the Cape Province). This will definitely treat the coloured man as a European. The Bill further provides that the native population throughout the Union will elect seven European members of Parliament, and it establishes a separate Native Council, partly to be elected by the native voters and partly to be nominated by the Governor-General in Council. The first part of these provisions, namely, the seven members, is open to a great deal of dispute. The members will not have full voting powers in Parliament and may be excluded from voting on any measure declared

by the Government of the day to be outside their scope. Thi obviously to prevent the seven from upsetting the Governm on some issue unconnected with native affairs, but it is doubt whether such a system would not be open to grave abuse practice Further, the natives are opposed to this provision they want to be represented by their own people. The difficulti of election where the seven constituencies are spread out over th Union would be considerable for an educated electorate, but well nigh insuperable for a native electorate. It has been suggeste that the seven members should be natives, but such a measur would not pass even if party discipline were brought to bear o the Government supporters.

As for the provision regarding the setting up of a Nativ Council to be partly elected and partly nominated, it is claime that this will serve the need felt by the natives for representation The Native Council will not, according to the Bill, be giver extended legislative powers, but the Minister has authority tc devolve legislative power on to the Council. Opponents of the Bill, and the more progressive natives, declare that it is only the shadow, and are afraid that the Council will be the final substitute for representation This may be true, but General Hertzog's attempt is a sincere one, and this differential development finds powerful advocates among the more enlightened Europeans. As things are now, the natives cannot be given full political equality, and, on the other hand, native leaders are demanding representation. General Hertzog's Bill thus aims at giving temporary relief by means of the seven members and, in the meanwhile, developing a native Parliament with increasing powers and responsibilities. The Bill is strictly according to the theory of differential treatment. It recognises existing facts and is based on the theory that the two races will never become one. As was remarked above, the natives themselves are not wholly in favour of the Bill, but it must be remembered that the articulate portion of the native races does not represent the entire native races. The Bantu are notoriously conservative, and any legislation would be met by strong opposition at first. The mass of the race is, if not indifferent, ignorant of the effect of legislation, and it would be very difficult to gather native public opinion Those people who plead for abstract justice too often read into the native minds what they feel ought to be there. This question is fraught with pitfalls, because statesmen have to deal with the varying factor of the political development of the native. Legislation, to be useful, must go hand in hand with this development. To go too fast would spell disaster; to go too slow would breed ill-feeling. On the whole it would be better to go too slow than too fast, because the natives are loyal, and as long as they realise that

an honest attempt is being made their own conservative attitude would be in keeping with deliberate legislation. But the attempt must be honest, and the native must not be given grounds to suspect that he is not being justly treated or that the interests of the white man only are being looked after, as has so often been the case in the past.

THE SOCIAL QUESTION

Perhaps the easiest and most dangerous field for speculation on the native question is afforded by the problem of the social relations between the European and the Bantu races. It is too often speculation from insufficient data—generalisation from a solitary experience. And yet in the formation of public opinion this counts for a great deal. To come into contact with domestic servants is not a sufficient ground on which to erect a theory of race ; nor, on the other hand, should we pay much attention to the theories of the native whose only grounds of opinion are his experiences with one or two European masters. But the voting opinion of South Africa is very often made up in this way.

There have not been wanting those Europeans who urge that full equality is necessary. The most notable and consistent exponents of this view were the missionaries of the London Mission Society a century ago—Dr Vanderkemp and Mr. Reid. To-day there are people who maintain that, whether we like it or not, race mixture will take place. They point to the South American countries and to Java as examples of what will probably take place here The fact that the overwhelming mass of both Bantu and Europeans at the present time are opposed to race mixture does not really affect the argument, because race mixture is never a conscious thing Intermarriage has taken place in the past, and is taking place now, but it is most frequently illegitimate or else confined to the lowest social class The presence of the coloured population at the Cape is ample proof of how much intermarriage there has been in the past, whether that intermarriage was legitimate or not.

From the social point of view the large majority of natives may be justly regarded as the ' lower classes ' of European countries, and there is nothing unusual about the two classes remaining separate. We find that in most countries, and marriages between different social classes are rare enough. In South Africa class distinction, which we find all over the world, is accentuated by the colour, the different social habits, the traditions of the two races, and by a hundred and one small differences. Ordinary human prejudices are opposed to allowing natives to travel first or second class on the railways, to admitting them to theatres and cinemas, to allowing them to settle in the European quarter of

the town, to admitting them to clubs, European churches, e
These prejudices are based on real social differences which a
more easily felt than explained, and in these circumstances it
unpractical to talk about social union. It is a state of affai
which reigns everywhere in the world, not least in those countrie
that are supposed to be most democratic. South Africa is n
exception to this, and those people who talk about the Sout
African attitude being unjust and un-Christian would do well t
look carefully at their own countries first.

Though this represents the state of affairs as regards th
majority of natives, there is an increasing class that is becomin
educated and is beginning to adopt European standards of lif
and habits of thought. At the moment this class is in a ver
unfortunate position, but as it increases the Europeans wil
be forced to change their attitude socially. It is impossible t
degrade those natives who have reached a high stage of educatio
and culture, just as it is impossible to have full and natura
association with those who have not reached this stage. Onc
more we have growth and development on the part of the native
and this growth is rapidly forcing the issue.

Another and, to my mind, even more important matte
is the attitude adopted by the mass of the European popula
tion towards the native. The average citizen comes into dail
contact with the natives as servants, as messengers, as min
workers, as agricultural workers and in many other ways, an
his treatment of the native here has a very important effect o
the total impression made by the European on the native. As a
rule the European master treats the native servant with a kindl
tolerance based on a conscious feeling of superiority. There ar
cases where the treatment is harsh and unfair ; and real cruelt
is not unknown, though cases of this are rare. More frequentl
the native is exploited in the matter of wages and bargains, an
he seldom commands as good a price as the European. He is abl
to subsist on much less than the European, and in this way ha
an undoubted economic advantage, but, knowing this an
fearing it, the European is trying hard to protect his own positio
and the European labourer demands equal pay for white an
black, not so much as a matter of principle, but because it wil
mean less European unemployment. It is thought that if a ma
has to pay the same wage for white and black he will give th
employment to the European. The people who advocate thi
policy do not realise that there is already more native tha
European unemployment, and that the problem of unemploymen
does not change when it has been transferred from white to black

As regards the administration of justice, there are frequen
complaints of harsh treatment by the police authorities, and the

hairman of the African National Congress stated that the law vas unfairly administered in favour of the Europeans. This is a serious allegation and founded on fact. *The mass of the natives are quite unable to understand the European legal system, whose laws often appear to them as unreasonable.* Added to this is the undoubted fact that cases are on record where natives have been punished more heavily than Europeans, or where Europeans are not convicted when the crime is against a native. The jury is a European jury, and the native is, under the existing prejudice, by no means sure of a fair trial. The law has now been altered to the effect that an accused person may choose between trial by jury and trial by a judge and two assessors, and it is a striking fact that natives invariably choose the latter form of trial. This state of affairs is a serious blot on the fair name of justice and creates a justifiable suspicion in the minds of the native population. The native distrusts the European even when he brings gifts, and this naturally complicates the task of legislation.

Religious bodies in South Africa have always been pioneers in civilising and educating the native, and, though their methods have not always been very happy, the value of their work is undoubted. Unfortunately the Churches carried their divisions into the mission field, with the result that the native mind is puzzled by the diversity of dogma. Fortunately, on the other hand, the Churches are beginning to realise the mistake, and closer co-operation may be looked for in the future. Another serious mistake was the Europeanised form of education which Church and State alike imposed on the natives. Mission schools turned out inferior Europeans instead of good Bantu, and, though this mistake too is being realised and rectified, the damage done is great, for it is partly this education that is responsible for the extravagant equalitarian demands which rabid native leaders make. Education is more and more becoming a native thing, developing native culture, art and industry, basing itself on a sound knowledge of the native mind and using native material and mother tongue instruction. Government departments are interesting themselves in the matter of native medical doctors, and this scheme should go far to break down superstition and witchcraft—strong factors in native life.

A very encouraging sign is the growth of joint European and Bantu councils, of which there are at present fourteen, mostly in the larger towns. These joint councils are voluntary societies which aim at full and frank discussion between European and native and, through that, at the gradual education of public opinion. The universities, too, are beginning to interest themselves in this problem, and the change of opinion, in a small

AMERICA'S FOREIGN POLICY

AT Mount Vernon, the beautiful quiet home of a Virginian country gentleman, the presence of Washington is vividly felt. The visitor carries away the impression of a living tradition ; the respect which among Washington's countrymen is paid to his farewell message and to the policy which he advocated is easily understood It is a policy of caution , every Government in the world, in view of the responsibility which it has for the security of its citizens, has the duty of being cautious. Yet, alongside of the policy of caution, which has entered into the very pith and marrow of American statesmanship, there is a strain of idealism that has never been absent. It was this that inspired the lofty utterances of Wilson, and fired the nation, in a magnificent spiritual outburst, to devote all its resources unselfishly for the attainment of a universal aim

> This [writes Professor Garner] was the heroic age of American idealism when all the world applauded and every patriot's heart beat with pride as the nations exalted us to the supreme heights of esteem and moral leadership

At the end of the war the United States was the most esteemed and respected nation on the earth Mr Wilson was then recognised—and, though now eclipsed, he will again be recognised—as the great prophet of sane internationalism. He was the interpreter of the fundamental ideals of the people of the United States , and with him the United States had the moral leadership of the world. This was the vision which Walter Hines Page had already seen. 'What shall we do,' he wrote in one of his letters from London before the war, 'with the leadership of the world when it falls to us ?'

In a few years everything has changed The United States is not regarded as the leader of the world, and has itself absolutely rejected the notion of this *rôle*. In the place of the United States Europe has reassumed the headship In all the great international and humanitarian movements—in regard to slavery, opium, labour conditions, and above all in the organisation of peace—Europe has taken the initiative and has conducted the

operations. Only once after the war did the United States reassume the headship which it had wielded in 1919: this was when Mr. C. E. Hughes, Secretary of State, proposed the meeting of a Naval Conference at Washington. This Conference accomplished the only solid work in co-operative international disarmament which has been done since the war. The success of the Washington Conference proves the difference which lies between the United States acting as principal and the United States acting as observer and external well-wisher

Perhaps the most remarkable thing in this post-war re-orientation of world-leadership is that it has associated Latin-America and Europe together, and has left the United States in isolation. Professor Garner, after referring to causes of discord with regard to Mexico, Porto Rico, and other places, writes:

More recent events still indicate a Latin-American drift away from us When the United States declared war against Germany, eight of their governments followed our example and five others severed diplomatic relations with Germany, on the principle of the solidarity of the American republics and their desire to share in the maintenance of the high ideals which animated the great Republic of the North, but they were keenly disappointed at the rejection by the United States of the League of Nations, and, instead of following our leadership in isolation, they chose that of Europe, and eighteen of them—all except two—became members of the League, they have furnished three Presidents of the Assembly and three Judges of the Permanent Court, they have been continuously represented on the Council, and Latin-Americans are not lacking who assert that the sovereignty and dignity of their countries have received greater recognition and respect from members of the League than they have received from the North American dominated Pan-American sisterhood.[1]

Although many of the most thoughtful citizens of the United States may regret their country's determination not to involve itself in the affairs of Europe (that is, in effect, in the affairs of the world outside the American continent), nevertheless this must be recognised to be a long-standing and consistently followed principle of policy The warnings of the Fathers of the country—of Washington, Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, and Monroe—against entanglement with Europe are impressed upon every citizen and schoolboy in the United States and have been justified by nearly a century and a half of prosperous domestic development.

Yet the isolation of the United States has not saved it from having prolonged and violent experiences of war, and in this respect its history runs curiously parallel to that of Europe. In

[1] *American Foreign Policies*, by James Wilford Garner (New York University Press, 1928).

Europe there was a period of war in the early years of the ni teenth century. Then there followed a long period of peac from 1815 to the year of revolutions, 1848. Then came a se of wars, down to the Franco-German War of 1870. From 18 except for conflicts in the Balkan Peninsula, Europe was at pe until the year 1914.

In the history of the United States peace and war have p ceeded according to the same cycles as in the history of Euro The United States had a war with Great Britain in 1812-1 Next, there came the peace and economical development, fr 1815 to 1846. At the end of the thirty peaceful years came t Mexican War (1846-47), and—fourteen years later—the gre Civil War (1861-65). After the Civil War the United States, li the European Powers after 1870, was at peace, except that fought a war with Spain in 1898 In 1914 the long peace end for Europe, and, in spite of resolute efforts to remain outsi the conflict, the United States joined in the struggle two and half years later. Therefore it cannot be argued that the poli of isolation has saved the United States from war, any more th it can be argued that the international commitments of the Stat of Europe have made wars inevitable.

A second reason which has caused many citizens of the Unit States to reconsider the advisability of adherence to the trad tional isolation policy is the change in the conditions of mode life. America was physically far apart, almost in another worl from Europe in the days of sailing-ships, but now, relatively t the improved means of locomotion, the world has shrunk; th two hemispheres have become almost continuous and indi tinguishable The whole world has moved, almost out of a recognition, since Washington and Jefferson made their stat ments of policy.

> Although the conditions, national and international, which prevaile at the time they were made, and our own position as a member of th family of nations, have been completely transformed, there has been disposition to regard them as equally applicable to every stage and condi tion of the changing world, and no argument against the adoption of particular foreign policy to-day carries so much weight as the fact that i would involve, actually or in appearance, a departure from the admonition of the Fathers a century and a quarter ago With some it matters littl that the world in which we live is as different from that of Washington' day as the stage-coach was from the automobile or the pony-expre from the radio telegraph, that the unorganised world in which they liv has been transformed into an international *society* of states constitutin a vast network of interdependent relationships, and that there is mor intercourse to-day between China and the United States than there was i Washington's day between North Carolina and South Carolina.[1]

[1] Garner, *American Foreign Policies*, p. 7

But what has changed most swiftly and dramatically is the United States' own relation with the Old World. In Washington's time there was little or no investment of European capital in North America. During the next 120 years the citizens of the United States borrowed steadily and heavily from Europe. With the outbreak of the Great War in 1914 the economic situation changed almost in the twinkling of an eye. The great debtor nation became the great creditor. Before the war the United States owed to Europe between three billion and four billion dollars To-day Europe owes to the United States about twenty-five billion dollars. It is impossible to deny that this vast investment of United States capital in the Old World constitutes an 'involvement' which no amount of assertion of isolation can in any way diminish.

Actually the history of the United States in the 100 years before 1919 was not one of isolation The United States had widespread international relations in which it took a legitimate pride, for they were animated by honourable principles. The United States was party to eighty-five arbitrations. For sixty years it co-operated like any other important State in international affairs. It was represented in the international Postal Conference at Paris in 1863, and in all the subsequent meetings which dealt with the formation and conduct of the International Postal Union , in 1878 it was represented at the Conference of Paris on the regulation of weights and measures. In 1884 the United States took part in the Conference of Berlin to regulate the affairs of the Congo basin. In 1889 it sent representatives to the Conference of Madrid relative to the affairs of Morocco, and it ratified the resulting General Act or Treaty. It took part in the Conference of Brussels in 1890 on the affairs of tropical Africa, and was one of the leading Powers at the Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907. It was not merely represented at the Conference of Algeciras on Morocco in 1906, but in the official biography of Roosevelt it is claimed that he himself brought about the meeting of the Conference It took part in the international Naval Conference at London in 1908-1909. The summoning of the Washington Conference in 1921 on Armaments and the Pacific was not a new departure. Indeed, the old tradition of isolation has been so often departed from that it has long lost its binding force. Professor Garner writes :

> The usual reservations of the Senate disclaiming any intention of departing from the tradition have served to reconcile the objectors and save their faces, although the disclaimers hardly altered the fact that in most cases the tradition had been set aside

The position of the Senate distinguishes the conduct of the

they prescribe a 'cooling-off period' before any dispute between the contracting parties shall become a war. Germany refused to sign the Bryan treaty in 1913, on the ground that to do so would deprive her of her greatest military asset, namely, speed in mobilisation and attack. Thus it was that in 1917 the United States was able to declare war upon Germany as soon as Congress resolved to do so (April 6) instead of waiting for the year of investigation prescribed in the Bryan treaties. Although these treaties do not prohibit war at the end of the 'cooling-off period,' the lapse of such a space of time after a dispute has arisen between two parties makes the ultimate resort to hostilities most unlikely. The Bryan treaties have each a five-year period, but they continue in existence indefinitely thereafter unless denounced with twelve months' notice.

The 'Monroe' Doctrine is often referred to as being the guiding principle of the foreign policy of the United States As the Doctrine is conceived in the popular mind it expresses the general reluctance to engage in European affairs, and is not very precise. As actually issued in President Monroe's Message to Congress of December 2, 1823, the Doctrine had two essential principles. one, that with the existing colonies of European Powers on the American continent the United States would not interfere; but, secondly, that any attempt of European Powers to extend their system on the American continent would be regarded by the United States as an unfriendly act. The simple Doctrine thus proclaimed was, Professor Garner writes, 'wise and sound,' in accordance with the national interests of the United States and with the peaceful condition of the Western Hemisphere

> As such it was enthusiastically acclaimed by the peoples of Latin-America, who were really its chief beneficiaries, and it is still praised by them, it met with little opposition even in Europe, and it is not at all improbable that it saved the countries of Latin-America from European interventions which might have resulted in the subversion of the independence of some of them and the appropriation of their territory In thus ensuring them against possible aggressions, the United States rendered one of the most important services to the cause of freedom and international order which the history of its foreign relations records

The simple and reasonable statement of principle of President Monroe has in time become a somewhat vague formula which, in the popular mind, covers almost any assertion of power which the Government of the United States feels it necessary or expedient to make on the American continent. Such assertions of power may be quite right and proper, for every Government is bound to safeguard the interests of its people; to do this it is not necessary to invoke any other 'doctrine' than that of the legitimate right of self-defence. Actually, Presidential pronounce-

ments, dispatches of Secretaries of State, resolutions of Legislature, and interpolations of politicians have given to the Monroe Doctrine extensions which Professor Garner thinks can be precisely stated as follows :

> No Latin-American state may voluntarily transfer its territory by sale, lease or gift to any non-American state without the consent of the United States, in case of a boundary dispute between an American state and a European power possessing territories in America, which cannot be settled by diplomacy, the United States must be the virtual arbiter of the dispute ; no non-American 'corporation or association' may acquire a harbour on the American continent, if it is so situated that its occupation for military or naval purposes might threaten the communications or safety of the United States and if such corporation or association is subject 'to the practical power of control' of such non-American government, that the United States does not look with favour upon the granting by Latin-American states of economic concessions and franchises to non-American capitalists or companies to exploit their resources, that the United States has a 'right' under the Monroe Doctrine to intervene in the domestic affairs of Latin-American states to prevent European powers from themselves intervening for the purpose of obtaining redress for wrongs to their nationals (in short to exercise a sort of 'international police power' over them), that in case of internal political strife and revolution in a Latin-American state, the United States has a right to support, by military and naval power, the government which it has recognised as the legitimate one, that when, in the judgment of the United States, a Latin-American state is unable to maintain domestic order and discharge its international obligations, the United States may assume financial and political control of such state, and, finally, the disposition to deduce from the Monroe Doctrine the special privilege of the United States to treat certain Latin-American states as an exclusive preserve for North American economic exploitations. (*American Foreign Policies*, pp 98-9)

In view of these extensions or 'corollaries' of the original principles of the Monroe Message, for all of which Professor Garner cites documentary evidence, it is not unnatural that a request has sometimes come from Latin-American States for an official definition of the present and precise meaning and scope of the Doctrine This demand has not been acceded to by the Executive Government or by Congress, nor probably ever will be. Perhaps instead of making a definition which would commit the country for all future time the Government of the United States will simply cease to invoke the Monroe Doctrine, and will leave it to become merely a matter of history. The United States has the right or duty of defending itself against external aggression. This, writes Professor Garner, 'is the only legitimate end which the Monroe Doctrine can possibly serve' According to the law of nations every State has the right and duty of defending itself, and therefore nobody could object to the famous Message of President Monroe. The United States will always be able to

take appropriate measures to defend itself, without endeavouring to create, on the basis of Monroe's Message, a peculiar system of international law for itself.

George Meredith once said that a nation should be judged by its contribution to the world. The United States has contributed enormously, by its economic development, to the material well-being of the world; by its attachment to liberty and self-government it has helped to raise mankind, through maintaining these ideals in practice; and, by standing for fair dealing in all the international conferences which it has attended, it has been a bracing influence in international relations. The spectacle of European intrigues and rivalries and the miseries of post-war collapse caused a revulsion from European affairs to the people of the United States after their idealistic and unselfish intervention in the Great War of Europe Yet the boldest minds are not afraid to say that this isolation is a temporary phase and out of accord with the old traditions of the American people The most recent work on American foreign policies and one of the most learned (although expressed with ease and grace) concludes with the verse:

Hear, O America, thy comrade nations calling!
Hark to My Voices, around thee and above!
Lift thy great heart, and haste to join the Builders

R. B. MOWAT

CONCESSIONS AND SETTLEMENTS IN CHINA

THIS article is an attempt to make clear to the reader the essential difference between a residential concession and a foreign settlement in China Hankow was a concession—or, to be accurate, 62 acres of the British Concession were a concession and 53 acres were a later addition; but the whole 115 acres have become involved in one policy of scuttle, and there is now no more to be said. The policy to be followed at Tientsin has not yet been *formulated, and it may be worth while to give a few facts based on history, which seems to be disregarded by all Governments, British or Chinese* The '*Foreign Settlement*' at Tientsin had twenty years ago an area of 3550 acres; but the German, Russian, Belgian and Austrian Concessions have been 'resumed,' there is but small Italian interest in the Italian Concession, the Japanese Concession is mainly inhabited by Chinese (political refugees many of them), and the French Concession contains chiefly Chinese and overflow from the British area The British hold their area under three different tenures—the Concession (1861), the Extension (1897), and the Extramural Extension (1901) In 1918 the last two tenures were assimilated, and they may be considered together The area of the two extensions is about 1080 acres, and in them the soil remains Chinese, title-deeds are sealed and issued by the Chinese authorities and then registered at the consulate as at Shanghai, and, as at Shanghai, it is only administrative functions—taxing, works, and police—which are delegated by the sovereign power The budgets of the concession and the extension are kept separate. The British Concession has an area (including the lapsed American Concession, which has been absorbed) of 105 acres, and in 1861 was granted in perpetuity by the Chinese Crown to the British Crown, with a reserved annual ground rent of about 35*s* an acre; the British Government then granted ninety-nine-year leases to the present land renters or their predecessors. In this concession are the Lombard Street and Mincing Lane of the Tientsin Foreign Settlement, and it constitutes the first city of refuge of Chinese political refugees on their way to the safe shelter of Shanghai, Nagasaki, or Hongkong. Five years ago the British Treasury was demanding 50,000*l*. as a fine for

renewing the leases for a further ninety-nine years from 1960 and it would be interesting to learn if the Treasury now propose to repudiate the leases which have a further thirty-two years to run, and if, by destroying the administrative autonomy of the concession and calling in the Chinese tax collector, it will now enforce a capital levy.

Shanghai, the foreign quarter, is a settlement, and not a concession, let it be clearly understood that the so-called Concession Française is a settlement on the same footing as the English and American Settlements, which, after twenty years of separate existence, were amalgamated in 1863 to form the International Settlement of Shanghai. The authority which seals and issues title-deeds is Chinese, but no Chinese subject may buy or hold land within settlement limits, except (in the early years) original holders who continued to hold and cultivate their land. When land has once been bought by a foreigner, the title-deeds are registered at his consulate; and over the whole area the foreign community alone exercises the rights of taxation, police and works, rights granted by China, the sovereign lord of the soil.

One quality common to all the 'areas reserved for foreign trade and residence' at the treaty ports opened in the early days (1842–65), whether concession or settlement, was the exclusion from residence in them of all Chinese other than the house, office, and warehouse servants of the foreign residents Thus just before the irruption of the Cantonese Communists into Hankow the residents in the British Concession numbered 712 foreigners of all nationalities and 7288 Chinese, which is about the proportion that might be expected; but all the servants of the foreigners are not so wealthy as to be worth plucking, and some are easily persuaded to transfer their rights of residence to other Chinese who have the means with which to buy the security and amenities of residence in the foreign quarter, where, in the past, they have been protected from the extortion and oppression practised on Chinese living under Chinese jurisdiction.

Of the European merchants of those early days more than nine-tenths were English or American, in the prime of life, working hard and playing hard; and one of their earliest steps was when possible to acquire land for recreation, taking the form of a race-course enclosing football and cricket grounds. The concession was inelastic, and to enlarge it would have set in motion the whole diplomatic machinery of two nations to increase the area of a grant from Crown to Crown, so the residents simply went out into the country and bought a farm or two, making a farmer or two rich beyond the (Chinese) dreams of avarice; but they sought no special privilege for the land so bought, and for protection to their persons and property remained within the limits

the original concession. At Shanghai the conditions were more stic : the people were peace-loving and friendly ; there was no formal grant of a concession ; the consul arranged (in 1843) with the local authority, the taotai, for the demarcation of the 'area reserved for foreign trade and residence' ; but it was all very leisurely, and at the outset no more was done than to indicate the frontages. The whole area was open country with a peasant's hut dotted here and there, the soil was a clay alluvium which *overlay a friable micaceous subsoil, and the viscid sloping banks required piling and filling before they could be negotiated.* Here *the three nations staked out their proper frontage along the bank* of the Whangpoo River—the French downstream from the wall of the Chinese city for a frontage of about a quarter of a mile ; the English next for about three-quarters of a mile ; while the Americans staked out a claim across the Soochow Creek in the district known as Hongkew, but left it undeveloped for a dozen years, the American consul hoisting his flag over his consulate in the American area in February 1854

Some time elapsed before it was found necessary to indicate the depth of the English Settlement ; but in 1846 it was arranged between the taotai and the British consul that the inland boundary should run at about a third of a mile from the bank of the river, at what was then known as Barrier Road, but has since been named Honan Road, enclosing an area of 180 acres In 1848 a further agreement was made between the British consul and the taotai drawing the inland line at a distance of one mile from the river, increasing the total area of the English Settlement to 470 acres This extension was expressly declared to be for purposes of recreation, and in it was laid out the racecourse, which was used for five years ; the land was bought by a subscribed fund, which is in existence to-day as the 'Recreation Fund,' and these 290 acres came under the same tenure as the adjoining 180 acres.

In the spring of 1853 the Taiping forces (Cantonese in origin) pursued a devastating course down the Yangtze, overwhelming in turn the cities of Hankow, Kiukiang, Nanking and Chinkiang, and then turning north, crossing the Yellow River and being driven back to the south only when within ten miles of Tientsin ; for seven years their farthest point east was Chinkiang On September 7, 1853, the walled city of Shanghai was seized by members of the Triad Society, a Cantonese secret society claiming affiliation with the Taipings. The representatives of the three foreign nations were then confronted with the question whether they should support the power with which they had made the 'unequal treaties,' and which had nowhere shown itself capable of making head against the rebels resisting its authority, or whether they should refrain from opposing the nationalists, who

had pursued a victorious course of rapine, devastation and massacre. In conference the diplomatic and naval chiefs decided to maintain a strict neutrality of the port of Shanghai both against the imperialists, who had not been able to hold it, and against the nationalists, who had nowhere shown a constructive power of administration. While the situation was being studied and the decision taken, the refugees from the atrocities of the Taipings were flocking to the 'area reserved for foreign trade and residence' at Shanghai, where alone they could find under the foreign flags the safety which was denied them under their own. At the close of 1853 it was estimated that 50,000 such refugees were squatters in mat hovels within the reserved area, mainly in the English Settlement—avoiding the French Settlement, which was exposed to fire from the Triads in the city, and the American Settlement in Hongkew, which was in the open country; and in the English area the only unappropriated land was the Recreation Ground acquired in 1848. Even after the evacuation of the city by the Triads in February 1855 these refugees remained, and their numbers were added to after the capture of Soochow and Hangchow, with their population of a million each, and after the Taiping forces had taken possession of the whole of the intervening country in the spring of 1860, the refugees fleeing for foreign protection to the port of Shanghai were no longer to be numbered by tens, but by hundreds of thousands. At the close of 1862, when the foreign neutrality covering Shanghai had been abandoned, and British and French troops were actively engaged in clearing the Taiping forces out of the thirty-mile zone around Shanghai, it was estimated that there were one and a half million Chinese then resident within the limits of the three foreign settlements.

The government of the foreigners living in the 'area reserved for foreign trade and residence' was granted to the foreign residents themselves by the First Land Regulations, which formed the subject of an agreement, in 1845, between the taotai and the British consul, the officials representing respectively the national authority over the soil and the extraterritorial authority over the residents. Under these regulations a committee of three was appointed, whose modest task it was to maintain the roads (four in number, not macadamised) and jetties.

This simple administration sufficed for the small foreign community of those early years. In 1844, one year after the port was opened, there were resident in Shanghai (living in the walled city) 23 English and American men, representing eleven mercantile houses, two Protestant missionaries, and one official consul (the British); in 1850, of foreign residents there were 6 in the two official consulates, 5 medical practitioners, 119 in the mercantile firms, and 17 Protestant missionaries; in 1855 the foreign resi-

had increased to a total of 243, including 9 British and merican adult male Protestant missionaries. The volume of may be gauged by the value of exports, which in 1853 was the British flag $14,500,000, American $8,500,000, and all r flags $1,000,000—total, $24,000,000.

Meantime two difficulties had arisen—one internal, the other rnal. Among certain of the residents a disinclination was ifested to contribute to the maintenance of the public ities, modest as they were. To meet this difficulty a 'new e of municipal and land regulations' was agreed to in July 54 by the taotai and the three Treaty Power consuls, by which wer was given to the ratepayers to impose rates and dues, and the consuls to enforce payment, to control the sale of spirits d liquors, and to license Chinese places of entertainment. Under e authority of these regulations a 'town meeting' of all rateyers was held on November 10 next following, when the 'road mmittee' presented the following budget for the year:

Receipts

	$
Rate on Chinese rentals at 8 per cent.	5,400
Rate on foreign rentals at 3 per cent	3,000
Assessment on capital value of land at ½ per cent.	2,000
Wharfage dues	14,600
	25,000

Expenditure

	$
Police, pay	15,000
Police, expenses	5,600
Roads and jetties	4,200
Street lighting	200
	25,000

The internal difficulty was thus disposed of, but one of much greater importance remained to be dealt with The first successes of the Taipings and the disturbed state of the whole country had brought many refugees to Shanghai for shelter, which, under the conditions then existing, could only be found in the Recreation Ground and in the vacant land in the English Settlement. (In 1855, with a resident foreign population of 243, there were 243 lots, measuring 305 acres, registered at the British Consulate, and 65 lots, measuring 76 acres, registered at the American Consulate.)

The refugees were so numerous as to tax severely the primiti administration and the weak budget of the small foreign con munity; they crowded in and squatted on the vacant land, buil whole streets of wooden shanties and mat shacks, and created a mass of vice and filth which could not be kept in restraint.

The presence of the Chinese within the area reserved for foreign trade and residence was regulated by an agreement between the taotai and the three Treaty Power consuls, made on February 24, 1855, one week after the Triads had evacuated the city, of which the preamble was as follows:

> Whereas no Chinese subject can acquire land, or rent or erect buildings, within the foreign settlement, without having first obtained an authority under official seal from the local authority, sanctioned by the consuls of the three Treaty Powers, it has been decided that the following course shall be observed by any Chinese desiring to rent ground or houses within the said limits

The Chinese subject was to apply to his landlord's consul, and was to provide guarantees which have long since ceased to be required.

For police measures enforcing sanitation on the mass of filth and imposing some restraint on the mass of vice among the 50,000 refugees injected into the body of 243 residents I cannot do better than quote from the *International Relations of the Chinese Empire* (vol 1, p 463):

> Crime was rampant, and, if the settlements were to remain a secure place of residence and trade for foreigners, it was imperative that steps should be taken to repress it The Chinese authorities were disorganised and helpless, and, had they possessed the machinery and the power, it would have been a dangerous experiment to admit them to the exercise of full administrative functions within the limits given up to the foreign residents, especially at a time when the disturbed condition of the country reduced, or even annihilated, the customary emoluments of the officials generally The system of mixed courts had not yet been devised, and the administration of justice was assumed by the British and American consuls, each dealing with cases of Chinese accused of offences with which their nationals were concerned, and the two dividing the cases of police regulation which concerned the community as a whole The Chinese cases so dealt with were fairly numerous, thus the monthly police report for October 1855 records 24 cases, and that for December of the same year 42 cases, all judged by either the British or the American consul. The penalties inflicted were fines of a moderate amount or imprisonment for a few days, criminals requiring severer punishment were sentenced to be handed over to their own authorities The right of jurisdiction of the lord of the soil over his subjects living in the foreign settlements, which had been declared neutral, was perforce temporarily in abeyance.

The community had the task of imposing Occidental ideas of sanitation on Orientals whose kitchen middens were likely to be at their front door, and that in a town in which then, and for

[mor]e than fifty years later, the sole method of scavenging was by [co]olies carrying in tubs through the streets every household's [ni]ghtly accumulation of fæcal matter; and they had to deal with [a]n enormous amount of vice and crime, and of destitution which [c]ould only partially be relieved by the open-handed generosity of *the foreigners. The opinion of these foreigners at this time on the proper course to be followed may be gauged by the following extract from their weekly newspaper, the North China Herald (April 12, 1856):*

> We are anxious to call the attention of our local authorities to the state of the settlement. . . The neighbourhood of the Church Missionary school and the old Park literally swarm with brothels, gambling houses, opium dens, and houses for the reception of stolen goods, . . and the very scum of the Shanghai population is now to be found within the limits of the foreign settlement . . We strongly object to the settlement being, in time of peace, allowed to lapse into a sanctuary for the protection of thieves and vagabonds . . . We doubt not the Mayor of Shanghai would be very glad to be permanently relieved of such a thankless part of his duty, but we trust the foreign consuls will insist upon his looking after his own *mauvais sujets* and bearing his own burdens

In China no public duty is ever assumed unless the locality also supplies the revenues to support the duty, and the foreigners found that, if they desired that the Chinese authorities should control their own people in the settlements, it would be necessary to admit the Chinese tax collectors This they refused to do; and as they found it more and more profitable to capitalise the advantages of foreign protection, they began at once to claim for their settlement complete exemption of all within their borders, whether foreign or Chinese, from Chinese control and taxation and from the extortion and oppression which were their ordinary concomitants. Their conviction became so strong that in 1862 the British merchants proposed that Shanghai should become a free city under the protection of the three Treaty Powers conjointly, independent of Chinese sovereignty They were promptly called to order by the British Minister at Peking (his French and American colleagues concurring), who wrote to the consul (September 8, 1862) as follows:

> It is my duty to remind you that the Chinese Government has never formally abandoned its rights over its own subjects, nor has Her Majesty's Government ever claimed or expressed any desire to exercise a protectorate over them . I do not understand what interest Her Majesty's Government has in lending itself to a system which is unjustifiable in principle, which would be attended with endless embarrassment and responsibility, and which the Chinese Government would never submit to willingly Great Britain has no interest except in providing a secure place for British trading establishments, and whatever inconveniences may arise from the

conversion of the settlement into a Chinese town, I do not think that Her Majesty's Government will be induced to seek a remedy for them by extending its jurisdiction over a large section of the Chinese population. Because we protect Shanghai from falling a prey to a horde of brigands, it does not follow that we are prepared to interfere with the natural relation of the Chinese to their own Government.

These were strong words, coming from the representative of the British Government at a time when the telegraph did not extend to any point east of European lands, and a reply from London could not take less than three or four months by the monthly mail; and two years later the American Minister was even more emphatic in writing to the State Department:

> There is a constant tendency on the part of foreigners, in making their municipal arrangements, to aggress upon the rights of the Chinese, and it is necessary constantly to recall them to the safe ground of principle

At the moment, however, there were 1,500,000 Chinese packed within the limits of the foreign settlements at Shanghai, a number which tended to increase up to the end of the crisis in 1864; and it was clearer to the handful of English and American merchants in Shanghai than it was to their envoys in the seclusion of their legations in Peking that the admission of the Chinese tax collector and the extortion which he constantly practised was incompatible with the maintenance of their own security and of the amenities of life in their 'reserved area' Moreover, the diminution in the amenities was mitigated by the rich harvest of rent which flowed into foreign hands from the necessities of the Chinese refugees.

In 1865, a year after the suppression of the Taiping rebellion, the number of Chinese resident in the foreign settlements had fallen from nearly 2,000,000 to a bare 135,000, and their natural authorities were ready to resume jurisdiction over them They also proposed to enter into the field from which they had been excluded for twelve years, and to tax Chinese subjects resident in the reserved area as they did those living outside To this the foreign merchants, citizens of a frustrated republic, offered a sturdy resistance, pointing out that in those twelve years the Chinese authorities had shown their inability to protect foreigners in the treaty ports or on the coast, and had forced the foreigners to protect themselves and give shelter to millions of Chinese The Chinese contention was, in the main, upheld by the foreign Ministers at Peking, but the logic of facts spoke louder than the theories of principle, and the Chinese administrator and tax collector remained excluded from the foreign area of Shanghai; but the rent-paying tenant was retained

In the sixty and more years which have elapsed since 1865 the number of Chinese resident within the foreign municipal limits,

whether international or French, has increased from 135,000 in 1865 to 345,000 in 1900, to 690,000 in 1910, and to 1,100,000 at the present day—a growth rapid enough in the first half of the period, but accelerated in the new century, and still more accelerated since the establishment of the republic. Two main causes contributed to this increase: the first comes naturally from the development of a great and wealthy mart; the second comes from the order and cleanliness maintained under the foreign administration, the freedom from noxious sounds, sights and smells, the protection from molestation in times of political commotion, and, above all else, the exemption under the foreign egis from the extortion and oppression of their natural and native authorities. This last cause it is which has brought to the foreign settlement many wealthy Chinese seeking to escape their political enemies; some of these refugees are among the loudest in their protestations against the unequal treaties and the loss of sovereign rights, but under their breath they are praying that their audible prayers may not be granted—for much of their capital is lodged for security in the foreign banks of the settlement or is invested in land and houses within the settlement, held in the name of a foreign friend and registered in the foreigner's consulate. None the less, the genuine foreign interest in real estate which has been created at Shanghai in the eighty-five years since 1843 must be measured by hundreds of millions of pounds sterling; and this value will be very materially reduced if the Chinese tax collector is allowed a free run among the Chinese in the settlement.

Sir Rutherford Alcock, probably the wisest among the British Ministers to Peking, wrote in 1869 to the British merchants at Shanghai who were appealing for an extension of the privileges which had been secured by the 'unequal treaties':

> Pressure, indeed, there must always be here if anything is to be achieved for the advancement of foreign interests and commerce. In one way or other, however we may disguise it, our position in China has been created by force—naked, physical force, and any intelligent policy to improve or maintain that position must still look to force in some form, latent or expressed, for the results.

Asia is now in revolt against European domination, and this revolt is manifested in China in a more pronounced way than elsewhere. The Governments of the East and of the West will have to consider their future policy with great care, and when they have decided, severally or collectively, how much of their present position they will maintain—at Hankow, at Tientsin, at Dairen, at Shanghai, at Hongkong—they must base their decision on a realisation of the fact that they 'must still look to force in some form, latent or expressed, for the results.'

H. B. MORSE.

E 2

THE OCCUPATION OF THE RHINELAND: A PERSONAL SURVEY

THERE are probably many people in this country who are unaware of the fact that there is still present in the Rhine Province of Germany a French army of some 50,000 men supported by smaller British and Belgian contingents This force, nearly ten years after the Armistice, is still present on German soil in execution of the terms of the Peace Treaty. The heroic days of the occupation are now over, and the various contingents have settled down to their exile in the Rhineland, where they live as more or less independent communities I was British liaison officer with the French Army of the Rhine from January 1923 to January 1928, and thus had an excellent opportunity of seeing the French point of view They take themselves very seriously, as befits such logical folk, and like to think of themselves as 'La Garde sur le Rhin,' which is in effect what they are. Whatever other functions the occupation may perform under the Peace Treaty, so long as a force of this size is present on the Rhine it must fulfil the *rôle* in the national defence scheme of the covering force behind which the armies of France would mobilise in the event of war The French outlook as regards their eastern frontier is rather similar to that of the old Punjab Frontier Force towards the North-West Frontier of India, or perhaps that of their predecessors the Roman Legions guarding the same frontier, and occupying in many cases the same posts against a possible invasion of the German tribes I would like to take this opportunity of paying my tribute to the French army . the soldier is not responsible for policy—his duty is merely to carry it out ; and any criticism that may be implied here refers to the policy, and not to its instruments There is no more loyal and single-minded servant of his Government than the French officer, but he is none the less a loyal friend ; I always found myself treated with the same degree of courtesy and friendliness at those times when French and British policy were most divergent as later when happily Britain and France ' met again the other side of the wood.' The Belgian Army of Occupation has its headquarters at Aix-la-Chapelle, the old capital of Charlemagne

The Belgians have been remarkably successful in applying the principle of an 'invisible occupation' in their area; I once found difficulty in discovering a taxi-driver in the town who knew the way to Belgian headquarters. Life in the British Army of the Rhine is very similar to that in an Indian station. The Briton in exile is much the same all the world over; a golf course, polo, cricket and football grounds have sprung up, and fishing and shooting of a kind are to be had. If the occupation ever found its Kipling he would find Mrs. Hawksbee, 'that most immoral man' General Bangs, and all the old characters ready to his hand.

But the occupation has had its heroic days. When the Allied troops first entered the Rhineland after the Armistice the shadow of the revolution still lay over Germany. The officers of the retreating German army had had the badges of rank torn off their shoulders in the streets of Cologne. When the British troops marched in, workmen's and soldiers' councils were in power in a number of localities; the British authorities refused to deal with them, and the former burgermeisters emerged from their temporary retirement, much to the relief of the majority of people, for the German is essentially a lover of law and order. In those spacious days the French had hopes that the Rhineland would be handed over to them by the Peace Treaty The Prussian has never been popular in the Rhineland, and there is a considerable French tradition in this part of Germany. The Département de Mont Tonnerre was French from the outset of the French revolutionary wars until 1814, and included the present Bavarian palatinate and a considerable extent of country to the north of it, with Mayence as its principal town. The Rhinelanders, like most frontier peoples, are of very mixed blood; previous wars had generally involved the cession of provinces to the victor, and at this time they appear to have been quite disposed to make the best of what fate had in store for them without worrying too much about the application to their case of President Wilson's Fourteen Points. But however individuals in the Rhineland may have felt at this time, their attitude was to change considerably when they had recovered from their war weariness, and, apart from local feeling, Berlin would have felt as strongly about the loss of the Rhineland as ever Paris did about Alsace-Lorraine, and with at least as much reason.

After the signing of the Peace Treaty the Inter-Allied Rhineland High Commission made its appearance as the supreme Allied authority in the Rhineland, the military authority which had previously been supreme being now relegated to second place. It is an interesting reflection that this differed from the practice of the Allies after 1815, when the military authority remained supreme in occupied French territory. This arrange-

ment worked very well with Wellington in supreme command; to what extent it would have been an improvement in this instance is a matter of opinion. In the country districts the change was at first more apparent than real, as the personnel actually responsible for the local dealings with the German authorities remained the same in most instances. The former military governors and their staffs merely became civil servants, and ceased to be soldiers. But they now owed allegiance to a new chief in the person of their own High Commissioner at Coblence, the administrative capital of the Rhineland, where the new Allied civil authority took up its seat. There were three High Commissioners, the senior French, British and Belgian representatives, the French High Commissioner being automatically the president. There was also an American representative on the High Commission styled an 'observer,' in view of the fact that, although there was an American Army of Occupation, that country had not ratified the Peace Treaty. The High Commission derived its authority from the Rhineland Agreement, an annexe to the Peace Treaty under which it was empowered to issue ordinances having the force of law in the occupied territory; but its competence was restricted to matters in which the safety and maintenance of the armies of occupation were involved, a somewhat elastic formula in practice In the absence of any very decided British policy there was an inevitable tendency to side with one or other of the two principal protagonists, according to the individual outlook of the person concerned In general the army regarded the High Commission as pro-German, which was perfectly natural; indeed, the French army thought the same of their own High Commission representatives But there was never any fundamental difference between the views of the British civil and military representatives, and such minor differences as there were really helped towards a more balanced judgment

The Germans had by now got over any ideas they once had about being handed over to France, and no longer responded to advances on the part of the French Now that the people had got over their war weariness it was seen that the war, the revolution, and all that had been endured in common had gone a long way towards promoting the sentiment of German unity. From the date of the signing of the Peace Treaty until the Franco-Belgian occupation of the Ruhr in 1923 feeling was running high between the French and the Germans. The Allies had been taught to believe that Germany was going to pay vast sums to relieve them of the financial burden left by the war. But these sums did not materialise, and the result was that there were constant threats of sanctions and much talk of German bad faith

The first sanction of any importance was the occupation of Frankfurt and Darmstadt by the French, supported by a small Belgian contingent, which took place in the spring of 1920. This was carried out by way of protest against the action of the German Government in reinforcing the German troops in the Ruhr at this time. The Ruhr is situated in the zone demilitarised under the Armistice and later under the Peace Treaty; but the Germans had good reason for reinforcing the troops they had been permitted to retain there temporarily under the Armistice, in that a considerable Communist revolt had broken out in this area. The upshot of the matter was that the German reinforcements enabled them to put down the revolt, but that the French occupied Frankfurt and Darmstadt as a reprisal. The British Government was opposed to this measure, and it was owing to strong British representations that these towns were evacuated by the French in May, the Germans meanwhile having withdrawn their troops from the Ruhr, where their presence was no longer required The next event of the kind was the occupation of the towns of Dusseldorf, Ruhrort, and Duisburg as a sanction for German default in reparations payments in May 1921. On this occasion the French and Belgians were supported by a small British contingent

When the occupation of the Ruhr came on January 11, 1923, it was something of a surprise that the momentous step which had been threatened for so long had at last been taken. This time the British did not participate, the British Government being directly opposed to the measure, the French were thus only supported by the Belgians M. Poincaré now claims that the occupation of the Ruhr was inevitable, which in a sense it was, in view of the complete *impasse* which had been reached in Allied relations with Germany. But public opinion in Allied countries had been led to expect too much from the beaten enemy, a fact which was subsequently recognised in the Dawes Plan. Had a French statesman possessed the power and authority necessary to convince his own people of this fact earlier, the bitterness that was to be engendered by this struggle might have been avoided As it was, the course adopted was to allow things to come to such a pass that it was obvious to all that a way out must be found, which appears on the face of it a somewhat expensive method. Dusseldorf was the jumping-off point, and there the two infantry divisions and the cavalry division destined to carry out the first step—the occupation of the Ruhr up to and including Essen—were concentrated All the train movements connected with the concentration were carried out by the German railways without demur, and practically the whole of the trains were obliged to cross the British zone, Cologne being

a main junction on the line of communications between Dusseldorf and the west. On January 11 the first bound was carried out, the cavalry division moving by road and taking up positions east of Essen, covering the detrainment of the infantry, who were moved by rail. There was no resistance of any kind, but, like the Russian Government when Napoleon reached Moscow, the Kohlensyndikat, on whose co-operation the French had counted to assist in the exploitation of the *gage productif* of the Ruhr, had moved with all their records. The M.I C.U.M. (Mission Interalliée de Controle des Usines et des Mines), the body of French and Belgian civil engineers which had accompanied the troops to 'get the goods' in the shape of coal deliveries, thus found themselves somewhat *en l'air*. However, the German railways continued to function and to carry out the work required of them by the French staff, and on January 15, the newly occupied position round Essen having been 'consolidated,' the French proceeded to the second part of their programme, the occupation of the Ruhr up to and including Dortmund. This operation was carried out in a similar manner, and involved the move of three more infantry divisions by rail across the British zone.

The French never anticipated any serious resistance to the occupation of the Ruhr on the part of the Germans, and certainly the attitude of the German railway officials in occupied territory at this time did not lead one to suppose that within a few days they would one and all be out on strike.

A few days after the occupation of Essen passive resistance broke out. It is difficult to imagine what this implies without having seen it. The Germans one and all affected to take no notice of the French, who were thus left to find their own way about and to shift for themselves in one of the most complicated and highly industrialised regions in the world The French always plume themselves on being '*débrouillard*,' having the faculty for improvisation and what we imagine to be that typically British virtue of 'muddling through' They certainly exhibited this quality in the Ruhr, and from this point of view General Degoutte and the troops under his command had every reason to be proud of their performance Within a comparatively short space of time they were running some sort of service on the railways, which they now took over and exploited without the assistance of the Germans. The military railway formations were quickly reinforced by specially mobilised civilian railwaymen from France, and the running of the railways was handed over to a civil body called the 'régie,' which was now called into being for this purpose.

The conduct of the French troops was good in the most

trying circumstances, but there were inevitably a certain number of clashes with the population, which got more numerous as the struggle continued and tempers grew shorter on both sides. The penal ordinances and repressive measures also grew more severe. One of the commonest penalties for infractions against the ordinances was expulsion from the occupied territory: from first to last not less than a quarter of a million Germans—men, women, and children—were deported from their homes during the conflict. This measure tended to deprive the population of their natural leaders, as it was obviously those classes who were most active in promoting and supporting the resistance who were most affected by the weight of the French repressive measures. The German Government did all in their power to keep the resistance going, chiefly by financing the strikers by a lavish use of the printing press. But the French stranglehold—or the German passive resistance, according to which way you look at it—gradually killed the economic life of the Ruhr and the Rhineland, until finally the only concerns that were working were those which were being exploited directly by the French, and here the labour employed had for the most part to be imported from France and Poland. The French established a system of control and customs posts, completely encircling the British zone and cutting it off from the remainder of occupied territory as well as from unoccupied Germany. This measure was essential to the working of their scheme, but it was a constant source of annoyance to the British. The troops on duty in these posts were mostly North African natives who could understand no known tongue. A story was related of one dusky warrior who only understood one word of any European language—Napoléon. All that was required to pass his post was to say the magic word; without this 'open sésame' no passes were of any avail. The summary method of another coloured sentry, who hurled his rifle with the bayonet fixed and succeeded in puncturing a back tyre of a car that did not pull up fast enough, made one feel chary of attempting to take any liberties with these posts.

During the first ten months of 1923 the mark went from a few thousands to the pound sterling to no less than forty billion. It was an unforgettable sensation for the ordinary mortal to write cheques with twelve noughts after the figure. The Dutch, who have the reputation in this part of the world enjoyed by the Greeks in Asia Minor, were not slow to appreciate the possibilities of the situation, and Cologne was early invaded by fleets of cars bearing Dutch registration numbers, whose owners proceeded to buy up the entire stocks of the shops in the town, until a restriction was placed on the amount of any commodity that could be

sold to any one customer in the day. The shopkeepers accommodated themselves to the fluctuation of the currency and all goods were marked with an index figure, which had to be multiplied by the 'multiplicator' of the day to obtain the price. The 'multiplicator' closely followed the dollar exchange, and often changed several times during the day. Wages, of course, lagged far behind prices, and there was considerable distress among the working population.

At the commencement of the Ruhr occupation the Americans withdrew their army to America *via* Bremen. In the light of events it seems fortunate that the British did not follow their example. The position of the British Army in Cologne was throughout this period very difficult and delicate, but its continued presence was more than justified by the steadying influence that it exerted on both sides in the struggle. Cologne is a city of some 750,000 inhabitants, a junction of communications of the first importance, and, although not the administrative capital of the Rhineland, it is by far the greatest centre of influence in this part of the world. From the French point of view the presence in Cologne of the British not only involved serious difficulties in connexion with their line of communications with France, but also meant the existence of a neutral enclave where the writ of their penal ordinances did not run, and which was liable to use by the Germans as a centre for organising passive resistance. As regards the first difficulty, the British made concessions to the French in the shape of inducing the German railway authorities in the Cologne zone to work a certain amount of French traffic across the zone, and later a strip of territory was handed over which ultimately put them in possession of a double line of railway between Dusseldorf and the French frontier independent of Cologne. As regards the use of Cologne as a centre for organising resistance in the remainder of occupied territory, it was not in the interests of the German Government to compromise our neutrality, as this would probably have involved the withdrawal of the British Army. The position was not always dignified, but the British representatives contrived to retain the confidence of both parties, and when the struggle was over they supplied the stable element on which better relations could once more be built up. The value of the work performed by the British Army and the British representatives on the High Commission at this time cannot be over-emphasised. Passive resistance never spread to the Cologne zone, but the effect of the stoppage of work in the Ruhr and the remainder of occupied territory gradually made itself felt. Raw materials were soon exhausted and stocks of finished goods could not be removed, and in the end industrial concerns in the British zone were obliged to

te in the agreements concluded in November 1923 n the French and the German industrialists.

of the greatest dangers to the future peace of the world e separatist movement which broke out in October of this n the north of occupied territory and gradually spread wards to the Bavarian palatinate. This movement was a revolt against the authority of the Reich, although its l objects were always somewhat vague, varying from the ration of the Rhineland from Prussia and its retention in Reich to an attempt to form a series of independent buffer tes along the Rhine definitely under Franco-Belgian influence. ere was never any doubt that the French were in sympathy th this movement, although Paris did not openly avow its tentions. Had the High Commission ordinance forbidding the rrying of arms in occupied territory been enforced elsewhere as was in Cologne, it could not have lasted a day The movement *ad also to thank the wholesale expulsions for what success it enjoyed. It was soon evident in the more populous districts that separatism found no support amongst the law-abiding sections of the population. In the remoter parts of the Bavarian Palatinate it lasted somewhat longer than elsewhere* Matters were finally brought to a head by the attempt on the part of the French section of the High Commission early in 1924 to have the decrees of the so-called Separatist Government in the Palatinate recognised as valid This led to a strong protest on the part of he British Government and the despatch of Consul-General Clive from Munich to investigate the situation on the spot. The movement finally died about a month later From first to ast separatism found no support amongst the population. Its eaders were men of little or no importance or influence, and the ank and file were the sweepings of the gaols. Chaos ensued wherever they seized power, and in most cases the French themselves were obliged sooner or later to disarm them owing to the ndiscriminate use they made of their weapons. The real danger was that the German Government, under the pressure of circumstances, might have abandoned the Rhineland at this time and devoted its energies to preparing for a subsequent war of revenge. That this did not occur was in great measure due to the continued presence in Cologne of the British.

The year 1924 was happier than its predecessor for the occupied territory, and also marked a turning point in Franco-German relations. It opened with a stabilised mark, and closed with the Dawes Scheme and the evacuation of the Ruhr and the 921 sanctions towns. The Allies accepted the principle of an invisible occupation,' and the numbers of French troops in the Rhineland were much reduced. The campaign in Morocco

which was then in progress was also the cause of the withdra' of practically the whole of the French coloured troops, an allev tion much appreciated by the inhabitants. The powers of occupation authorities were reduced by the Dawes Schei which rationed the expenditure of the Allied armies in the Rhi land and set up mixed tribunals for the settlement of dispu points in such matters as rents of buildings, damages caused troops on manœuvres, and so forth. An amnesty was a arranged between the French and Germans, by which the forr agreed to allow to return to their homes all those who had b deported during the struggle and released those undergo sentences of imprisonment for offences against the ordinan at this time, while the Germans undertook not to prosecute former separatists and those German subjects who had assis the French. The Rhinelander is a bad hater, and the events 1923 had less permanent effect than might have been expect Locarno and the entry of Germany into the League also materia assisted in allaying the bitterness of the struggle The n occurrence of major interest for the British Army of the Rh was the evacuation of the northern zone and the move fr Cologne to Wiesbaden This was carried out in some ha at Christmas 1925 to fulfil the promise of the Allied Governme that the northern zone should be completely evacuated before t end of January 1926 The move of a division in war-time i comparatively simple operation, but in this instance it v complicated by the presence of families who were all entitled billeting accommodation, in the requisitioning of which due c had to be taken to consider the cost and the welfare of t inhabitants The French did all in their power to facilitate t hand-over, but there were many difficulties to be overcome getting the work done in the short time available. One difficu lay in the great difference in the administrative methods of t three nationalities concerned German methods are amazin thorough, necessitating much expenditure of time and pap French methods are far more summary, and somewhere betw the two lies the British practice However, the move w ultimately carried out up to time, and the British Army settl down in its new quarters

The outlook of the Rhinelander is curiously parochi German unity has been a plant of slow growth, and this perh accounts for the fact that the occupation arouses more resentm in Berlin than it does in the Rhineland, it being only natu that national feeling should be stronger in the capital of the R than in the provinces The local patriotism of the Rhineland is centred in his love for the great river that runs through l native province. A French officer, a British officer, and a Germ

fficial of Rhineland origin were once sitting on a mixed com-
nission engaged in assessing claims in a small village on the
anks of the Rhine. When they adjourned for lunch the French-
nan went off to the *cercle* of the local French garrison, leaving
he German official and the British officer to have their lunch at
he *gasthaus* overlooking the river. After lunch the German sat
ilent for some time watching the boats passing on the river below.
suddenly he said: 'Tell me, there is one thing I have never
nderstood. In England you have no river like the Rhine, so
vhere do you go when you want to enjoy yourselves?' The
Rhinelander is a pleasant soul who takes life as it comes. The
ccupation does not now materially affect his daily life, and he
egards it with an equanimity born of generations of experience
f foreign occupations. In Berlin it is otherwise, and there the
ontinued presence of foreign troops on German soil is regarded
s an affront to the national pride, and the evacuation of the
Rhineland has become one of the cardinal points of German
oreign policy. Such incidents as inevitably occur from time to
ime between the troops and the inhabitants are seized on by
Berlin as material for diplomatic notes designed to support the
campaign for evacuation. Herein lies one of the principal
dangers of the occupation, in that the irresponsible conduct of a
single individual is apt to result in acrimonious exchanges of
notes between Paris and Berlin capable of affecting for the worse
he relations of the two countries.

To sum up the present situation. Evacuation is now one of
he cardinal points of German foreign policy. Her position as a
nember of the League of Nations has given her an additional
ever which she has already used to some purpose. Two separate
appeals for an alleviation in the last two years have led to reduc-
ions of some 20,000 men in the numbers of the foreign troops in
he Rhineland These reductions have been carried out pro-
portionately in the French, British and Belgian contingents, but
he French forces have now been reduced below 50,000 men,
and it is doubtful if the French could agree to a further reduction
without entirely altering the character and *rôle* of the Army of
the Rhine Any further reduction would make this force of
little or no value as a guarantee of security, and it would then
only remain a guarantee for the payment of reparations. But it
would appear that the Dawes Scheme itself is a sufficient guarantee
against wilful German default in the payment of the annuities
Further, the ex-Allies are not now the only creditors of Germany.
Since the Dawes Scheme large amounts of American capital
have been invested in that country in the form of loans in dollars.
The Dawes annuities are payable in marks, and the agent-general
has a prior claim in the matter of buying dollars to effect the

transfer of the annuities. The effect on the Government of t[he] United States which would result from a use of this prior clai[m] to the detriment of the private American investor can easily b[e] imagined All the European countries to whom Germany owes money under the Dawes Scheme are also debtors to America for money borrowed during the war. The present year will be the first occasion when Germany will be called upon to pay the full annuity of 125,000,000*l.* into Mr. Parker Gilbert's account. It seems quite possible that the transfer of a sum of this size into foreign currency might be a matter of some difficulty taken in conjunction with the payment in dollars of the interest on Germany's dollar loans, and might ultimately lead to the use by the agent-general of his prior claim on the dollar exchange. It would seem that the inevitable result of such a situation would be a general conference on debts and reparations, and, as the occupation of the Rhineland is officially a guarantee of reparations, this question would also be involved. Now the French are a severely practical people; the Coblence bridgehead is due to be evacuated under the Peace Treaty in 1930, and the final evacuation is due to take place in 1935. It is doubtful if even the most ardent French soldier now believes in the probability of war with Germany before the latter date, which effectually disposes of the 'security' plea as a reason for the continuation of the occupation. It can thus only be regarded as an asset of diminishing value from the French point of view This leads one to the thought that they might not be averse from disposing of it should a suitable occasion offer I think one can safely conclude that, unless something unforeseen occurs to complicate the situation, the Rhineland will be evacuated before 1935.

B. T. Reynolds

LITHUANIA: THE ENIGMA

The Lithuanian well deserves to hold his own, not only on account of his distinctive individuality, but on account of the purity of his language, which should be encouraged by us in school and seminary as an excellent means of developing critical taste and refinement . . . Apart from the advantages the State can reap from a people so endowed as are the Lithuanians, not the least benefit we can derive from the study of a tongue remarkable for its freedom from admixture of foreign elements and spoken by one of the most ancient of races, now isolated and reduced to the very slightest of ethnic areas, is the contribution it offers to our knowledge of the history of folk migrations —IMMANUEL KANT, writing of the Prussian Lithuanian in 1800.

THE Lithuanians have only recently emerged from a long-enforced seclusion. The problem of their actual origin is as fascinating a subject of speculation for the philologist as for the historian. One would like to know more of the mystery race which at the start of the fifteenth century formed an empire stretching wide from the Baltic to the Black Sea, and about the tongue of which Professor A Meillet has said : 'Whosoever would yet catch on the lips of man an echo of what the original Aryan speech was like must listen to the Lithuanian peasant of to-day'

For many centuries it was the accepted opinion in Western Europe that the Lithuanians were just as Slav in origin as the Russians and the Poles, the same opinion being entertained about the Letts and even the Estonians. The union of Lithuania with Poland and her later subjection to Russia helped to foster this error, an error stoutly refuted, among others, by the Russian Professor Maximov, who has pointed out that there is really nothing in common between the Lithuanian and the Russian and Polish languages beyond certain words denominating vegetables, plants, tools and implements for agricultural purposes, which merely prove a common development in this connexion during later periods of history. Philologists now recognise that the Lithuanians, together with the Letts and Old Prussians or Borussians, long formed a compact family known as the Aëstians or Balts, which for many centuries preserved a distinctive uniformity in language, customs and traditions. It was a non-Slavonic group of the Aryan stock.

It is impossible to speak with certainty about the ea settlements of this race. One of these has been very plau traced back to the shores of the Caspian Sea, whence the is supposed to have migrated westward and to have been a ciated with Greek tribes for a considerable period. The tri later to be known as the Æolians, Dorians, Ionians, Thracia Spartans, etc, subsequently made for the south, the Aestia diverging to the north and settling down eventually along t shores of the Baltic Sea, where they dwelt almost complete cut off by vast swamps and forests from the main routes migration between Europe and Asia

Thanks to their isolation, the Lithuanians more particularly succeeded in preserving almost intact the treasure of thei language, whose close affinities with Greek and Latin argue con vincingly against the Slavonic origin ascribed to the Lithuania people. The American philologist Benjamin Dwight has written

> It [Lithuanian] is the most antique in its forms of all living languages of the world, and most akin in its substance and spirit to the primeval Sanscrit It is also at the same time so much like the Latin and the Greek as to occupy to the ear of the etymologist, in a multitude of words not otherwise understood, the place of an interpreter with its face fixed on the Latin and its hand pointing backwards to the Sanscrit.

Professor Meillet, viewing the matter from another angle, shrewdly observes that the greater part of the linguistic heritage of the Lithuanian has been absorbed by other languages : Borussian or Old Prussian, which in the early part of the sixteenth century was still freely spoken in East Prussia, has yielded to German, 'so much so indeed that this province whose speech was very different three centuries ago could not be more German than it is now. East and south the Slav has encroached on the Baltic patrimony.' And not the Slav alone, the true Balt of to-day might well add

All the characteristic traits of the primitive Aryan, according to Viscontas, a Lithuanian writer, may be clearly defined to-day in the mentality of the Lithuanian : great patience, endurance perseverance, a love of introspection and contemplation, philosophic indifference to mere outward manifestations. Another Lithuanian writer, Vidunas, has noted these characteristics with greater precision One soon observes, he says, with what delicacy of feeling the Lithuanian is prompted in word and act He can never attain the grossness of the German in the same social scale. Here his language fails him On the other hand, he can express the most delicate sentiments in endless ways. He has a remarkably large stock of terms of endearment. He is a lover of Nature. Masterfulness is still a strong characteristic of the

...ian, despite centuries of political subjection. In solitude ...ains his self-control. He is never effusive. His natural ... hardens before insolence. In conversation his style is ...nic, and until he has measured the worth of his opponent he ... not 'let himself go.' Very charming traits, taken as a whole, ... reader will say. But what about the reverse of the medal? ...s, the Lithuanian has his defects, and they are many, but they ... in any case no worse than those of other peoples similarly ...ppressed in the past. *That of drunkenness is frequently thrown ... against him by neighbours whose zeal for his material and ...oral welfare has never been their chief trait. But do such ...weeping condemnations denote types truly? Let Vidunas sum ...he account for us: the saying goes, bad men have no songs. ...Well, what after all can be said against a people that sings more ...than any other nation we know?*

A German historian has said it would need the lyre of a Homer and the pen of a Tacitus to render in our days something ...f the greatness that was Lithuania's in the past. Tacitus, ...ncidentally, has made some reference to the Lithuanians His ...Aestians, dwelling in the land of Amber, on the Baltic shores, ...were not to be known in Western Europe as Lithuanians until ...he eleventh century of the Christian era, when the name ...Lietuva' (meaning the land) first appeared in chronicles of that ...ime The Russian Chronicle of Nestor, the Kiev monk, fre...quently refers to the defeats of Russians by the Lithuanians about ...he same period Under their grand dukes the Lithuanians ...gradually formed a powerful State capable of successfully with...standing the pressure of the Russians and Tartars from the east, ...and that of the Germans, the Sword-Bearers and Teutonic ...Knights, from the north and west, in many a fiercely fought ...engagement. The civilisation of Western Europe certainly owes ... lasting debt of gratitude to the Lithuanian warriors of that ...epoch for their heroic efforts in stemming the advance of the ...Tartar hordes, which had already brought Russia under their ...ruthless sway

Lithuania was the last of all the States of Europe to abandon ...paganism and to accept Christianity. This process dates from ...the end of the fourteenth century, when the Lithuanian Grand ...Duke Jagellon, on marrying Hedwiga, Queen of Poland, thus ...effecting the so-called 'personal' union with that country in ...1386, embraced his consort's religion and ordered the destruction ... the heathen temples in Lithuania. His cousin Vytautas, ...however, soon became the strongest influence in the land, being ...the leader of the combined Lithuanian and Polish forces on the ...field of Grunewald, 1410, when the Teutonic Order suffered a ...crushing defeat. Under him towards the start of the fifteenth

century Lithuania attained the zenith of her power and prosperity, her dominion extending wide from the Baltic to the Black Sea. Not so very long before the marriage of Jagellon and Hedwiga the Grand Duke Gediminas, perhaps the greatest of the Lithuanian rulers, in refusing to become converted to Christianity while at the same time allowing his subjects full liberty in this respect, had declared: 'The Christians worship God in their own way, the Russian and the Pole each after his own fashion. We worship God in our own way. We have all one God. Why speak to me of the Christian God? Where indeed can you find more injustice, crimes, violence, corruption and usury than among the Christians, and more particularly among the Churchmen, the Bearers of the Cross?' (referring to the semi-monastic orders of the Cross and Sword-Bearers). Here it may not be without interest to recall that at this period whenever among the warring Christians—Russians, Poles, or Germans—the offices of a mediator were solicited to compose a quarrel, it was generally to the pagan Grand Duke of Lithuania that all eyes turned, confident that justice would be vindicated.

The Lithuanians of to-day point to 1569 as the blackest date of their history. To the political union (the Lublin Union) effected with Poland in that year Lithuanians attribute the rapid downfall of their political independence and their ultimate undoing when, at the end of the eighteenth century, Poland was partitioned between the three neighbouring empires, Russia, Germany, and Austria. Petras Rimša, the famous Lithuanian sculptor, recalled this event last year in two very remarkable bronze medals, which have aroused considerable interest among numismatists The obverse of one medal displays in the centre a coin bearing a Latin inscription and dated 1565. On that date prominent Lithuanian leaders, who would have nothing to do with the proposed closer union with Poland, got coins struck bearing the inscription: '*Qui Habitat in Coelis Irridebit Eos*' ('He who dwells in heaven will laugh them to scorn'). This has given Rimša a cue for a very sarcastic interpretation of that union. The obverse of the other medal represents with stark realism Poland pursuing Lithuania, depicted as a peasant, in marriage. Its reverse shows Poland later on devouring the Lithuanian brood From this time the intemperate political zeal of a great part of the Polish clergy was responsible for much of the unhappy misunderstanding still existing between Lithuanians and Poles, by reason of its incessant denunciations of the Lithuanian language as a pagan tongue, a barbarous dialect, unfitted for Christian prayer and civilised intercourse. Cultured Poles of to-day have, indeed, every reason to regret the unfortunate results of this early indiscretion on the part of their spiritual guides

Lithuania was now to enter a period of eclipse. This was to become almost total after the last partition of Poland in 1795, and only a very deeply rooted sentiment of national consciousness could have borne up against, and finally triumphed over, the unrelenting efforts of the new rulers to destroy every trace of race individuality in the Lithuanian mind and soul. In order to escape from the hated Russian yoke, thousands of Lithuanians annually emigrated from their native land to foreign parts. A marked preference was shown for the United States of America, where to-day something like a third of the Lithuanian race is settled. No distinction was then drawn by the authorities between Lithuanian and Pole. This was particularly galling to the Lithuanian, whose dislike for the Pole is a pronounced characteristic of a race otherwise remarkably free from national prejudice.

Russian administrative oppression, aiming at the destruction of Lithuanian national consciousness as reflected in the language, religion and habits of the people, continued until our own day. Only as recently as 1904 did the Russian Government rescind the infamous decree of 1863, which wholly banished the Lithuanian language from the schools and churches and forbade the publication of Lithuanian books and newspapers and the use of the language even in prayer. The Polish language was not affected by this decree The result was that from 1865, when Count Muraviev, popularly known as the 'Hangman,' who ruled Poland and Lithuania with a rod of iron, prohibited the use of the Latin alphabet in any Lithuanian writing whatsoever, Polish had every opportunity of displacing Lithuanian as the language of the people

The chief consequence of Muraviev's policy was a remarkable revival of interest abroad as well as at home in the Lithuanian language and people. Fortunately the Russian Government of the day had not reckoned with the deep and bitter resentment roused among a very considerable section of the Lithuanian race dwelling in East Prussia and the Memel district (generally known as Lithuania Minor) over this brutal policy. The less crude but more subtle, and therefore more effective, attempts at Germanification in the Memel district had not aimed at stamping out the Lithuanian language, which at that time could be spoken and printed under the German rule: it offered a distinct advantage as a useful weapon of offence for German diplomacy. The Russian prohibition of Lithuanian gave a tremendous impetus to the printing of Lithuanian literature and newspapers along the East Prussian frontier, and encouraged the smuggling of these across the border, where they were widely circulated and read under the very noses of the Russian gendarmerie.

Under the so-called Liberalism that prevailed in Russia f short time after the Japanese War the Lithuanians were at le in a position to give some expression to their national dema The Tsar decreed the liberty of the Press and of assembly. I great congress held at Vilna towards the end of 1905 the Lith nians formally demanded autonomy, religious freedom, establishment of Lithuanian schools, and the recognition of th tongue as the official language of Lithuania. Nothing, howev materialised. The Government paid no heed. Soon the Stoly *régime* was to restore reaction all over the Empire. The policy of repression was revived and intensified. Such in br outline was the situation on the outbreak of the Great War.

In the autumn of 1915 the Germans occupied Vilna, wh they remained until their military collapse in 1918. The disp between Poland and Lithuania over Vilna, a problem still unsolv calls for a few words of comment here Incidentally it m be mentioned that both before and after the war I was some extent an eye-witness of many of the events leading up the lamentable rupture of relations between the two countr During 1919-20 I served on the British Political Mission to t Baltic States, and thus had unusual opportunities of studying t facts now under review at close quarters, having been actuall Vilna soon after the Lithuanians took over the place from t Soviet troops in August 1920 In January 1919, the Bolshevi with whom the Lithuanians were then at war, had succeeded capturing the city, and the provisional Lithuanian Governme was compelled to flee to Kaunas Three months later t Lithuanians by arrangement with the Poles were on the point recapturing Vilna when it was suddenly seized by the Pol troops. By the Peace Treaty of July 1920 between Lithuan and Russia the latter recognised Lithuania's claim to Viln The Polish forces in occupation were soon expelled by the Bolsh viks, and by the end of August 1920 Vilna remained in so possession of the Lithuanians On October 9 Polish troops und General Zeligowski recaptured the town, thereby breaking th agreement signed at Suvalki in the presence of the Milita Control Commission of the League of Nations two days befor whereby the Poles recognised the Lithuanian occupation of Vil and the Vilna region Since then the Lithuanians have nev ceased to protest against the Polish occupation of their histor capital, and all the efforts of the League of Nations have failed t restore good relations between Lithuania and Poland O March 15, 1923, the Conference of Ambassadors decided to assig Vilna definitely to Poland Lithuania refused to accept th ruling, and diplomatic relations between her and Poland remai broken to this day The reader more particularly interested i

[th]e Vilna controversy will find a masterly analysis of the facts in [th]at excellent work published by MacMillan's, New York, in 1924: *[S]ecurity against War.*

The seizure of the Vilna region by the Poles was to deprive the new republic of almost two-fifths of its territory and of more *than one-half of its population.* Some compensation for this loss, however, came in 1923, when the Lithuanians, improving the Polish precept, seized the Memel (Klaipeda) territory—Lithuania Minor—and thus acquired an outlet on the Baltic Sea.

When we consider the heavy disabilities under which Lithuania has never ceased to labour since her declaration of independence in 1918, it is marvellous what has since been done to make good the ravages of the war and to increase the economic prosperity of the country Already the recovery in such vital concerns as agricultural production and live-stock inventory has reached the pre-war level, and in some instances has surpassed it. But the leaders of the people are under no illusions as to the gigantic task that remains to be accomplished before Lithuania can justly challenge comparison with countries of approximately the same area and population in Western Europe, such as Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, and Belgium There is, however, in the typical Lithuanian (as we are reminded by Mr. E J. Harrison, a well-known authority on the subject [1]) a quality of tenacity and steadfastness of purpose which augurs well for steady progress alike in the economic and cultural spheres, if only peace can be preserved in that part of the world. A certain political instability reflected in the conflict of parties and frequent changes of Government during recent years does not extend to the domain of foreign policy, wherein the principle of continuity has been fairly well preserved It is, for example, regarded as axiomatic that Lithuania must at all costs remain on friendly terms with her more powerful neighbours. In pursuance of this principle the Populist-Socialist Government in 1926 concluded a treaty of non-aggression with Soviet Russia, and although a military *coup d'état* on December 17 of that year turned that Government out of office and established in its stead a nationalist Administration, the latter has not ventured to revoke its predecessor's policy in this regard Indeed, it seeks to strengthen it further by means of commercial treaties with Germany, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland more particularly.

Lithuania is no longer the preserve it was gradually becoming under Russian rule of a few territorial magnates It is now essentially a land of small farmers. Within present boundaries the area is nearly 21,000 square miles, with a population of about

[1] *Lithuania, Past and Present*, by E J Harrison.

2,500,000, of whom 75 per cent. are Lithuanians, 10 per cent. Jews, 8 per cent. Poles and 7 per cent. Russians and other nationalities. The figures for religion show 85 per cent. Roman Catholics, 7·5 per cent. Jews, 4 per cent. Protestants and Calvinists and 2·5 per cent. Orthodox and Old Believers. 'Lithuania Irredenta,' the Vilna region, has an area of about 31,000 square miles and a population of nearly 2,300,000. The Memel territory comprises an area of 945 square miles, with a population of over 150,000, 90 per cent. of these being Protestants and 5 per cent. Roman Catholics. The present capital of Lithuania (Kaunas) has a population of 100,000, Memel (now called Klaipeda) of under 40,000, Šiauliai (Shavli) and Panevežys of about 20,000 each The urban population of the country forms only 10 per cent. of the total. The ancient capital (Vilna) has a population of about 220,000.

Under the agrarian reform in Lithuania the maximum area of land that may be possessed in fee simple by any single individual is 200 acres, although provision is made for the leasing of considerably more if the applicant can prove his ability to farm upon a larger scale The law, of course, has affected the big estates, owned for the most part by Polish or Polonised Lithuanian landlords. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that the principle of wholesale confiscation has been applied to such estates. On the contrary, the Government is prepared to grant compensation for those estates which were originally acquired through legitimate inheritance or purchase, and only those that were obtained through confiscations under the Tsarist rule are expropriated without payment. Before the war 50 per cent. of land constituting the territory of Lithuania belonged to the peasantry, 40 per cent belonged to landowners possessing more than 250 acres each, and 10 per cent was Church or State property.

The main objects of the land reform are to make provision for the landless and the owners of 'dwarf' holdings, to create favourable conditions for the development of agriculture, and to nationalise those resources which the State considers it can better preserve or utilise than private persons. The peasant land hunger was such after the war and the liberation of the country that it would have been fatal for any Government to have delayed satisfying it.

The loss of Vilna has placed the Lithuanian republic at a great disadvantage before her northern neighbours, Latvia and Estonia, as regards the possession of an appropriate capital, for although Kaunas is by no means a recent growth, under the Russians it was never more than a small garrison town and fortress, to the needs of which all other considerations, both æsthetic and utilitarian, were strictly subordinated. The Russians spent huge

ns in fortifying Kovno, but it took the Germans only two or ree days to capture the place. The natural situation of Kaunas a favoured one. The town stands on a strip of land between e Vilija river, which the Lithuanians term the Nerys, and the Niemen (Nemunas), the banks of which in this neighbourhood are ibout 200 feet high. It is situated in a hollow between hills which almost everywhere are well wooded and provide the nhabitants with many a pleasant haunt for excursions and picnics during the summer months. The current of the Niemen lows with tremendous swiftness, and not even the strongest swimmer can make headway against it. It is a dangerous river or any save the most experienced, and drowning fatalities are of requent occurrence during the bathing season. In the summer he floating timber rafts on the Niemen and the songs of the boatmen as they head their freight seawards make a perfect harmony of colour, tone, and motion. This is how that delicate and subtle word-artist, Vidunas, depicts some scenes of haunting beauty, which can be but feebly rendered here :

Nowhere else [he says] will you find that unison, at once so picturesque nd characteristic, of man and landscape All through the summer the ivers of Lithuania convey her sole wealth, the timber felled in her forests, o the sea Slowly, noiselessly, the rafts glide away and vanish, two men t the head, two at the rear Now and again they exchange a few words. . A straw-built cabin rises in the centre, where they may snatch repose, ach in turn as the others keep a sharp look-out, or all together when it appens that the raft is brought to a halt for the night. Sometimes, however, watch has to be kept far into the small hours. Then one of the oatmen will start a *daino*, an old folk-song, the others joining in a few otes later, each singing in part And as you listen you seem to hear Nature herself resounding in these well-attuned voices . . . The twilight reeps apace. The stars begin to shine. Snatches of song, now gay, now laintive, come floating by, sad strains mostly, so sad that you long to rip the poignant anguish brooding above the flood, the valley and the ills Whence ? Whither ? Why ? you ask in vain The sounds are lost n the night, and silence reigns supreme . . In the heavy morning mist ou can hardly distinguish the plain from the waters, the banks from the iver You hear the steady stroke of the oars, the answering calls of the oatmen, but not the *dainos* of overnight. The man of action, tireless in ffort, is up and doing. Yet nothing is to be seen. Suddenly a sombre mass looms into sight. The oars and voices sound nearer. You distinguish orms. From the grey mist raft and crew emerge. Last night's singers ome gliding by. What splendid-looking fellows, and how vigorously they andle their oars ! There is no sign of a softer mood among these giants ured to the hardest of tasks. One sharp call and yet another ! Almost mmediately the fleeting shadows disappear as blurred visions in a mist. stray word, a few strokes re-echo—and then all is once more enveloped n fog. Silence reigns supreme. . . . Some hours later the sun pierces hro' the mist From above you behold the river flashing amid the bright reen of the meadows. The raft is now far ahead. Another approaches.

And so the stream flows on, the boatmen come and go, the timber is to its destination But a few lines in the landscape have been altere man . . . A whole world lies before you.

In another context Vidunas, comparing the Lithuanian a German languages, points out that in German action predon nates. Lithuanian, on the other hand, is static—it sets ar relates. 'The German rhythm is jerky, almost breathless. Tl Lithuanian is smooth-flowing' Harmony is indeed the keyno of the Lithuanian character, of intuitions, dreams, and aspiration that none better than Vidunas himself among the Lithuania writers of to-day has translated into words.

An Oriental colour is given to Kaunas by the large Jewis element in the population Many of the Jews grow patriarch beards, oil and curl their *paiases*, or side whiskers, and wear th long gabardine. On all sides you come across a curious minglin of the old and the new The pioneer spirit, however, blends wit habits and customs that have not changed for thousands of year In Kaunas one is constantly rubbing shoulders with Russians—Great or Little, White or Red—Poles, Germans and representative of the many nations with which Lithuania maintains diplomati relations A little practice soon enables the stranger, as Mr Harrison points out, to distinguish the different nationalities even if language is not always a safe clue to the racial origin o the speakers The Jews and, of course, the far less numerou orthodox Russians adhere for the most part to Russian , the Poles would not be Poles if they were not equally faithful to thei native speech, although many of them understand Lithuania quite well. Reared in such a polyglot environment, the Lithua nians cannot help being excellent linguists Nearly all, save in the very youngest generation, can speak, besides Lithuanian Russian, Polish, and German, to which the Jews add Yiddish, and the educated classes very often speak French and English in addition

A place in Kaunas to which a visit can be strongly recommended is the Čiurlionis Gallery, which occupies a splendid site on the summit of the so-called Green Hill, commanding a superb view of the confluence of the rivers Niemen and Vilija and the surrounding country It contains a remarkable collection of the paintings of the Lithuanian artist Mykolas Čiurlionis, who before his death in 1914, at the age of thirty-nine, was very well known in Russian artistic circles

Music [says the Russian writer Chudovski] was the sesame that opened to him inviolate sanctuaries and the mystery of the universe He visualised the music of phenomena, making use of it to lift the veil of Isis He aspired to penetrate the secret of primitive forms He sought to interpret the soul of the universe on canvas

Elsewhere Chudovski says :

Now that Čiurlionis is dead, the makers of Lithuania's spiritual renascence represent him as a national artist. On this we can express no judgment. But one cannot help thinking that in his extraordinary independence of all contemporary art he was really inspired by secret unrevealed forces of his own people For us it is delightful to believe that his singular genius was no mere caprice of chance, but that he is the precursor of a sublime Lithuanian art now in the making When I think of Čiurlionis one idea dominates my mind Our Middle Ages have passed by the Lithuanian people and left them unscathed The Lithuanians, however, up to the twentieth century have preserved intact, and much better than we Russians, the gigantic energies of mystic life they have inherited from the Aryans, and that our Western neighbours have expended so lavishly in their own Middle Ages

Čiurlionis's transcendentalism does not naturally appeal to the many. So far his mystic paintings have not been widely reproduced.

Music and poetry have at all times made a powerful appeal to the Lithuanians In their folk-songs and poems—the *dainos*—is to be found 'the richest efflorescence of Lithuania's lyric genius,' the more remarkable of these drawing their inspiration from family life, that solid basis of national existence whose vigour and vitality derive chiefly from the high standard of moral purity maintained at home The *dainos* reflect faithfully the joys and cares of everyday life, revealing a marvellous breadth of vision and depth of insight in their setting and solution of the problem of love, where sensuality and grossness find no place [1] The Germans and the Finns were among the first to awaken interest abroad in the *dainos* The brothers Mikas and Kipras Petrauskas, noted tenors, have won a great reputation in North and South American musical circles Kipras Petrauskas is a son-in-law of Chaliapin.

The outstanding figures in the modern art world of Lithuania are, after Čiurlionis, the painters Žemaitis and Varnas, and among the sculptors Zikaras and Rimša Čiurlionis, Žemaitis and Rimša were the founders of the Lithuanian Society of Arts in Vilna America has yet to 'discover' these really great artists The work of Žemaitis—the 'painter-poet'—Varnas, Zikaras and Rimša has already received generous appreciation in Europe, especially Rimša's. Rimša is not only a great sculptor. He has shown himself to be a fine craftsman in many of the applied arts. His designs for weaving, carving in wood or metal and pottery—handicrafts beloved of the Lithuanian peasant—are genial and refreshing creations of a mind strongly imbued with the spirit of the past yet keenly alert to the new impressions

[1] *Vide* S. Šalkauskas, *Sur les Confins de Deux Mondes.*

To the world of letters the Lithuanian language itself has, for obvious reasons, made but little contribution, a misfortune from many points of view, for which the divorce between the upper and lower classes in Lithuania, dating from the second half of the sixteenth century, is chiefly responsible. Lithuania's political independence then came to an end. Polish gradually took the place of Lithuanian as the vehicle of literary expression. In the early years of the seventeenth century the Jesuits established a special Lithuanian province of their order, distinct from the Polish one, which had been very energetic since 1569 in combating the spread of Lutheranism in the Polish dominions The Jesuit activities in Lithuania did much to revive the waning interest of the more cultured classes in the tongue of their forefathers. In this period religious literature came to the forefront, with which the names of the Catholic prelates Gedraitis, Dauksa, Sirvydas and Donolaitis, and that of the protector of the Calvinists, Prince Janis Radziwill, are particularly associated Polish influence, however, soon gained the upper hand, especially after 1774, when the suppression of the Jesuit Order was decreed by Rome.

The last partition of Poland in 1795 ushers in the most tragic period of Lithuanian history, when for more than a century, from considerations of a purely political order, the Lithuanian language in Russia was to be relegated by Pole and Russian alike to the category of barbarous dialects, only to be heard on the lips of peasants in the lowest scale of cultural development. It was not to be until 1904 that the Tsar raised the interdict on Lithuanian printing. The decree had been in force for over forty years, during which time the Polish press and schools had an almost free hand in weaning away great numbers of Lithuanians from the use of their native speech A more crafty and subtle policy, as has been pointed out, was that of the Germans in Lithuania Minor. While they banned the Lithuanian schools at home, they allowed the language full liberty of the press for export abroad—a truly ingenious mobilisation, destined, however, to turn the tables on its promoters when, as a result of her crushing defeat in the Great War, Germany found herself powerless to oppose resistance to the seizure of the Memel territory by the newly formed Lithuanian Republic. Taking into consideration the facts to which reference has been made in this article, we can easily understand that the Lithuanian language, which has aroused such deep interest among philologists and historians of the Old and New Worlds, should not yet have given birth to a national epic worthy of a great theme.

What then, the reader may well ask, has been the contribution of this enigmatic race to the stock of ideas that have inspired

ts neighbours—the Russians, the Germans, and the Poles—to reat political as well as intellectual activity in the past ? It is ot for a foreigner, much less an Irishman, to furnish a satisfac-ory answer to this question. When Professor Meillet noted the act that the Lithuanians had allowed the greater part of their nguistic heritage to be absorbed by other languages, he had in nind perhaps the same problem that confronted Réclus when he rote in 1850 :

> The long-oppressed race dwelling among the forests of the Niemen has ot exerted an influence (in creative ideas) comparable with that of the her civilised races of the Continent Can we help wondering why a race most wholly composed of beings sensitive, intelligent, full of imagination d poetry, so steadfast and strong in its sense of personal dignity, should t have failed to produce a single great poet, a single outstanding genius ?

'ant of self-confidence is the answer suggested by Réclus to a mewhat misleading question Might not the Lithuanian of -day be justified in retorting Is the intellectual effort of a tion to be judged chiefly by the criterion of language ? Are ere not other standards of judgment ? Leaving aside the xed question of Immanuel Kant's Lithuanian origin, might we t point to modern Prussia as a very living translation, however storted, of a material force that was ours in the past ? Did not dam Mickiewicz, who has been styled the greatest epic poet of e nineteenth century, reveal his intensely Lithuanian soul in *n Tadeusz*, that unique achievement of Polish literature ? Is indeed an absurdity to suggest, more modern instances art, that the Lithuanian ancestry of Dostoevski, a claim vanced by his daughter, may have had a certain significance the moulding of a genius that was not merely Russian, but iversal ?

Here is not the place to discuss the rights or wrongs of the nentable Polish-Lithuanian conflict over Vilna. That the rangement between Poland and Lithuania in this connexion is re artificial than real is becoming more and more evident day day, in spite of the politicians on both sides hoarsely protesting ir 'no surrender' views. One set inveighs against the naïve timentality of the Lithuanian, the other against the aggressive perialism of the Pole. The 'imperialism' of the Pole in the na district is far, however, from being of the quality attri-ed to it In the present state of political relations between and and Soviet Russia, Poland, which, after all, has had con-rably more political experience than Lithuania, can hardly rd to stand by meekly while she is exposed to attack through na What security can Lithuania offer Poland against Russian ession should Poland relinquish her hold on Vilna ? The

strategic question is indeed as vital for Lithuania as it is f Poland: from Poland's danger Lithuania can derive no re advantage

The Irish and the English have solved to mutual satisfaction a much more difficult problem

VALENTINE O'HARA.

THE POSITION AND PROSPECTS OF AGRICULTURE

LAST October I tried to show[1] that the Agricultural Problem, about which so much has been said and written since the war, is, in some degree, simplified, at least in its political aspect. I pointed out that three important issues on which political parties had been sharply divided have become, in principle, uncontentious. They are—(1) protective duties and subsidies; (2) State aid to and regulation of agriculture; and (3) public ownership of agricultural land. I added:

> No responsible person now advocates protection or subsidies for agriculture as a general policy. The interposition of the State either by legislation or administration now permeates agricultural affairs. The ownership of agricultural land, and its management as landlords, by elected public authorities is accepted by all parties.
>
> On these three main issues there is no principle left to fight about. There is wide difference of opinion about the application of the principles of State regulation and public landlordism; but a reversion to *laissez-faire* and private land ownership as sacred and inviolate principles is outside the range of discussion.

The implications of this fact will appear in the future. No one believes that the relations of the State to agriculture have been finally settled or that Parliament will have no more to say on the subject. In what form and by what party the subject will next be raised in the House of Commons is a matter of political speculation.

In the meantime, however, it is justifiable to assume that no more agricultural legislation of any importance will be passed in the present Parliament. The Government claims to have honoured all its pledges and to have completed its agricultural policy. The Prime Minister, speaking at Welbeck on Whit Monday, summarised what the Government has done for agriculture and said: 'The record proves we have not only fulfilled our pledges, but we have performed far more than we promised.' So far as politics are concerned, therefore, agriculturists may

[1] 'The Agricultural Problem and its Solution,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, October 1927.

'*rest and be thankful*'—*or, at any rate, rest—for the duration of the present Parliament They have reached, for the time being, a stage of political stability*

Farming has also, at last, emerged from the upheaval of the war. I was one of those who were inveterate optimists during the war, but became tainted with pessimism when it was over, and I remember hazarding the opinion that it would be at least a decade before the country would begin to settle down. The prediction has, at least, been verified in the case of agriculture The position which farming attained during the war was set up as a standard, and ever since farmers have audibly lamented that it has not been maintained But gradually year by year the effect of war conditions has worn off, and now, ten years afterwards, the pre-war position has been re-established. In other words, there has been a return to normality

When the State took over the direction of agriculture under the provisions of 'Dora' its object was to increase the immediate production of food crops, particularly wheat and potatoes. The method employed was to order the breaking up of grass land and the extension of arable cultivation The result was that in 1918 the proportion of arable land was raised to nearly 46 per cent, whereas in the year before the war it had been less than 41 (40 8) per cent. The proportion of arable land devoted to wheat, which in 1913 was 15 3 per cent, was raised in 1918 to 20 6 per cent, while potatoes, which accounted for 4 per cent before the war, increased to 5 per cent

The reversion to normality is indicated by reference to the comparative figures for 1913 and 1927 The proportion of arable land, which, as already mentioned, was 40 8 per cent in 1913, was last year 40 3 per cent The allocation of arable land to the chief crops in each of these years was as shown below

	Percentage of arable land	
	1913	1927
Wheat	15 3	15·9
Barley	14·0	10 2
Oats	17·8	17·0
Potatoes	4·0	5 0
Clover and rotation grasses	22·6	24·0

Now that things have settled down, it will be seen that English farming is being carried on in much the same way and on much the same lines as before the war. Wheat has slightly increased in favour, while barley and oats are less popular. In both of these cases no doubt reduced demand is the explanation The markets for 'drink-corn' and 'horse-corn' are shrinking The increased proportion of land under temporary grass indicates a tendency to economise in cultivation, and means that less of the

...e land is actually ploughed each year. Although, therefore, ...nominally arable is relatively unchanged, there is rather less ...le cultivation than before the war. In other words, a smaller ...age is actually ploughed each year.

These simple figures and the conclusion drawn from them ...y perhaps perplex the ordinary reader who takes a general ...erest in agricultural affairs. Much has been said and written ...out the decline of farming, and especially the disappearance of ...able cultivation, and there is a widespread belief that the whole ...aracter of English agriculture has been changed

Farming has declined, and arable land has diminished, but ...riculture has not materially changed in character. A dis...rted view of the facts has been presented by the common ...actice of treating the year 1918 as a standard for comparison. ...that year the area put under the plough in England and Wales ...s nearly 12,500,000 (12,398,640) acres, and wheat was grown ...over 2,500,000 (2,556,661) acres This represented an increase ...1,500,000 acres of arable land and nearly 1,000,000 acres of ...eat as compared with the pre-war position

This was a great achievement, but it was accomplished by the ...compromising use of compulsion under the Defence of the ...alm Act, the incentive of prices for corn, which, although ...tricted, were higher than farmers had known for a century, ...d a very large expenditure of public money. An additional ...tor was the psychological influence of the war, which induced ...e large majority of farmers to accept willingly orders and ...ulations which ordinarily they would have resisted to the ...ath, or at least to the police-court.

It is evident that, unless it is proposed to re-establish these ...ditions, it is futile to compare the present position with that ...n attained Even if compulsion, prices and State expenditure ...re all restored, the same results would not be realised in the ...ence of the war-time spirit of patriotism

The only standard, therefore, by which the present position ...griculture can fairly be measured is that of the period imme...ely preceding the war.

It was suggested above that on such a comparison no material ...nge is apparent But there has been a serious change. The ...to which agricultural land is put is much the same, but the ...of agricultural land has shrunk by 1,500,000 acres—from ...29,000 to 25,589,000 acres. We have lost since 1913 about ...,000 acres of arable land, and about an equal area of grass ...l.

This contraction of the land devoted to agriculture goes on ...inually The process was not interrupted by the war. The ...production campaign did not add a single acre to the pro-

ductive area, which, on the contrary, was reduced by 100 acres in 1918

There can be little doubt that the reduction of the agricultu. area will proceed in the future at an accelerated pace. Th growth of population makes it inevitable that year after yea. more land should be needed for their requirements. The sociological reforms of the times aggravate the movement. More and more towns overflow, and their inhabitants demand, and take, more room, which can only be obtained by encroaching on the countryside.

To some extent this steady urbanisation of rural England is applied to land, such as the Surrey heaths, which is not productive —except possibly of a little timber—and could not be utilised for agriculture as an economic proposition But much of the land appropriated for residential, commercial, and recreational purposes has been farmed for generations In the natural expansion of a town it usually happens that the fringe of market gardens which have been brought to a high state of fertility by intensive cultivation is first absorbed Thus the nation's most important asset—its limited area of productive land—is dissipated. This ceaseless drain on our national resources is very seldom mentioned in all the voluminous eloquence expended on the position of agriculture. It attracts no attention from politicians, and Parliament is entirely indifferent Year after year wide tracts of the best and most fertile land, which, in many cases, has been brought to a high state of productivity by a vast expenditure of capital and labour, are covered with bricks and mortar, converted into playing-fields or laid out as golf-courses.

The expanding requirements of the people must, of course, be met, and the impulse of the present generation to spread out into the countryside and to reduce the congestion of the towns cannot be checked The appropriation of more and more of the surface of the country is therefore inevitable. But no consideration is given to the fact that certain areas are of more intrinsic value—*i.e.*, that the soil has more productive potentiality—than others The only selective factor is that of price, and this is determined by the site value, and not the agricultural value, of the land We have in this country some of the finest natural pastures in the world: the pity is that they are so limited in area. But if a few of these precious acres happened to be conveniently situated for the erection of a factory they would be taken with no more scruple than if they were barren heathland

The gradual reduction of the area of land suitable for agriculture should enhance the value of the dwindling remnant It does not do so commercially, and we are familiar with the remarkable paradox that at the door of the world's greatest market for

cultural products land capable of supplying such products *be bought more cheaply than in many other countries much favourably placed. But if its commercial value is small its tional value is great. To the nation every acre of productive d is valuable, and as the acres become fewer their value, like* t of the Sibylline books, is enhanced.

From these facts it would be reasonable to infer that the ion would be very careful to see that the most is made of its ndling agricultural land. But in fact it cares nothing at all ut it. The old landlord and tenant system did at least provide e machinery, imperfect though it may have been, for mainning the fertility of the land. Landlords had an interest in ng that farms were not 'let down' and that a reasonable dard of cultivation was practised. But Parliament has been y in depriving landlords of their powers Anyone can now ain control—by purchase or hire—of any extent of agritural land and reduce it to the lowest level of productivity or lect it altogether. This is, indeed, being done at the present e in some cases.

No doubt any attempt to assert the public interest in this tter is difficult. A man who obtains control of farming land ssumed to use it in such a way as will be most profitable to self. He takes the risk Why should he be less free to cont his business in his own way than, for example, a shopper? He pays the piper and must be allowed to call the tune rejoinder to this argument has already been indicated. icultural land differs from every other agent of production. nation has no interest in the way shops are managed; it has ital interest in the way agricultural land is used.

My purpose here is to call attention to the position, the ousness of which it is impossible, in my view, to exaggerate. w best to deal with it is obviously a problem of great comcity. But a solution must be found. If it is allowed to drift, idily becoming more acute, and nothing is done on what may termed moderate lines, one day the nation will suddenly iken to it and will cut the Gordian knot by the apparently p'e method advocated by the Socialists Believing as I do t State ownership of the land and control of its use—with the ivators of the soil, farmers and labourers, servants of the te—would not secure the greatest production, the adoption of solution would, in my judgment, be deplorable.

It was remarked above that agricultural practice is now rmal'—assuming that the pre-war position represents nority. The land is generally being farmed on much the same s as in 1913. Cattle have become of still greater importance,

having increased from 211 per 1000 acres of farmed land in 1913 to 245 in 1927, and poultry-keeping has become more pop Otherwise there is little outward and visible change.

Of course, in this as in many other cases, a comforta economic generalisation may cover tragic changes to individua Landowners and farmers have passed through a very difficu time since the war, and many of them have gone under To th victims it is no consolation to know that the main cause of thei troubles is common to all industries, and that companions i misfortune are to be found in the towns as well as in the country The root of all the evils which have afflicted farmers as well a the rest of the community has been money and its changing value There were of course contributing causes to account for the extra ordinary rise in the prices of farm products, as of other com modities, immediately after the war

The ups and downs of agricultural prices are shown in th index numbers recording for each year the percentage increas over the average of the three years 1911–13 These are a follows:

Year.	Increase per cent.	Year.	Increase per cent.
1915	27	1922	69
1916	60	1923	57
1917	101	1924	61
1918	132	1925	59
1919	158	1926	51
1920	192	1927	44
1921	119		

This simple table goes a long way to explain the present position of agriculture. Since 1920 the level of prices has been falling almost continuously

A sustained period of falling prices makes difficulties in all kinds of commercial, and especially productive, enterprise But it hits the farmer most severely owing to the slowness of the turnover in his business. This has always been recognised in a general way by those who have given any attention to agricultural economics, and it was stated in definite form by Mr. Dampier Whetham in an article in the *Journal* of the Royal Agricultural Society for 1924. Analysing the accounts of two farms—one an arable 'sheep and corn' farm in East Anglia and the other a grass dairy farm in Dorsetshire—he showed what he termed the 'economic lag' for each of the chief products Thus the costs of rearing and feeding cattle are incurred on the average eighteen months before the cattle are sold and of corn-growing about fourteen months. The 'lag' is less for some other products For milk the 'lag' is about eight months and for fat pigs four months

ghting each product in proportion to the percentage it bears he total sales of the farm, the normal economic 'lag' was rly *fourteen months on the arable land and seven months on grass farm. If there had been no such 'lag'—in other words, farmers were doing a 'ready money' business—there would ve been practically no losses even on the arable farm, and the t that the 'lag'* was so much less on the grass farm made it ssible to get through even the worst years without actual loss.

Mr. Whetham set out the main facts in diagrams, on which he nmented:

> The diagrams suggest that the worst time for farmers is over. Both on ss and arable farms the receipts curve is now above the expenditure ve, though in 1924, while prices of arable produce rose, those from grass re still falling. Moreover, the diagrams do not show the disastrous ults of the wet summer and autumn for the crops on heavy land and for farm stock Still, weather and other accidents apart, the general outk is more hopeful.

ıce 1924 farmers have encountered further difficulties, not the st being the weather of last year Nevertheless progress wards stability has been made; and if there is no optimism, least the note of pessimism is modulated

The British farmer has always resented the suggestion that can make money in his business He 'lives on his losses,' and is extremely bad taste to allude to his longevity. But no disssionate observer can dispute the evidence that while farmers a class made substantial profits from 1914 to 1920, they inrred heavy losses since that date which have ruined many of em The 'economic lag' enhanced their gains when prices re rising, but it aggravated their losses when prices fell. They re plunged into the slough of despond. From this they are now wly emerging. The old spirit of self-reliance is reawakening, d signs are apparent that agricultural enterprise is reviving.

British farming was developed by 'adventurers' and 'imovers,' of whom Jethro Tull and Robert Bakewell were early amples Many others, like them, ignored tradition and set de prejudice to experiment with new methods. During the t half-century the line of succession appears to have been oken Improvements in farm practice have been made, but ey have been instigated by scientists, implement-makers, and dsmen. Farmers have shown resourcefulness in adapting old actice to meet new conditions, but they have kept along ninenth century lines

It is therefore significant that there has recently been a rked revival of initiative and enterprise among farmers. Of s there is, I think, ample evidence, but here only one or two

the views of a number of representative farmers in the district, and he found '*no active general opposition to the introduction of younger and smaller cattle in place of the stronger and older bullocks*' This does not perhaps suggest full appreciation of the fact that the 'stronger and older bullocks' produce meat which the public will not buy except at second or third quality prices. But it is made clear that a certain number of graziers are alert to meet the situation, and that there are indications of 'eagerness on the part of farmers to make their procedure conform to the demands of their customers for the finished stock.'

One other instance of what I have termed an awakening spirit may be cited. It has long been evident to the most casual observer that the financial difficulties of farmers do not diminish the prosperity of those who distribute their products It has been equally evident that the only way in which producers can obtain a larger share of the prices paid by consumers is to get into closer contact themselves with the consumers, and that to do this on any general scale they must co-operate. In combination producers may be very powerful; in isolation they are impotent.

These self-evident propositions, in spite of constant reiteration, have made hitherto little impression Farmers have freely admitted their truth, and, indeed, have vociferously complained of the toll taken by the 'middleman,' but have declined to take action. At long last there are signs that the need for setting up some organised system of marketing controlled by producers is realised. This is attributable in a large measure to the persistent and well-considered efforts of the Ministry of Agriculture The National Farmers' Union has been accused of apathy on the subject, and it may at least be acquitted of precipitancy But the deliberation of its movements may prove in the long run to have been the best method of securing the general acceptance by farmers of the new methods of business

The agricultural historian in reviewing this period will very probably decide that the acceptance of the principle of orderly marketing was unintentionally accelerated by farmers. They insisted on legislation to compel all imported eggs to be marked. The result of this will certainly be that the marked egg will drive the unmarked egg off the market When this view of the case was put to farmers they usually declared that they knew their own business best. The reply was irrelevant, because buying eggs is not the farmers' business The British housewife, and not the British farmer, will determine whether marked or unmarked eggs are preferred, and unless there is a great change in the psychology of that very important person she will, after a short experience, choose the marked egg every time A premonition of this un-

designed result is now penetrating the consciousness of British *egg-producers, who are realising that unless the native egg is given an equal chance by being marked, its imported rival will supplant it.* The extension of the principle of marking to British eggs is therefore imperative, and this involves combination, organisation, and 'orderly marketing.'

There appear to me to be indications that by a conspiracy of causes, some trivial, some important, the idea of organised collective marketing is at length approaching practical application. The influences tending in this direction have been various and often imperceptible, but they have had a cumulative effect. If the sale and distribution of farm products are taken over by farmers themselves, then indeed British agriculture is entering on a new era

Since the war large expenditure both by the State and county councils has resulted in covering the country with a network of agencies for advising farmers and for the education of intending agriculturists. There are twenty-three research institutes, each devoted to particular branches of scientific investigation, and fifteen 'provincial advisory centres,' which are also educational institutions at which research is carried out on a limited scale. There are also a number of farm institutes, while nearly every county council has appointed an agricultural organiser and a more or less numerous staff of lecturers and instructors.

To assume that all this earnest effort is having no effect would be unjustifiable and indeed cynical. Apart from local lectures and courses, there are now probably some 2000 or 3000 young men and women emerging every year from institutions at which they have received training, extending over two or three years, in agricultural practice and science. Those who become farmers must be, if specialised education counts for anything, better qualified on the average than the generation they replace. It follows that there should be a gradual raising of the standard of farming throughout the country.

It is not the purpose of this article to suggest that the position of agriculture is satisfactory or its prospects rosy. I have attempted to show from such evidence as is available that the worst of post-war difficulties is over, and that those farmers who have survived them may now reasonably expect greater stability. I have also expressed my belief that there is a recrudescence of agricultural enterprise and of alertness in meeting changed conditions. And because of these facts I regard the prospects of our dwindling agricultural interest as less gloomy than they have been at any time since the war.

HENRY REW.

EDUCATION IN THE COUNTRYSIDE: A NEW VISTA

RECENTLY it fell to my lot to judge the essays from the school-children of a number of villages, who were asked to choose between a town and a country career and to give reasons for their choice. Eighty per cent chose a town career—a result not entirely unexpected, but what was rather remarkable was that considerably more than half of them gave, as one of their chief reasons for getting to the towns, the fact that they could there get evening classes and so equip themselves better for a career. At first I was a little suspicious; the country child is not lacking in native wit, and an instinct for saying to outsiders what he thinks they want to hear is born in his blood. But I have since made inquiries among several village schoolmasters, and talked to some of the children also, with the result that though I believe that some were being more calculating than truthful, yet I am convinced that the more intelligent children regard agriculture as a 'blind-alley' career and village life generally as lacking in scope for bettering themselves. Probably they do not think about it very much at all, and certainly most of them do not think about it in such definite terms, but that, roughly, is the idea that lingers at the back of their minds and eventually sends all the brighter lads abroad or into the nearest town. In my village is a skilled farm labourer who, after thirty years' service, is earning 35s per week. His son, in his twentieth year, has just got a job in a motor works at Oxford at 95s. per week, with prospects. Such instances are common, and it is impossible to believe that bare facts like these do not impress themselves vividly on the mentality of village lads, even if they do not trouble to reason things out. Further proof is to be found in the 120,000 odd who have left the land since 1921, and though there are no figures that compare the intellectual standards of those who migrate and those who remain, it seems the general experience to find that it is the more intelligent who go away. This steady drain of the best human material from the land has been going on for many years.

The difficulty will at once become apparent. If a better rural education is to be introduced into the villages it will, if successful,

produce a more intelligent type of villager, and therefore will be likely to accelerate rather than decrease the desire to choose a career with better prospects, assuming that agricultural prospects remain as they are. So it is that, in pleading for a more liberal education system for the countryside, one may possibly be accused of putting the cart before the horse. What is the use, one may be asked, of educating people to want what doesn't exist? There will never be the high-salaried posts in farming that there are in other industries, for the farmer himself can carry out practically all the administration necessary, and does not really need even a foreman. If the employee could progress to farming on his own one day, it is true there might be an inducement, but last year only fifty-seven out of 14,847 applications for small holdings received in fifteen months could be granted. Why spend money on giving people what they cannot use?—it will only make them discontented

Here once more, but in modified form, is the old lament of the reactionary who 'doesn't hold with education for the lower classes,' who sees discontent in any form only as something troublesome to himself. There are not so many now who definitely oppose 'education for the lower classes,' but there are many who view with the greatest disfavour any discontent it may cause. They are usually those who would be the first to exhort their own sons not to be satisfied until they have reached the top of the ladder.

Let us be quite clear about the objective of rural education. If its aim is only to produce a supply of willing servants who will do what they are told and not question the divine right of service, then most of the subjects in village secondary school education might be left out, for history, geography, and literature are of no value to this end, and might easily set some thinking—and then asking questions, which is the next stage to having ambitions. It would only be necessary to give them a purely vocational training, including manual skill in hedging, ditching, rick-making, care of livestock, and possibly a handicraft or two to keep them quiet in the evenings It would be useful if they *could* be taught to use their brains as well as their hands, for one certainly gets better results out of intelligent labour than from dolts; but that would be far too dangerous if a race of willing servants were simply the object. One cannot have things both ways.

Such a course, if it were tolerated, would certainly have a definite object, and would produce men at a comparatively cheap cost more or less fitted for their job. It would do something to arrest the flow from the villages into the overcrowded towns and would not tantalise by creating ambitions that could not be fulfilled. Probably its best result would be to create such a blaze

of indignation that a saner view of rural education, with mor liberal opportunities for those who could use them, would imme diately come to birth.

But the point that must be faced is that any other educationa objective than that of producing a supply of willing servants predicates the development of a certain amount of independence of thought and action and scope for the person educated to progress. The time is at hand when no intelligent person who is ambitious will face a future limited to 35*s*. or 40*s*. a week from the age of twenty-one onwards. If there were no rural problem it would not matter, for such men could migrate to the towns, as at present, and find their level in the more generous opportunities of other industries. But we cannot afford to lose the best men from the land. We need an energetic, productive countryside, just as we need healthy country stock, and these are the men also who are most valuable to the farmer; nor, as things are, have other industries an unlimited capacity for absorbing fresh labour. Somehow we must preserve the balance between town and country labour and keep good men on the land at the same time as we stimulate them to be intelligent individuals in whom ambition is just as admirable as in our own sons.

There is nothing to indicate at present that agricultural wages alone can ever be made attractive enough to answer this purpose fully. Even if they could, there will always be some who set independence above all other rewards. There must eventually be freer access to the land for people with the requisite knowledge and desire for small-holding, but who at present are held back by want of capital for starting and for want of available land. The pretence that there is a lack of available land is rapidly becoming a farce There is scarcely an agricultural county at the present moment that has not derelict acres that once produced food, and there seems ample evidence of farmers who are giving up their farms and none taking their place. Within an hour's walk of my house are 1800 once productive acres that have been derelict for seven years, and another 2500 that have been offered at no rent at all, and even then only 700 of these acres could be let. Other farmers would be making as much, or more, if they were farming half their present acreage—by no means a new development—and with our limited amount of land it is doubtful if we can afford the extensive methods of farming that have lately become the vogue. Agriculturists themselves are the first to insist upon the national aspect of their industry, and therefore one is justified in considering our agricultural system in the light of what is to the best advantage of the community. No responsible person would deny the right of the farmer to farm, or seek to tell him how to do it, but it is nevertheless a national concern that our land is so very

far from yielding its maximum production. Small-holding, under reasonable conditions, gives bigger production per acre than any other form of agriculture. But in districts where land has gone out of cultivation altogether we find the paradoxical situation of skilled men, eager for the chance of cultivating a few acres for themselves and producing wealth for the community, unemployed and forced into the union at a cost to the nation of 5*l*. 10*s*. per week plus the value of the food they are not producing The farmers complain, without lack of proof, that they cannot afford even the present wages. Some also say that they are not getting such satisfactory labour as in former days, and here and there is already evidence of a labour shortage on the land. It would be a reasonable assumption that if there were more hope for the farm worker who could prove himself a suitable cultivator to win his independence, low wages might be accepted cheerfully as if a term of apprenticeship were being served, work might be done with a more intelligent interest, and a greater supply of farm workers assured, since the future would then hold something for them. There must always be competition between town and country for labour, but whereas the country cannot hope to compete in mere wages, it could have an immense advantage over the town in holding out better hopes of independence. This valuable asset is being overlooked by the agricultural employers, who, as a body, are hostile to small-holding.

We cannot, even if we would, put back the clock and depend upon a badly paid race of agricultural Robots for the labour in food production We cannot, even if we would, permanently withhold ampler opportunities for them. Therefore in any case, it seems, we shall have to face the same set of consequences that the more progressive view of rural education would create Therefore can we not use education as our servant to meet this situation with as much efficiency as possible. and, at the same time, impart a bias to it that will make its products eager and fitted to remain on the land ? After all, the success of most social developments is usually in direct proportion to the educational progress made by the rank and file Before considering what might be done with this object, it would be well to consider rural education as it is to-day

In the existing state of our rural education the first thing that strikes one about it is its urban character Rural and urban syllabuses are very nearly interchangeable, and rural and urban teachers are interchangeable. No man or woman who is going to teach in a village school receives any different form of training from those who will teach in urban schools. But the town and the country child are essentially different. The former can learn by what he hears ; the latter must have ocular demonstration and

absorbs aural instruction with difficulty. Nor does he find easy to spend long hours sitting at a desk. The village child more stupid than the town child, but he is interested in diff things and takes them in in a different way. The village ch education finishes when he is fourteen, and from then onward has no more instruction and little more discipline in his life. him there are few opportunities for evening classes, and none the discipline of factory or office. For the well-to-do there agricultural courses at Oxford and Cambridge, and there colleges, such as Wye and Reading, where the future agricultur with the means and the time to attend them may fit himself f his calling. In addition to these there are some fifteen counti that have farm institutes where the sons and daughters of farme and small-holders can get agricultural instruction at a nomina price. But these are poorly attended, because even they ar beyond the means of the wage-earning class, who need new wage earners in the family at the earliest possible moment If they were attended as they should be, as Mr. Dale pointed out to the British Association, they would be overwhelmed. And why should farm labourers make sacrifices for their children to learn agriculture when the chance of their profiting by it is so slight?

The truth is that we have so far approached rural education with no definite plan. We have not used it to try to make good agriculturists. It is not on a vocational basis, in the sense that the child is given any sort of grounding in the rudiments of agricultural practice or tradition, or in all the practical aspects of such things as biology and physiology—subjects which could be made both interesting and valuable—and on the intellectual side little is done to equip the child with a 'rural bias.' He or she is taught little of the history of the countryside or of agriculture, or of any of the essential changes and developments that have created the present relation of agriculture to the other industries. They are taught neither pride in agriculture nor affection for rural surroundings, and the better the average village child imbibes knowledge at his school, the more likely he will be to make off for the towns at the first opportunity 'The lad who remains on farm work,' said Mr Orwin, 'definitely occupies a lower social position than those of his own age and district who seek the more highly remunerated work that can be obtained in the towns.'[1] But more and more to-day the success of an industry is becoming dependent upon the efficiency of the labour unit, and other industries than agriculture have realised that education, vocational training, and continuation classes for their employees are of the utmost value.

We need a rural community that is alive and progressive,

[1] *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, May 20, 1927.

drawing its nourishment from its own roots, deep-set in the soil, above all, a community educated on specific lines of its own, self-conscious, independent and responsible. An endeavour has been made above to show that the sort of education to produce this is bound to create also a demand for ampler opportunities for eventual independence among the more progressive farm workers. Even the second-rate form of rural education that we have is doing this already. It has been shown also that this is not necessarily a thing of which to be frightened, for it contains many aspects favourable to the welfare of the community generally. The farmer particularly should benefit from it by receiving a better supply of more efficient workmen, albeit the more ambitious will not be content to grow white-headed in his service. The dangers of restricting such development—development that has taken place in every other European country—are far greater than the risks of encouraging it The wiser course is surely to accept it and lead it by an efficient educational system to find self-expression in the midst of its own surroundings and train it on congenial lines to fulfil a national need that coincides with it. Certainly one would then be more hopeful of the result than of our present haphazard methods of land settlements. Now land is allotted grudgingly, and not without protest, to so-called small-holders, many of whom have not been equipped with the requisite knowledge and are completely ignorant of where to go to get it. They are left alone to sink or swim. The surprising thing is that the failures have been few under a system that puts them on the land first and makes its occasional attempts to serve up disconnected scraps of agricultural knowledge afterwards. This indeed is putting the cart before the horse.

But on what lines are we to build to evolve such a community, how far are we to go in ' vocational ' education, and how far are we to go in the broader sense of producing good, all-round men, alert, intelligent and fitted to develop their own peculiar talents ? There are dangers in making education too vocational. Above all, what will it cost, and can we afford it in our present financial condition ? The most helpful answers to these questions are to be found in Cambridgeshire, where a man who has given his life to the solution of this problem is on the point of seeing a practical experiment brought to birth from the first-hand, first-class knowledge that he has brought to bear on it. That man is Mr. Henry Morris, Secretary for Education, Cambridgeshire, who is reorganising education in the rural areas of that county

Mr Morris began by reorganising the elementary school system. Instead of a great number of elementary schools with small attendances of children of all ages from three to fourteen, he is substituting junior and senior schools. The junior schools

educate children up to ten years of age, and are tributary senior or central schools, which are disposed as convenient possible throughout the agricultural areas of the county. the ultimate aim of the Cambridgeshire scheme to establish sc thirty to forty senior schools in the county. Transport natura presents a difficulty in some instances, but the great developme of village omnibus services in recent years has been of the greate assistance. The result of this reorganisation and regrouping village schools has been that some unnecessary schools have bee shut down, and further economies have been possible by reducin staffs of others. Those that were retained, it was found, could be better equipped, and have also been able to attract a new and more highly qualified type of teacher to the countryside, including graduates of Oxford, Cambridge, London, Glasgow, Wales and Birmingham. The numbers of older children in attendance at the senior schools make possible the organisation of a class system more closely related to age and attainments, while the staffs of the junior and tributary schools, relieved of the responsibility of the older children, can devote themselves effectively to the needs of the infant and junior children. The limited number of centres facilitates the teaching of handicrafts, domestic subjects, general elementary science and gardening. In short, the system gives a better education at a lower cost Thus at Burwell senior school there are 150 children of ten to fifteen years of age. Of these Mr. Morris says:

> They are graded in classes according to age and attainment, each under the charge of a qualified teacher Handicrafts, domestic subjects and gardening form an integral part of their training Great importance is attached to the teaching of English (the school produces one play a year), to local history and to physical training There is a strong corporate life, and there are thriving athletic and hobby clubs. The school has its colours, with a cap for the boys and a smock and cap for the girls The children travelling from a distance take their midday meal together under the charge of a teacher [2]

Here at least is a prospect of drawing a long way nearer to a definite system of essentially rural education, and probably at less direct cost to the community than at present. It promises better organisation, better equipped schools, better teachers and a more generous curriculum; it should offer a secondary education with a rural bias, designed especially to train the boys and girls of the countryside as countrymen and countrywomen.

But this is only a beginning. Mr. Morris rightly realises that there is no such thing as a 'finishing school,' and that education in the true sense begins at birth and only ends at death. Something is needed that will keep the mind alert and supple up to old

[2] *The Village College* (Cambridge University Press).

age. One must be always learning and always eager to learn, and facilities are needed not only to help a man to learn more about his particular business, but to be learning always more of the humanities and the life around him, and of this vastly important general business of living. Particularly is this needed in the countryside, where there are fewer social contacts and so less interchange of ideas. Compared with the towns there is more mental stagnation in all planes in the countryside. It was hoped that scientific research and the various agricultural colleges and farm institutes would create a class of farmer who would spread this acquired knowledge throughout his district and by words and by example cause improvement in the methods of his neighbours. It is generally agreed that this hope has not been realised. In the humbler planes of village life opinions are formed on prejudices, or from uninformed gossip in the public-house, or from particular newspapers which, committed to a particular policy, are at least guilty of suppressing the truth, if not of misrepresentation. What is wanted is not only a more accessible outlook, an eagerness for knowledge on all subjects and a different attitude towards education than that peculiarly sullen resentment to it that is still one of the worst traits in our national character, but he means by which such eagerness can be encouraged and satisfied. Not one of the least objects of education is to show people how and where to find out what they want to know.

This means in the countryside that the present sources of information need to be co-ordinated and brought within reach of all rural inhabitants; they need to be focussed in central points hat they may become vital centres of rural community life and spiritual activity At present all the different aspects of village life are isolated and lack common inspiration. Education recks little of agriculture, although the county council is the statutory authority for both; neither has usually any concern with the Public Libraries Act, 1919; the Women's Institutes and the Village Clubs Association could find no common ground for working together, nor can the British Legion and the various sports clubs in a village Even the cricket club will sometimes be found with one ground and the football club with another, although the advantages of one ground for both are self-evident.

To co-ordinate all these activities and create a corporate community life in the countryside, Mr. Morris has conceived the idea of a system of village colleges to continue education, in the broadest sense of the term, 'for all between the ages of fifteen and ninety.'

The first of these is now being built at Sawston, at a cost of 4,000*l*, towards which the Carnegie Trustees have generously

contributed 5500*l*. The cost is a large sum. On the other han money is being saved by the regrouping of schools in the count and when one considers the vast sums spent already on educatior on agricultural research and propaganda, on land settlemen schemes, on buying food from abroad which might be producec at home, and the poor results obtained in every case, one might well ask if the cost of gradually introducing throughout the country Mr. Morris's scheme, with its attendant economies, might not easily prove a sound investment if it can give us bettei value for our money and produce anything like the results foi which there is good reason to hope. It is an unpleasant fact that although we are spending more upon education than any othei European country, we are, in the rural areas at any rate, getting worse results Germany, France, Belgium, Switzerland, Holland and Denmark can all produce a better educated peasantry—better educated, that is, in the sense that their minds are more receptive to the things of value to them, and better equipped foi following a country life and being proud of it It is not so much that we are spending too little in rural areas on education, but that we are not spending wisely.

These village colleges, it is hoped, will be built eventually at central points in agricultural districts, and their aim will be to bring together all the educational and social agencies, statutory and voluntary, in the countryside Here will be a wonderful opportunity for the architects to build in the countryside something worthy of our land and the age-old traditions of the soil; it is an opportunity that has not occurred since the building of the mediæval churches, and may never occur again, for no othe movement than public education can ever be so widespread o affect so deeply the lives of the community. The village colleg is no longer visualised as a drab place of instruction, which ou ugly school buildings so well exemplify, but as the home of th very spirit of the countryside, with all the grace and modesty and elemental simplicity of country life. With courage and imagination all this might be expressed in a new type of architecture tha would draw its inspiration from a source so long neglected, and in turn inspire those whom it served Good architecture, it migh be observed, is not necessarily expensive architecture, and a good design need cost no more for building than a bad one.

The village college will be for country people of all ages. I will include a primary school for the children of five to ten year of age of the central village only, and a nursery schoolroom which will also serve for use as an infant welfare centre. It will also b used for the senior school for children of the central village and the tributary villages of the chosen area. In the village college wil be the village hall, used by day as a school assembly-hall, for th

midday meal of those children not returning home, for physical training, and for school plays and concerts. In the evenings it will be used for broadcast programmes at stated hours, concerts, performances by the village dramatic and musical societies, lectures, dances, whist drives and public meetings. The library will be divided into two parts, one containing a permanent stock of books together with a monthly supply from the county library, the other a reading-room section with newspapers and periodicals. One room will be definitely set aside for agricultural education, and attached to it will be a science laboratory where practical experiments will be made. This department will cover ground which, under the Ministry of Agriculture's scheme, does not come within the scope of the farm institute. At the village college instruction will be given in thatching, hedging, ditching and rick-making—crafts in which the farmers complain the supply of skilled men is becoming short—also in the use of agricultural machinery and in veterinary science and farriery. Demonstration crops will be organised on farms near the college, and a small plot of land is included in the college for horticultural experiments.

Room will be available to accommodate adult education in humane subjects, also such less formal activities as study circles, debating societies, dramatic societies, and here will be accommodated all the numerous village meetings, statutory and voluntary, such as parish council meetings, meetings of endowment committees, of allotment committees, of women's institutes, British Legion, Girl Guides and sports clubs Where possible the village recreation ground, vested in the parish council, will come within the boundaries of the college, thus providing without extra cost a playing-field for the children more suitable than the familiar asphalte playground, or, more frequently, the roads. It may be practicable to include a pavilion and dressing-rooms, even with simple shower-baths attached, for the use of the children and of village athletes A further possible addition, if the Development Commissioners, the Ministry of Agriculture, the Board of Education, and the local education authority could see their way to co-operate for this purpose, would be an indoor recreation-room for the use of everyone.

The whole college will be under the control of a new type of rural leader, who will be called 'the warden,' on whom much of its success must ultimately depend. He will be required to combine educational qualifications with understanding and love of country folk and country life. These wardens will be as stewards in the tardy development of this new department of the national estate; they might almost be thought of as the founders of a new rural civilisation in our midst. It is proposed that the control of these village colleges shall be vested in a body of governors

responsible to the local authority. They will consist of managers, members appointed by the county council representing local interests, and representatives of other interests, e.g., parish council as owners of the recreation ground.

Some idea of the wide vision of this scheme of rural education will have been gathered from the above account of the purpose for which the Sawston Village College is being built. Reference to the Cambridgeshire County Council's *Handbook of Further Education for the Countryside* reveals more particularly how village education is to be given a definitely rural bias The handbook includes English literature, drama classes, rural economics rural science, rural and local history, choral singing, orchestral classes, folk dancing, rural architecture, domestic economy, and fourteen rural handicrafts that can be practised by the individual in his home. To assist teaching in domestic economy a cottage bedroom, living-room and kitchen scullery will be included at Sawston, also a workshop.

Such is Mr Morris's scheme, which is now to be given practical trial. It has come at the eleventh hour, when the countryside is becoming daily more devitalised, when the day of the squire is passing and there is none to take his place as a centralising figure in village life, when there is an increasing demand for more skilled, more adaptable workers on the farms It has come when it seems almost certain that we can no longer be the only civilised country without an established peasantry, who, in turn, can only hope to succeed if they are educated to the work It may easily prove to be the most far-reaching movement in the history of the English village since the introduction of Enclosure Acts.

The scheme is not a copy of any other scheme—it has nothing in common with the Danish high schools, for instance, which are residential, non-local and non-vocational—but is designed specifically to meet our own problem of providing non-residential, local and vocational training for country-folk of all ages in all the activities of life in a village. One cannot do better than conclude with Mr. Morris's own eloquent words:

> As the community centre of the neighbourhood, [he says] the village college would provide for the whole man and abolish the duality of education and ordinary life. It would not only be the training ground for the art of living, but the place in which life is lived, the environment of a genuine and corporate life. The dismal dispute of vocational and non-vocational training would not arise in it, because education and living would be equated. It would be a visible demonstration in stone of the continuity and never-ceasingness of education There would be no 'leaving school.' . . . The village college will be the seat and guardian of humane public traditions in the countryside, the training ground of a rural democracy realising its social and political duties. Without some such institution as the village college a rural community consisting largely of

agricultural workers, small proprietors and small farmers will not be equal to the task of maintaining a worthy rural civilisation. The alternative would be a countryside like that in some Continental countries, prosperous, perhaps, but narrow and materialistic, without native distinction and charm, and with no instinct for even the popular arts.

L. F. EASTERBROOK.

THE VICIOUS CIRCLE

THE modern world is full of false ideas, crystallised ir *axioms. It is these conglomerations of error which, more th anything else, frustrate every attempt to reach a satisfacto* solution of the problem of the modern girl and her relation t society.

The moment one opens a discussion of this burning questio one is met with the argument that England now contains a immense excess of women over men (largely a result of the war and that, in consequence, it has become necessary to train th girls in the mass for independent careers. It is surprising ho few people possess even the remotest knowledge of the actua statistical position.

The excess of women over men in the European lands is no much smaller than it was at almost any period during the las 500 or 600 years In the fourteenth century the excess of wome over men in Central Europe was about 15 per cent. For Frank furt (Main) we have the following figures for the end of th century: population, about 10,000; composed of 4600 men an 5500 women—a much larger proportion of women than is to b found in Frankfurt to-day.

In modern England (with Wales) we have 18,500,000 mal and 20,000,000 females (a ratio of 100 to 108). In present-da Germany there are 30,000,000 males and 32,500,000 females.

These figures speak for themselves. They reduce to a she absurdity the oft-repeated contention that there is now such a abnormal ratio between the sexes that our previous ideas as woman's social functions must be revolutionised. If anythin further were needed to knock this fallacy on the head it is to b found in the fact that nowhere do women pursue masculi careers more ardently than in America, where there is an exce of men over women.

Let us, then, dismiss from our minds the idea that there any connexion at all between the cult of independence and t pseudo-masculinism which, in practice, goes with it, and t numerical relationship between the sexes. As a matter of fa the chief excess of women over men is to be found upon t

age levels of the population. Consider the following for England and Wales, 1926:

Age group.	Males.	Females
15–20	1,800,000	1,790,000
20–25	1,680,000	1,740,000
25–30	1,405,000	1,655,000
30–35	1,300,000	1,570,000
50–60	1,990,000	2,160,000
60–70	1,183,000	1,356,000
70–80	505,000	680,000
80 and over	105,000	185,000

Here we see that under the age of twenty-five there is *virtually no excess of females; there is, in fact, ' a lad for every lass '!*

In view of the gross inaccuracy of popular opinion on this matter, it is well to give the sharpest emphasis to the real state of things It is quite common to hear well-educated people express the view that there are two women for every man in England. I recently met a cultured Englishwoman who firmly believed that not more than one woman in three could possibly marry, and it was only with the greatest difficulty that I could persuade her to accept the accuracy of the Governmental statistics.

In spite of the absurdity of these notions, there is no doubt whatever that they play a real part in determining the mental attitude of the nation towards the problem of the education of girls. The average person is fixed in the belief that, whereas 100 years ago it was possible for the great majority of women to marry, this is now out of the question, as there are ' not enough men to go round.' It is apparently held that all men are married, and the large body of unmarried women in our midst represent those who are ' left on the shelf.' Very few people know that there are some 2,500,000 unmarried men in the best marriageable ages

The German statistics throw a vivid light on the situation, proving conclusively that feminine celibacy is not due mainly to the excess of women over men, but to the non-marriage of so many men Population: 62,500,000; males 30,200,000 and females 32,300,000. Men from twenty to forty-five—10,900,000, of whom ***nearly*** 5,000,000 ***were unmarried.*** Women from twenty to forty-five—12,600,000. Of every 100 women, about 58 are married (or widows). If all men married, this proportion would be 92.

The really decisive matter is not the ratio of men and women

in the whole population, but the ratio during the marriag ages. Consider the following figures for England and W (1926): Women of marriageable age (twenty to forty-fi about 7,900,000; men of marriageable age (twenty to fift about 8,000,000.

It is, of course, necessary to remember that men may, a often do, marry at a somewhat later age than women. looking for a wife a man is practically confined to the age grou between twenty and forty (although, since a certain proportio of women over forty do marry, I have taken the groups up t forty-five into account); but a woman may very easily find husband anywhere between twenty and fifty.

Now, in the light of these figures, let us consider the remarkabl fact that there are in this country some 3,000,000 unmarrie women of marriageable age—most of them thinking, no doubt that they belong to the army of the 'superfluous.'

We must, of course, allow for the women who simply do no wish to marry, or who have not found any suitable partner; bu even then we cannot possibly account for the prodigious dis crepancy between the number of women who *might* marry an those who *do*, save by assuming that there are some very powerfu and unusual factors at work.

What are these factors?

There cannot be the slightest doubt that the general tendenc of the present-day education of girls is largely responsible for th immense army of unmarried women in our midst We canno possibly divorce education from the rest of our national life A machine which grinds out year by year hundreds of thousand of young women equipped solely with a view to competing wit men in industry and business must of necessity create socia conditions highly unfavourable to marriage and home life Th struggle to earn a family wage or salary is thus made far mor difficult for the average man It would be impossible to form an estimate of the exact number of men who have been prevente from establishing homes of their own as a result of the com petition of women, but it must be very large indeed. It is significant that the proportion of men amongst the unemploye should be so large (a short time ago there were some five un employed men for every woman or girl). In the *Outlook* fo April 14, 1928, I find the following passage:

> Of nearly 10,000 cases [of persons drawing the 'dole'] enquired int [by the Ministry of Labour] it was found that while the proportion of me claiming the dole had increased, the proportion of women had decreased and further that while fewer boys now start work before the age of fifteer than was the case four years ago, in the case of girls the reverse is true. The agreement of these two lines of enquiry means, and can only mean,

that women are tending to displace men in industry, and more particularly that young women are tending to displace young and presumably older men.

Again, in the daily Press of the last month it was reported that hundreds of book-keepers, many of them married men, have quite recently been thrown into unemployment through their places being given to young girls who were content with a much lower salary.

Is there not a certain confusion of cause and effect in the argument that, given the existing economic conditions, we must train girls for the market-place and not for the home?

Suppose we were to assume that, from now onwards, the stream of feminine labour were to be cut down, and that girls were, at any rate in part, to return to domestic life, is it not clear that we should in the future see a great rise in the number of marriages? It is, to say the least of it, improbable that more than a fraction of the existing 3,000,000 spinsters are resolutely bent on remaining single. It would be something more than a wild guess to say that at least half are restrained from marriage because there are some 1,500,000 men who cannot afford to marry. The point is: How many of these men have been prevented from 'getting on,' or even thrown into unemployment, through the competition of the immense army of young women workers? If my assumption—now, of course, purely fanciful—were ever to come true, we should soon find that the army of our 3,000,000 spinsters had diminished to less than half its size. Strange as the idea may seem to an age dominated by masculine ideals, would it not be far more in the national interest to aim at reducing the mass of single women and building up the sinking domestic life of England, rather than go on with the present system, by which we deliberately train battalions of young women to intensify the struggle of life, not only for the men of the nation, but equally for their own sisters?

The real trouble is that we are hopelessly entangled in a vicious circle. Parents and educators feel compelled—even in the face of their own better judgment—to give up the idea of training girls for their most natural career, marriage, and to fit them first and foremost for economic independence. The chance of marriage is uncertain, the expense of keeping girls at home too great; and, above all, the modern girl has set her heart upon 'freedom.' It is usually argued that if a girl can stand on her own feet she need not feel compelled to marry merely for the sake of having a home, but can afford to wait until she meets the right man; and, further, that she will be all the better for a thorough training in some profession. I will not deny that there is a germ of truth in this point of view We do

not wish to return to the time when young ladies stayed at h(doing fine embroidery until they could catch a man. But n of these arguments, however true, can alter the logic of the sit tion. The fact remains that it is the flooding of the lab market with young women that has, more than anything e lowered the chance of marriage for the modern girl; so t whereas sixty years ago a middle-class daughter could reckor an over 80 per cent. chance of marriage, the figure has now s to under 50 per cent. (in the case of university-trained women marriage ratio is not more than some 30 per cent). We k on moving round and round. Girls must earn their living beca they cannot marry Why cannot they marry? Because tl are so many girls earning their living.

My principal object in writing this article is to make it j fectly clear that the present state of things is not an 'act God,' the result of an unavoidable disparity between the se but a problem capable of solution. It lies in our own hands find some way of escape from the squirrel's cage The wl matter is essentially a question of ideals—in fact, like n other things, it depends upon our ultimate beliefs To tl who have been converted to the egocentric, utilitarian philoso] which reveals itself in much of the literature of feminism, eve thing I have just said will seem absurd. It will not move tl in the least to know that some millions of girls have lost tl chance of possessing a home of their own. Indeed, a w known representative of left-wing feminism recently expres her joy at the decline of marriage, since she held that it wc open the door for irregular sex relationships and thus assis the 'liberation of women.'

On the other hand, to those who believe that marriag the proper work of women, and that the sexes were intendec complement and aid each other, and not to cut each oth throats, it will seem of the very first importance to remed state of things which imposes celibacy upon millions of wo (over and above the numerically 'superfluous' women).

It is true that some feminists—especially those of the] wing—have begun to realise that the economic emancipatio women is not all that was promised, that in practice it conde masses of women to a drudgery no better than that from wl they had thought to liberate themselves. Accordingly t have brought forward a remedy of their own—the union marriage and professional life. It is proposed that wives husbands should both pursue careers In that way many our bachelors, male and female, especially in the educated clas will be able to marry.

There are a great many excellent arguments which might

advanced against this sort of home life. But there is one which renders all the others superfluous. If this practice ever became at all general, it would be quite impossible to employ all the women who would be seeking careers. All the learned professions, and most of the other callings by which this army of would-be independent wives might hope to earn their bread, are already heavily overcrowded What then would be the position (to consider only the higher social levels) if some million or more married women entered into the labour market? If all the married women in the country were to become infected with feminism it would mean that we should have to find work for another 5,000,000 women The plan is obviously absurd and impossible.

But if we once accept the idea that, for the great mass of wives (leaving out those who have some very special gift which would at once entitle them to make a footing), there can be no question whatever of economic independence, it follows plainly that all social developments likely to result in injury to the prospects of young men will rebound and hit the opposite sex with equal force. For this reason, if for no other, it is bad policy on the part of our feminine educators to ignore the results which must follow from training the large majority of girls to compete with (and often to undercut) men in every department of life

These remarks must not be misunderstood I in no way argue against the valuable woman worker, who, as doctor, lawyer, artist or architect, may be doing good service to the community. We certainly need every ounce of ability we can get, male or female. But we must seek to reorganise our life so that wasteful competition shall be eliminated. It is anti-social to pour into already overcrowded fields of employment a stream of girls who have no special 'call' there, but are merely sent into professional work because it is the fashion, or because they do not want to seem inferior to their brothers or boy friends. To the young man his success in life is a matter of life and death, whereas a very considerable fraction of his girl competitors are merely seeing life and amusing themselves for a year or two while they look round for a husband.

We live in an age that has no time for thought, and at the root of all our troubles lies the persistent failure to face fundamentals. Girls are not boys. They never have been, and they never will be The attempt to banish sex and set up an abstraction called sex equality is so futile, so false to life and all its realities, that, pursuing this path, we stumble from one impossible position into another. This is ludicrously seen in the strife now going on in the Woman's Movement between those who, not having quite lost touch with reality, are concerned to create

better conditions of work for women workers, and those whc being pure doctrinaires, insist upon an abstract sex equalit which leaves women workers without any special consideratioi whatever.

All social order must rest upon some kind of definition. I we entirely refuse to accept sex as the basic thing it obviousl is, and thus fail to define the functions of men and women there is nothing left for us but a chaotic state of society in whicl the sexes fight one another like dogs over a bone

We must get back to the eternal truth that men and womer are *complementary opposites.* Polarity is a law running througl the universe; and it is the polarity of sex alone which enable civilisation to attain to its most harmonious development. Seek to do away with this fundamental distinction and duality oi nature and function, and we sink into confusion.

The complexities of modern life have not essentially altered the fact that man's primary function is to create food and wealth for the community, while woman's primary function is to bear and rear the children of the community. Our modern doctrinaires have done their best to confuse the distinction. What is the result? Millions of men without work and millions of women without children!

If we consider the girls in any given school, it will be found, looking ahead, that at least half of them will eventually marry; yet, although this is well known, none of these girls are actually educated with that object in view. Modern parents and educators, even when they realise, as many of them do, that marriage is the most important sphere of work for a woman, almost always take the view that it is useless to prepare any given girl for this life-work, since there is no guarantee that she will actually marry. It is therefore safer to train her for some paying career. The unfortunate young woman of to-day is accordingly torn in two between conflicting possibilities. No one feels certain that she is going to have a home; therefore she is not trained for home-life. On the other hand, the possibility that she will marry is just strong enough to prevent her concentrating whole-heartedly on her career. Her brother is, of course, spared this distressing conflict. Our modern educators seem incapable of finding any way out of the muddle.

In practice it amounts to this: the schools regard marriage as something of altogether secondary importance, and concentrate mainly (but not quite thoroughly) on professional training, the girl being all the time handicapped more or less by home duties from which the boy is free. The whole position is profoundly unsatisfactory. Marriage is not a matter of secondary importance for the nation, however much the schools may push it into the

background. It is as important for the nation to possess well-trained wives and mothers as it is for it to possess efficient sailors or engineers. It is more difficult to run a home really competently than to sail a ship or manage a machine. On every hand we find mothers complaining that the modern school totally unfits their daughters for home-life.

The full absurdity of the situation stands out sharply when we imagine a reversal of the sexes. Let us assume that in a certain school most of the boys will go into the Navy—at least, it is not quite *certain* that they will; it is merely *probable*. The parents would then say: 'Well, it is no use training our boys for the Navy, because we are not sure that they will ever go to sea. We will have them all trained as tailors and carpenters, and then we shall be on the safe side. If, after all, they do join the Navy, it will be useful for them to know a trade' Let us suppose, further, that some 60 per cent. of these boys do really enter the Navy on leaving school. They would then be entirely without the preliminary experience and training which is essential to make a successful seaman, and would find themselves hopelessly handicapped by comparison with other boys who had been sent to a proper naval school. What would people say about this system? And what would happen to the Navy? And what *is* happening to the domestic life of the Anglo-Saxon race? It is the same tale wherever the English tongue is spoken—more hotels, fewer homes; more divorces, fewer children.

Arguing thus, I do not, however, deny that there is a great weight in the arguments of those who say that in the world of to-day it is impracticable to train girls for marriage. From the standpoint of immediate expediency the parents of daughters can hardly adopt any other view. But this does not lift us out of the rut Our educational system is under the influence of an individualistic and absolutely non-racial philosophy of life. Its aim is to fit its pupils for successful individual careers. We are here faced with one of those problems in which the interests of the individual conflict with those of the community. But the modern life outlook is so entirely egocentric that we scarcely realise there is a conflict at all, since the interests of the community have no representatives to voice them. It is difficult to see any way out save through a change of values. If once the socio-centric standpoint were to prevail, we should attempt—although the difficulties would be immense—to order our life in some definite way with the view of eliminating anti-social sex conflict and establishing harmony and co-operation between men and women.

MEYRICK BOOTH.

THE PROCESS OF MECHANISATION IN TH MUSICAL ART

OUR age is the age of the triumph of technics. We see the invasion of the musical art—an art essentially remote from tl material plane As a matter of fact, there is nothing abnormal i this ; music has always been developed in very close contact wit technics, and its whole evolution has depended upon materi causes. Examples are not far to seek . the expansion of musi its beginning, corresponds with the invention of the mensur system, which is a contrivance of a purely technical, and not of musical or creative, order. Then we see a fresh outburst creative fertility coinciding with the invention of music-printin another technical phenomenon. What would music have bee if the organ and the keyed instruments had not been invented The keyboard in combination with the tempered scale alone mac Bach possible, and there is nothing 'creative' in these. Tl mighty expansion of pianoforte music in the nineteenth centu is the direct result of the invention of the new type of instrume which supplanted the clavecin. The makers of violins—tl famous Stradivarii and Amatis—originated the violin literatu of the 'heroic' period of fiddle virtuosity The invention chromatic trumpets created the orchestration of Berlioz ar Wagner, and the whole of the new orchestral technique. All alo we see that the technical plane influences the creative, fructifyi it and providing it with new means of creation.

The distinction between our period and the rest of histo consists generally in the fact that technical progress nowada shows itself to be more destructive and more powerful. Tl whole of the new technics is the child of the last few decade The life of the European of our time differs in type from the li of his predecessor of the past century more than did the life the latter from the life of the Egyptian of the Pharaohs. Fro the beginning of the nineteenth century we have an extraordina development of technics. Music always lags behind in its reacti to life, and it has done so here, but it is not surprising th mechanisation, which has permeated the whole of our existen is at last taking possession of the musical sphere.

The process of mechanisation is not so entirely gloomy and negative as might be imagined *a priori*. On the contrary, a number of supreme attainments of the musical art are the direct consequences of simple mechanisation. Though this is a technical age, too little attention is paid to the domain of music, and the introduction into it of technical improvements is generally of a casual and unsystematic character. Many ideas, very fruitful in themselves, have not yet found ' technical ' embodiment, though it might be by no means difficult. The musician still lives in his archaic sphere, and usually has no contact with technics ; just as, on the other hand, the engineer-inventor is ordinarily interested least of all in music, in which he appears to be quite uninitiated. The penetration of music by mechanical ideas is accomplished along several lines · firstly, we have the *technical* embodiment of the idea of the reproduction of music ; secondly, the invention of new ways of obtaining tone, which are not based on archaic methods derived from savage ideas (are not our flutes, and even our pianos, the direct descendants of barbarous instruments so far as the method of extracting the sounds is concerned ?) ; thirdly, the problem of the fixation of musical performances ; fourthly, the enriching of the scale of notes employed in music ; fifthly, the transmission of music to a distance ; sixthly, various small technical improvements in musical mechanisms already existing.

Some of these are nothing more than the organic development and revelation, the carrying out to its conclusion, of the natural process of the differentiation of the musical art into the active creator and the passive listener. In the primitive stages the ' types ' of musician—the listener, the performer, and the ' composer '—are blended Then the fusion of composer and performer continues for a long period. Everything is now differentiated : the composer is one person, the performer another, and the listener stands apart. The phonograph and wireless are so far the final attainments along this path The listener is already able to dispense with the actual performer ; the significance of this act is not less than was at one time the invention of music-printing, which made possible the multiplication of the *symbolical* records of a composition ; we can now multiply the *actual* records of the performance. In the long run this process will in all probability lead to the abolition of printed music, which will become superfluous ; and signs of this are already noticeable. It is now being replaced by the phonographic disc, which plays itself and requires no knowledge of musical symbols. As to the purely artistic influence of this event, on the one hand the activity of the ' public '—of the masses—which was never great, is further diminished ; on the other hand, it is difficult to dispute

the fact that a good 'Pianola'[1] or an instrument of the 'Mign type, or simply a phonograph, will give a finished performa and hence the artistic education of the taste is far higher than amateur strumming of the classics on the piano. Moreove must be remembered that the process of improvement is by means completed, and that perfection still lies before us: mechanical reproducers of the near future will certainly be m times more perfect than those now existing.

Inventive thought here follows the line of least resistance often chances to stumble on the solution of these or other proble Of modern methods of reproducing a performance there are t types: the one gives us a complete and unaided reproduction (phonograph, the 'Mignon'); the other is an intermediate ty in which the mechanisation is restricted to the technical, mechanical side The latter type comprises instruments such the 'Pianola,' which are supposed to admit of the introducti of certain nuances into a performance. These instruments, it true, are still far from perfect—their artistic resources have been thoroughly thought out—but the idea itself of entrusting mechanism the mechanical part of a performance is undoubte acceptable and even worthy of approbation The mode executant is bowed down under the weight and complexity the new music, and the time is long past when the performer to a delight in the process of his own performance; nowadays he a martyr and a sufferer, in perpetual dread of losing his memo and becoming confused (which is continually happening); f him his appearances on the concert platform are a source supreme torment and agitation, having nothing in common wi the artistic emotion which is the result of inspiration And t agitation and want of confidence is transmitted to the listen who pities the performer, fears for him, and also experiences feeling of tension which is not artistic, but purely material, as were. The liberation of the executant artist from the mechanis and the strain on his memory would permit him to devote mo attention to the artistic aspects of his performance. Virtuosi transferred to the apparatus would lose its attractiveness a value for the uninitiated listener, and the general attention wou be concentrated on the higher artistic plane

This prospect is theoretically very alluring. But it must borne in mind that inventive thought has never yet put t question and the problem in such a lucid and clear-cut for Possibly it is owing to the insufficient recognition of the essenti nature of the problem that the existing inventions appear to

[1] The 'Pianola' was the earliest type, from which the 'Player-Piano' a other modern makes have been developed

[2] The Reproducing Piano (*e.g.*, the 'Wette-Mignon' or the 'Duo-Art').

to a certain extent 'still-born.' For all that, the 'Pianola' is so far a substitute for performance, but not for artistic performance. This is not due to impossibilities of construction—modern technical skill is quite able to solve all such problems—but merely to vague thinking.

Accurately formulated, the aim should be the creation of an instrument in which the artistic will would exercise control over the properties of every note, but the realisation of the note would be entrusted to mechanism.

In the sphere of pianoforte music this idea can be embodied with the utmost ease. The power of the performer with existing instruments of the 'Pianola' type extends only to the tempo and the general dynamic of the piece he is playing, and sometimes to individual notes, which can be made to stand out. Directly the mechanism of these instruments enables the player to control *every note* the task will be accomplished.

The problem might be solved in a somewhat different and sufficiently interesting form with instruments of the 'Mignon' type, *i.e.*, instruments in which the performance is fixed on rolls. The problem lies in the fact that the 'non-playing performer' of the new type is occupied with nothing else than the autographic preparation of the roll, with the marking on it of all the rhythmic and dynamic nuances which he thinks desirable. I myself worked at this whilst still living in Russia, and although the technique of a process of this kind was not then developed and was little known, and the instruments of the 'Mignon' type were in an extremely deplorable state (as they were left after the war and the revolution)—in spite of all this, the results proved extremely instructive and interesting. In this aspect the executant artist underlines his share in the creative work of the composer—he completes the drawing, as it were, of the scheme planned by the composer. This is a difficult but very interesting task. Incidentally in the course of the work a number of points are cleared up—small possibilities and details, the possibility of new effects with the pedal and of technique inconceivable in an ordinary pianoforte performance. For instance, one can pedal individual notes on a general background, and the size of the chords is not restricted to the stretch of the pianist's hands. For the composer this reveals new possibilities which, from an objective point of view, may be compared with the opportunities provided by the invention of keyed instruments and music-printing. Some attempts which I made to write for an instrument of this type showed that the act of composition is congruent with the act of 'preparing a roll' and consequently includes the act of performance.

With instruments of another type this problem is easily

solved, and most easily in the case of wind instruments, including the organ, which, owing to its lack of expressiveness and its essentially mechanical nature, invites this reform more than any of the others. With the brass the question is more difficult, though sufficient experiments have not been made in their case; theoretically a solution is always possible. The mechanisation of the strings is most difficult of all, since the existing 'mechanical stringed instruments' are still very imperfect in tone However, I see no theoretical objections in the way. It all depends on the attention paid to the problem by the inventive mind, and on its concentration on this particular path.

In such an aspect I view the possibility of the appearance of orchestras of a mechanical type or, more accurately, the creation of a synthetic mechanical instrument capable of a full measure of expression I personally do not doubt that music will in like manner follow this path, since technics are absorbing every sphere of life. One may regret the loss of the former 'naïve' musical current of life, but it is hardly possible to arrest a process which already has analogies in other directions Many have lamented, and lament to this day, the replacement of horses by motor cars, and at one time in the domain of music people bewailed the abolition of natural trumpets, which 'sounded better.' Nevertheless, no one is in a position to restore them, because in every such process the integral 'profit' is the important thing—something is always lost, but the gain is greater than the loss With the industrialisation of production much was sacrificed, but this does not stop the growth of industry, though many hand-made articles were perhaps better and more artistic Music, like all the phenomena of life, is undergoing a similar process.

Just now it is experiencing a transitional period. The first waves of mechanisation are rolling in upon it. The upright piano of the amateur is already being supplanted by the phonograph and the gramophone; for many wireless is taking the place of concerts; composers are writing music for the 'Pianola.' The important thing now is, not to stave off this process, which is inevitable, but to direct it into channels which shall bring most advantage to music, from which music shall lose least and gain most.

On the whole the idea of mechanisation leads to a significant reduction in the number of real and active workers in the musical sphere Its application is by no means in the interests of the musician caste, but of the general public. The trend of the achievements of mechanisation is decidedly against the former, and I imagine that this very tendency compels musicians to put up a resistance—though not an organised resistance—to this process, which they often declare to be anti-musical, the ruin of art, and so forth.

But the process, as I have already remarked, goes on in defiance of the wishes and interests of the group of musical workers. In recent times we see coming to a head a series of crises in the musical sphere. The crisis of chamber music is now a recognised fact. The crisis of the concert business in general is approaching —everywhere there is a noticeable falling off in the attendances, which is held by some to be due to the development of wireless installations. The crisis of orchestral music is also with us. It is expressed in various ways—in the deficiency of good instrumentalists; in the fatal fact that orchestral performances cannot be made to pay, owing to their costliness. The very best orchestras in the world exist nowadays on the resources of wealthy patrons, and the conductor often proves to be a sort of 'auto-Mæcenas.' The idea of mechanisation is to provide musical experience for the widest circles and as cheaply as possible. In this respect it is a highly democratic idea, but is contrary to the professional interests of the musical trades union. In the end this mechanisation is bound to lead to the development of 'hearing music from a distance,' and to the concentration of 'real artistic performance' at a few centres, which will be in the fullest sense of the term 'musical factories,' and will supply the world with rolls and discs, or with wireless music. Amateurism of any kind is retiring more and more into the realm of the archaic; everything is specialised. But the amateur practice of music proves to be more interesting with the new, mechanised apparatus than with the old 'artistic' instruments. Other arts have followed this line more definitely. Reproductions are supplanting amateur painting and sculpture; architecture has long been out of touch with amateurism. This process is the result of the general 'civilising' process connected with an industrial age, and in the long run it must convert the musical art into an industry organised on industrial lines—a characteristic sign of the vanishing importance of the original and its substitution by numberless copies. The original is valuable only from the standpoint of the museum or the antiquarian.

The prospect of this development may seem tragic and terrible to the musician of the old stamp, but it cannot be denied that it has a certain arresting grandiosity. The modern man, of course, has so little time for music; the tempo of life is such that he cannot enjoy the creative process as he did in the old days—for this there remain the specialist composers. For him, the musical amateur, the ready-made product is preferable—the reproduction of musical tone, be it by the gramophone or the mechanical 'Mignon,' or some instrument not yet invented. It is more convenient for him to listen to the wireless or the gramophone at home than to spend time and money in attending concerts. The

concert-halls of the future will be turned into apartments, there will be no gathering together of audiences—an opera stage and a concert platform will be installed in a little appara in the corner of a room, at your service when you have a mom to spare. Orchestras will perish and disappear, like the ichthy sauri; famous artists travelling about the world will produce some musical Hollywood musical rolls, films, and discs f universal use, and perform things for broadcasting. The music profile of the world will undergo extraordinary changes in the ne future It is possible that music-rolls will be composed direc with fixed nuances, and this will abolish the reading and writin of music; and that the mechanical orchestras of the future wi bring about the general extermination of the executant clas leaving only 'composers' and 'technicians,' the function of th latter being to give immediate effect to the composers' intention on the 'mechanical plane.' Essentially, of course, this prospec is merely the translation into the language of musical happening of what took place long ago in other spheres affected by in dustrialisation. The mechanising process and the industrialisin process are one. It is possible to adopt a negative attitude toward it, but it must be admitted that the process has a positive side— it contains the idea of bringing precious things within the reacl of everybody, and in it, despite the opinion of many, the artisti moment is preserved, only it is specialised and the number o people employed by it is restricted.

Mechanisation, therefore, must affect everything. First of all it lays hold upon those musical phenomena which already contair within themselves the elements of mechanism (instruments) Less mechanical and more natural instruments, such as the violin yield less easily to the mechanising process. The voice is mani festly more difficult still, but there is no doubt that even here it is possible, and that mechanical vocalists with excellent voices— better, it is to be hoped, than those of many contemporary singers —ideally and variously trained and with more power of expression, will make their appearance soon after the mechanical string orchestras.

One may regard all these prospects with the pessimism natural to men of an exhausted stock and an era on the point of extinction. I personally prefer to detect in these perspectives elements of new possibilities, of an artistic pathos of an intensity hitherto unknown to us. For me there is no doubt that the creative process in our European culture is in one way or another standardised and possibly is already ended; the musical domain is built over, and there is no place left for new structures. Art must open up other paths for itself, apart from those along which evolution has hitherto travelled. Mechanisation and its per-

spectives, accepted in a positive aspect—that is the path on which the flowers of a musical culture entirely unprecedented and unexpected may yet bloom. All that is needed is a thorough assimilation of the idea that mechanisation is not a synonym for an expiring creative act, but is only a stage of the differentiation which has always occurred in art. It is the separation of the act of the creator from the act of the performer, and the handing over of the mechanical elements always existing in a musical performance to mechanism, which for this purpose has manifestly greater possibilities. The objections to the mechanical resources at the musician's disposal are very reminiscent of the complaints against automobiles and railways, the regrets for the horses of the good old days and the enumeration of their advantages. But we must count our gains as well as our losses, and perhaps the former are far greater.

The problem of extending the musical scale (the problem of ultrachromaticism ')—already propounded by musicians and musical thinkers as one of the means of averting the ' overcrowding ' of the musical domain and of providing fresh space for new structures—rests absolutely on the mechanical problem, for there is no doubt that, if the resources of the ' human ' mechanism prove inadequate for new music written on the 12-note scale, ultrachromaticism can be realised only when all the mechanical side of music is transferred to mechanism. The problem of mechanisation is bound up with another question, which might be called the ' scientification ' of music, its penetration by the elements of science. Scientific thought has long promoted the musical art : as instances I may cite Pythagoras, the Greek and Arabic science of music, modern acoustic science in its application to music. To this must be referred the problem, already mentioned, of new ways of obtaining tone, based on scientific data. Such a problem is the electrification of sound. Of this we have a good example in the apparatus of the Russian inventor, L. Termen,[3] which recently made a considerable stir. Beyond question the resources of modern technical science are sufficient to solve the problem of the creation of tone of any timbre from an instrument of a single type. The question of the ' typisation ' of musical instruments is very vital and real, even in a more modest sphere than that concerned with new methods of obtaining tone. In Russia as long ago as 1890 Professor A. Erarsky experimented in the direction of a substitute for the wind orchestra. This took

[3] By the way, I must attest the priority of Termen's claim to the title of electrifier of music, for which, as is usually the case, other claimants put in a prompt appearance immediately after the demonstration of his apparatus. Termen began his labours in 1919, and in 1921 he showed it, already perfected, at the State Institute of the Musical Sciences, Moscow, which was founded by me, and in which I was then President of the Scientific Council.

the form of small organs with a keyboard, and these special and expressive instruments, which were played exactly like a piano, were successfully used in the children's orchestra founded by Professor Erarsky at the Moscow Synodal School. The resonance of these instruments, which reproduced accurately the timbre of oboes, flutes, clarinets, and bassoons, was so successful that such musicians as Tschaikowsky and Taneev took a pleasure in conducting the orchestra, and in 1892 the latter went so far as to write a little symphony especially for it. The idea, however, did not become widespread Meanwhile the establishment of a single type of instrument (with a standardised technique) is an eminently contemporary problem, if only on account of the diminishing number of good orchestral players—wind instrumentalists will of a surety soon be as extinct as any of the antediluvian animals. Its solution will enable us to solve another—the extension of the range of orchestral timbres. Our orchestra is fortuitous in its composition; as the various timbres were discovered the instruments which happened to possess them were added to it. Many composers have been painfully conscious of the lack of, let us say, low registers in the orchestra, of the imperfection of the scales in individual timbres—the timbre of the flute, for instance, is one of the most interesting in the wood-wind group, as it breaks down half-way through the possible scale. Scientific methods of producing tone may settle all these questions, and at the same time render feasible the transmutation of some timbres into others, which will provide entirely new resources for creative work. Whether it will be the electric process or some other I cannot yet say, but undoubtedly in this technical age of ours archaic means of sound production must give place to new, scientific methods, bringing with them possibilities unheard of

We can then attain new perspectives. Music will be provided with instruments of unprecedented powers, beyond the possibilities of the human mechanism. The limits of the scales will be extended; the existing set of timbres will be supplemented I know that many find a special beauty in the spectacle of a musician with his instrument. It seems to me, however, that much of this is merely a matter of habit, and that neither the violinist with his violin tucked under his chin, nor the pianist at his three-legged monster, nor the trumpeter blowing into his instrument and crimson from the exertion, nor even the singer open-mouthed, are in themselves æsthetic objects. Perhaps the modest apparatus, which by its portability and by the space it occupies will have very evident advantages over the crowd of musicians forming an orchestra—perhaps this in itself will have a more æsthetic appearance, and the sounds of the symphonies extracted from it will provide a more purely musical sensation, than the mingled

visual and social impression produced by the surroundings of a concert—surroundings which distract the attention rather than concentrate it on the music—and, moreover, an impression which will not always stand æsthetic criticism as a spectacle (the capering conductor, the gaping mouths of the singers, the reddening trombonists, etc.).

We shall then be able to hear music at present beyond the bounds of possibility, not on account of any new harmonies, but simply because of its technical impracticability for the human mechanism. The performer will all at once develop dozens of new fingers, as it were, and there will be no limit to their technique New timbres will be created, in comparison with which those at present at our disposal, even the most select, will possibly seem as pitiful and ridiculous as a clavecin when compared with a grand piano The absurd and often amusing occurrences at concerts will disappear, and the mind of the listener will not be oppressed by the constant possibility of an unsuccessful performance Difficulties of execution will vanish, and rehearsals of musical compositions will be abolished It is said that mechanisation will impair the artistic quality of a performance. I held the same opinion at one time, but after some very unequivocal experiments, which were carried out by myself and others, on the impressions produced by mechanical instruments, there remained no doubt in my mind that these lamentations were unfounded. In my experiments an audience of good musicians listened to the playing of a living artist and of an instrument, and they were unable to say when the one began and the other left off. The results were not very consoling for the artist, his performance being more often taken to be mechanical than that of the instrument. This, of course, speaks for itself, and shows how great a part is played by extraneous circumstances and the hypnosis of the accepted norms. But these circumstances may be of essential consequence to the musical impression And even if such be the case, are modern technical resources unable to provide similar 'illusions,' and to a greater extent than at present? I am fully convinced that such mechanisation—in which the mechanical part so largely represented in the act of musical performance is entrusted to mechanism—is far more useful and less dangerous to art and to the loftiest and most sacred conception of it than that mechanisation now observable in musical creative work, which amounts to the destruction of the romanticism and the immemorial expressiveness of music, and which is already overtaking, not the instruments, but the composers themselves.

LEONID SABANEEV.
(*Translated by* S. W. PRING.)

SIDELIGHTS ON PERSIAN SOCIETY

THOUGH *the words 'Iran' and 'Aryan' are synonymous, Persia is in point of fact inhabited by two distinct races of mankind. To the north of a rough line drawn from the western frontier just south of the Lake of Urmia, through Hamadan, Sava and Tehran,* along the Elburz range to Mashhad, and thence to the eastern frontier at Sarakhs, the people, except those living in the Caspian provinces between Astara and Esterabad, are mostly of Turanian extraction. To the south of that line they are Aryans. But we find curious anomalies. in the cities of Hamadan and Sava, Persian is spoken; in the villages around, Turkish[1]: some of the wards of Kazvin are Persian; others are Turkish: there is an isolated settlement of Turks in the district of Saraband, to the south-west of Sultanabad, and another near Ruy-i-Khwaf, in eastern Persia; Aryan Kurds dwell in the extreme north-west of Azerbayjan[2], while the Qashqay tribesmen near Shiraz are Turks *It is to one of them that Hafez alludes in his well-known* couplet·

> If the Shirazi Turk but requite my love,
> To the mole on her cheek will I give
> Samarcand and Bokhara.

Samarcand and Bokhara, by the way, are both bilingual, for half the citizens of those cities speak Persian, and the other half Turkish.

Apart from the Turanians, who must comprise a fourth of the population of Persia, there are, among the Aryans themselves, a number of different dialects. In Talesh, Gilan, and Mazanderan we have Taleshi, Gileki, and Mazanderani, all akin to Pahlavi, with many pure Sanskrit words; in the Kazvin plain there are villages where Tát is spoken, Semnán has a strange speech which is not understood in the neighbouring city of Shahrud; the Kurds speak Kurdish; the Bakhtiaris and Lurs have their own patois; and the same remark applies to the Tangestanis and

[1] Or, better, Tatar

[2] The Persian province, which should not be confused with the country in Transcaucasia of the same name.

other tribes to the south of Shiraz. In the south-east of Persia the language is Baluchi.

Then, again, the inhabitants of the hot lowlands in the south-west—a part of ancient Elam [3]—are Arabs, who are Semites; so the three great races of mankind are all represented in Persia.

The country itself is a large one, approximately the size of the British Isles, France, and Germany together; while the population cannot be much more than the combined population of London, Paris, and Berlin. Thus the people live in scattered communities, separated from one another by vast tracts of uncultivated ground, a state which checks any tendency towards assimilation.

Yet these widely divergent races are bound together, not only by similar customs and mode of life, but by something far subtler: they are bound together by the wondrous brotherhood of Islam.

Now in the north-west corner of the Old World we grow up with the notion that we ought to despise modes of life that are unlike our own. For we believe—and rightly so, I think—that we have produced something better in the way of civilisation than other nations inhabiting the lands that stretch away to the east and south.

Hence we are inclined, when we first come to a country like Persia, to stand aloof from the natives. But if, following in the footsteps of Themistocles, we 'unfold the tapestry of the Persian tongue,' we find that our contempt for customs that at first seemed so strange to us gives way to sympathetic understanding; and we even begin to wonder whether we have not something to learn from the East. We find, too, that though the Persian may have glaring faults he has none the less many admirable qualities.

For instance, his idea of truth is coloured by Saadi's maxim:

Durugh-gu, maslahat-ámiz
Beh az rásti fetna-angiz.

'A conciliatory lie is better than strife-causing truth'; and although he makes this an excuse for telling every kind of lie, yet he is loath to swear falsely on the Koran. He is often dishonest, rarely mean. There is nothing more annoying than the way a Persian shirks responsibility; nevertheless he does his duty by his family. He will drive a hard bargain, but he is hospitable to a degree unknown in Europe. Vain and rather inclined to be pompous, yet his unfailing sense of humour makes him a lively and agreeable companion; and, although he is deficient in logic, he has a remarkable insight into character.

[3] The Elamite language was one of the three used by Darius for his official inscriptions.

For his mentality is essentially feminine; and it is this, I think, which makes it so difficult to follow the workings of his mind. To this he owes a love of intrigue, and a queer capacity of playing off one antagonist against another. There is no craftier diplomatist in the world!

So much for his character. When, however, we come to consider Persian society, we find a great gulf between us, caused chiefly by the situation of women, and to a lesser extent by the difference of religion.

The situation of women in Persia is amazing, hidden as they are from the sight of all men save the nearest relatives. The system of seclusion is so well known that I will not describe it. But I would like to say something of its psychological aspect.

Ever since the days of the Garden of Eden, Eve has been a source of joy and delight, of worry and trouble, to Adam. In other words, she presents a problem; and nowhere in the world does this problem seem near solution.

In England we have made efforts in that direction: we have succeeded in giving women almost all the privileges enjoyed by men, while forgetting to burden them with anything like the equivalent obligations The Persians, on the other hand, say that woman is not responsible, or is only half responsible, for her actions; and they solve the problem, or rather they ignore it, by keeping her away from mankind When a European wife forgets her duties, the blame is laid at her door; but when a Persian wife goes astray, the husband is despised for not making sure that, metaphorically speaking, the bolts and bars of the *andaroon*[4] were fully secure That does not absolve the woman from the direst punishment; but, as I have said, logic is not a Persian's strong point

Seclusion, to put it mildly, has failed. Indeed, it defeats its own object; for outside the house one shrouded figure so resembles another that intrigue is extremely easy The very words 'a veiled woman' convey a sense of mystery, and arouse curiosity. And the effects of the system on society are wholly bad

Let me point out one of the worst of these effects by an example. A young Persian boy, whom we will call Hasan Khan, left his native city in the north of Persia for the United States. He forgot most of his mother tongue, learnt to speak American without a trace of any other accent, studied medicine, took his degree, joined the American army during the war, won a commission, and eventually obtained a post as house surgeon in a Philadelphian hospital. But, like most of us, he never lost his love for the old house which was his father's; and when he had saved a few thousand dollars he came back to his native land.

[4] Harem.

For a time all went well. He was received with open arms, ıd he on his part donned Persian clothes without objection. He ›ened a dispensary in the bazaar, and, outwardly at any rate, emed at one with his relations.

But soon he began to find the life irksome ; and so his people, ho remarked upon his growing restlessness, conceived the idea binding him closer to them by giving him a wife.

He married ; and then his troubles began in earnest. Such range troubles they were, too ! His chief complaint was that could not make a friend of his wife, that she was more of a rvant than a mate. There was, of course, no question of the ro of them going out together. A Persian man and woman, be ıey husband and wife, walking or driving together in a street ould be arrested by the police for moral turpitude But he ied to interest her in the things he saw and did. She was willing to cook his dinner, to keep his house tidy, and even to :lean his shoes ; but she refused to be interested. 'You talk .o me of a Husayn, an Ali, or a Musa,' said she ; 'but I don't know them. You speak of men and things I shall never see.' Then perhaps she would chat about her women friends, their ewels, the vivid colours of their frocks, and their eternal jam-naking parties. After a time he realised that her doings did not nterest him either. 'She never contradicts me,' he said to me ›itterly one day. 'She doesn't seem to mind when I go out, nor ıow long I stay away from the *andaroon*.'

I observed drily that she appeared to be an ideal wife ; but, ›oor things, they were hopelessly ill matched He was a man ›f decent views, and could not bear to look upon a wife as a :hattel. He tried hard to persuade her to go with him to America, where he would have had her educated ; but, fearful of the hell-ire that awaits those who dwell in infidel lands, she refused, so ıe went sorrowfully away alone.

I doubt whether the Persian system moulds many women into wives as docile as Mrs. Hasan Khan. Often you may hear a fair lenizen of the *andaroon* expostulating with her lord and master n a way that would have done credit to Shakespeare's Katharina.

In Hasan Khan's native city there dwelt a wealthy merchant who had four wives. Once or twice he was ill advised enough to single out one of them for special favours. Each time he did o the other three joined forces and gave their husband a sound hrashing, much to the amusement of his neighbours. A bill ›roker in the same city told me that his wife gave him endless rouble. On one occasion a large sum of money disappeared from ıis house. For days he searched high and low. When he had given up all hope of finding his lost treasure, she took him to he place in the courtyard where she had buried it, *mahz-i-'aziyyat*

(just to annoy). We can now understand the feelings of the old Persian sage who exclaimed, 'Woman is a calamity. But,' he added wisely, 'no house ought to be without this evil.'

At the time of the British occupation of Kazvin, a Persian maiden, worthy descendant of the polo-playing ladies of Sassanian times, dashed on to the football ground one day and joined in a game that was being played by Indian sowars. The affair developed into a grave if amusing scandal; for an English sergeant-major saw the girl, fell in love, and proposed marriage!

These instances show that the spirit of the women of Persia is by no means crushed.

Nor do women stand aloof from the affairs of men. I once expressed surprise to the Treasurer-General at an appointment which I considered unsuitable, and asked him why it had been made. 'Oh!' he replied with a shrug of the shoulders, 'the new official's mother is a great friend of the Prime Minister's wife's sister.'

I have said that the other cause of the great gulf between Persian society and ours is the difference of religion. Religion, however, is a thorny subject; so I will add no more than this, that the national religion of Persia, and the religion of the vast majority of the inhabitants, is the Shi'a persuasion of Islam.

Persian society is divided into classes, as it is in most countries of the world. In the upper class we find the *ayán*, or nobles, who are nearly all Government officials, either with posts or without posts; for in Persia, alas, there are usually three or four candidates waiting to fill one post. Consequently there has arisen a system of administration akin to the *Rotativo* Governments of King Carlos in Portugal, where an official held a post for a year and aspired to one during the next two.

This system puts a premium on dishonesty, and is undoubtedly responsible for a great deal of peculation. It also gives the Persian gentleman far more leisure than is good for him. He cannot be for ever hunting, shooting and riding, though at these sports he really excels; only quite recently, and to a very small extent, has the younger generation begun to play games; so a great deal of spare time has to be filled up somehow. From early morning onwards hours are spent paying and receiving calls. In the big houses of Tehran and other cities the teapot simmers on the samovar all day long; and wherever you go in the morning you find the master of the house surrounded by a circle of friends and acquaintances, all drinking tea, and most of them smoking cigarettes or water-pipes. From time to time one of them opens his mouth to speak: in Persia it is not considered necessary to keep conversation going without a break.

These are dull gatherings; but then, whatever our friends

end, they are really engaged in killing time, the most occupation in the world. When a man does not wish to ve callers, his servants state that their master 'has gone in,' the exact contrary of our 'not at home.'

But all gatherings are by no means dull. After the Persian bleman has lunched, rested, and spent an hour or so 'within'—at is, with his womenfolk—he comes out again to receive his timate friends. Fruit, sweets, and nuts are placed on small bles, as well as decanters of wine and arrack.

Tales from Saadi, poems of Hafez, are recited; or perhaps a ung poet will declaim some verses composed only that morning. general conversation follows, with laughter ever near the face; for the Persian has a cheerful nature. And, moreover, is a witty fellow with a subtle mind, who loves philosophical cussions; so that he can be the most amusing of companions. I remember an evening when a well-known mulla, or priest, s present. His calling, of course, precluded him from drinking ie with us; so a teapot and a cup on a tray were brought and ced on a table by his side. 'What is that?' I was indiscreet ugh to ask. 'Cold tea,' was the prompt reply. He misled ody but himself into believing that it was not arrack. After iking several cupfuls, he recited some of his own poetry in of the most powerful voices that I have ever heard. One of poetical figures was curious, he likened violets growing on banks of a stream to the beard and moustache round the ith of a man. The simile made a great impression on the ience.

Another young mulla was wont to observe, with true Persian erbole, that he 'died of pleasure' when he heard a song well g. I was his guest one day at a small country house in the st of the Gilan forest After lunch we smoked hashish, and i he told a dervish's tale, which I have never read in any k. Yet it is well known to Persians.

'There were once three men,' he said in low, musical tones—opium fiend, a drunkard, and a smoker of hashish. Walking ig a dreary street they came to the door which leads to the den of Felicity. The walls of the garden were too high to e; and the door, bolted and barred, resisted their efforts pen it. "Let us take a nap outside," said the opium fiend, g down and composing himself for sleep. "Nay," retorted drunkard, hammering the solid oak angrily with his fists 'e must smash this accursed door." "My brothers," pro-ed the third gently, "why this hopelessness and wrath? will pass through the crack of the door!" *Az darz-i-dar :vim tú!*'

I did not understand the tale and told him so.

'Hashish,' he said lazily, 'causes you to become narrow.' For years I puzzled over this explanation until one day a Bakhtiari khan told me that after a lunch in the country he and some of his friends smoked hashish. They came to a brook, which, try as they would, they could not cross. The more they looked, the wider grew the brook, until it joined the limitless ocean.

And then a distinguished Tehran poet—by name Aqa Binesh—who is so short-sighted that even with the strongest concave lenses he can scarcely see across a room, assured me that, after smoking the drug, he could, without his glasses, clearly distinguish objects a quarter of a mile away. The explanation of the dervish's tale flashed upon me hashish removes the sense of dimension!

I met Aqa Binesh at the Ministry of Finance, where his visit came as a welcome diversion from a meeting of the Budget Commission—that is to say, from an hour or so spent drinking tea, eating aspirin, smoking cigarettes, and discussing matters of financial, social, and general interest.

The discussions on financial matters were somewhat difficult for a new-comer to follow. For the officials of the Ministry of Finance, like doctors of medicine in England, take a delight in rolling out high-sounding, technical words and phrases, which perplex all save the initiated For instance, instead of saying 'Revenue Department,' they speak of the 'Department for the Discrimination of Receipts'; when they talk of 'mensualities' they mean 'pensions'; the tax on tobacco they refer to as 'fumations'; while the duty on wine they call by the curious double-plural word 'customses,' possibly from an unwillingness to admit that a good Moslem official is capable of collecting a tax on a product banned by the Prophet.

The virtual absence of a middle class in Persia is one of the greatest bars to progress in that country. The professions are not represented: there are no engineers, no architects and hardly any doctors of medicine worthy of the name; while the place of lawyers is taken by the clergy. Artists can scarcely eke out a livelihood. There remain only the merchants.

The merchants constitute by far the most respectable element of the population. They have many of the virtues, and most of the vices, of the Victorian middle classes. And they are certainly as full of prejudice.

In business their word is their bond, and they scrupulously observe the outward forms of religion. They almost monopolise the title of *Hajji*, which is conferred on those who have performed the pilgrimage to the holy cities of Medina and Mecca. But their outlook on life is as material as that of the portliest merchant prince of Crutched Friars. They gamble on a rise or fall in the

of cotton, opium, sugar, grain, or any other commodity; in addition they are perpetually dabbling in foreign exchange. But most of them would look askance at a game of chance. Though well versed in methods of making money, they are surprisingly lacking in general knowledge. In short, the Persian merchant is as prosperous and worthy as he is pompous and dull.

I must have spent many hours conversing with them; but I recollect little beyond attempted haggling over rates of discount and exchange on their part and efforts to prevent it on mine. A certain Sabzavari, however, evidently thought himself something of a conversationalist; for one day, suddenly pushing aside the drafts he had been sealing, he asked me what views I held regarding the world to come. I declined to be drawn into an argument; so he shifted his ground. 'I have just read in a book,' said he, 'that a hare is an animal which one year is male and the next female. Did you know that?' Ignoring my request to him not to talk nonsense, he went on: 'It must be true, because it is in a book.' Another day he begged me to pay him a visit, to come and see his *hauzkhána* (a summer-house with a tank inside). 'There is no such *hauzkhána* to be found in Sabzavar,' he declared; 'nor does Tehran possess a finer one: in fact, even Paris has no *hauzkhána* to equal mine!'

Now we come to the third class of Persian society: the villagers, the handicraftsmen, the labourers—in fine, the common people

Let me take you to a labourer's home in central Persia. Crossing a dirty, untidy courtyard, we bend our heads as we pass through an ill-fitting, draughty door into one of two rooms. There are no windows, and the mud walls are bare, save for shallow niches. In one of these stands a *qalyán*, or water-pipe; in another a small cash-box, and perhaps a pen-case; the rest are filled with two or three lamps of the cheapest kind, and a few pots and pans. The ceiling has not been plastered over: the crooked beams of poplar, unstained and unvarnished, give the room an unfinished look. The mud floor is partly covered by strips of thick felt, decorated with a crude pattern. If we are not careful we shall stumble over a small hole in the middle.

This hole is for the brazier, which keeps the family warm in winter. Over a brazier containing the embers of brushwood or dried dung they place a framework of wood, and over the framework a thick padded quilt, large enough to hang down all round. The whole arrangement is called a *kursi*.

Even with a temperature of 15 or 20 degrees Fahr. below zero, Persians are comfortable under a *kursi*. They sit on mattresses placed around it, with their hands and knees tucked in under the

quilt, so that their legs and bodies are warm while their heads are cool.

But the cold weather is over, and the *kursi* has been taken away. In one corner of the room is a large wooden chest containing spare clothes; against the wall on the other side are two or three large bundles, each containing mattress, quilt, and pillow. There are no tables, no chairs, and no bedsteads; for the Persian peasant sits, eats, and sleeps on the ground, while the cooking, such as it is, is mostly done outside.

Our host follows us into the room, kicks off his shoes, takes a teapot from the samovar, and pours out two tiny glasses of tea. These with a few little bits of sugar he puts on a tray, which he places in front of us, and then stands with hands folded in his sleeves. His felt hat is old, and his long pleated coat frayed and worn. But his manners are courteous, and there is something of dignity in his movements. If we are hungry he will give us a sheet of wholemeal bread and perhaps some cheese made from goat's milk; but we cannot be certain of finding anything else. Bread is his staple diet, though he will often have a bowl of *mast*, or sour curds, sometimes a little meat, and grapes and melons when they are in season.

At a dwelling something like the one I have just described —it was, to be exact, in the village of Robat-i-Turk, between Qum and Isfahan—I turned to my host's mother, who was standing outside the door, and asked her for some eggs. By Allah,' she replied, 'I have none; nor will you find any in the village. The Russian soldiers ate up all our fowls.'

The old peasant woman was still remarkably handsome, and as she came nearer I saw that she must have been a really beautiful woman. 'Would your lordship believe it?' she continued volubly. 'They used to catch the birds with a running noose and then wring their necks, instead of making the flesh lawful by cutting their throats. The unclean unbelievers! We got rid of them,' she added proudly, 'we women! We pelted them with stones and clods until they went away.'

'And the men?' I asked.

'The men!' she snorted, 'the men!' And then she laughed. 'They were all hiding.'

Before we left the next day we gave her twelve krans. She promptly hid four, gave six to her son, told him that we had given her eight, and kept two for herself.

Her pleasant laugh followed us as we drove off towards Mahallát, a district whose inhabitants are noted for the purity of their accent and the softness of their voices.

Here it may be said that Persian is one of the most delightful languages to which you could listen. Nor is this solely due to the

melody of its cadenced periods, but in part to the fact that Persians of all classes are so often gifted with well-modulated voices.

Saadi was conscious of this charm :

How beautiful a soft and plaintive voice
Sounds in the ears of friends
Drunk with the air of dawn !
A lovely face doth but delight the sense.
Better a silvery voice :
This doth the soul sustain.

The old philosopher was conscious of far more than the charm : he saw clearly nearly seven centuries ago an eternal truth which in the West we are only now beginning to perceive. He saw that music, and music alone of all the arts, represents things and the relation of those things to one another in that which we cannot see. We need no longer wonder whether we have anything to learn from the East. We have.

Curiously enough, it is from the East that modern European composers have drawn their inspiration ; for what is their art if not an attempt to adapt the expression of Oriental feeling and colour to the Western system of music ?

Much has been lost in the process Only those of us who have heard the so-called 'tonal' music in its own home know how strangely beautiful it can be. Even now I am sometimes haunted, not, thank goodness, by the memory of the awful brass bands of Tehran, Mashhad and other cities, but by the weird chants of the miracle plays, the harmonious sounds of a zither floating in the night air, or by a sweet, sad melody sung by some far-off village peasant of Iran.

For, notwithstanding the Prophet's traditional dislike of music, the Persian peasant loves to sing, whether he be working in the fields or journeying on a pilgrimage.

Once on the road he will hitch his loose blue trousers under the waist string, half way up his legs, and stride along as if he had not a care in the world.

He is often a handsome man, strong and well set up. Nor is he easily tired, and when the halting-place is reached he is ever ready to lend a hand to his fellow-travellers.

I heard a muleteer singing this mournful doggerel :

We have no home : we have no wife :
We have no child. What shall we do ?

Nevertheless, he was quite cheerful ; and this, perhaps, was his answer to the question.

During the snow-bound winter months it may happen that

the peasants cannot leave their homes for weeks at a time. I asked the headman of a mountain village in Saraband what they did with themselves in the winter. 'Ah!' he replied. 'There is a lot of quarrelling.' In the summer hard work leaves them little time for anything but sleep. 'But,' I objected, 'you can't always be quarrelling, even in winter.' 'That's true,' he said. 'Well, we sit under a *kursi*; and one of us, who is lettered, reads aloud while the rest listen.'

To what do you think they listened, those poor, untutored peasants? They listened to the Sháhnáma, to the epic poem of the great Ferdausi, who lived long before the Norman conquest—Ferdausi, who inspired the romances of mediæval Spain and France. And they understood what they heard; for the Persian language has changed surprisingly little since those days.

From the highest to the lowest Persians delight in their literature, of which they have every reason to be proud. You need never be surprised to hear one of your *farrashes* reciting the Masnavi, or to find your butler in the pantry chanting an ode of Hafez; and if you find fault with your muleteer for doing too short a stage, be prepared for a reply with a maxim from Saadi.

Not far from Saraband there is another village, by name Mahajeran, which is peculiarly interesting, because half the villagers are Moslems and the other half Armenians. Strange to say, though the Moslem women are not veiled, the faces of the Armenian women are nearly covered.

I found the explanation of this custom in Mrs. Rice's book *Persian Women and their Ways.* Of an Armenian woman's dress the author writes: 'Most important of all, a triangular piece of white cambric is folded several times, and tied round the chin and mouth. Woman's silence before her superiors in sex and age has in the past been as important in an Armenian as invisibility and the covering of the eyes has been to Moslem women.'

This is dangerous ground for a man to tread upon; but I feel bound to point out, in justice to Moslems, that they have never been so cruel or so foolish as to curb a woman's tongue!

So far I have said little or nothing of the people of the different towns of Persia. That is because they say so much about one another. Hear what they say: 'The Tehrani is cross-grained but 'cute. The Isfahani is so mean that he puts his cheese in a bottle and rubs the bread thereon. The Shirazi loves wine and women. The Mashhadi is an ill-mannered boor. The head of a Tabrizi is as hollow as an earthenware jar. Hamadan is the most hateful of towns: its children are old men for ugliness; and its old men are children for silliness.'

The Persian calls the Turk an ass, while the Turk says that

the Persian is an ass. They both say that the Kazvini must be a double ass, because he is half Turk and half Persian. The unfortunate Kazvini comes off very badly; for it is said, too:

> If a snake and a Kazvini together you see,
> O wise man, kill Kazvini, and let the snake free

H GASCOIGNE HART

COUNT TISZA

THE first volume of a German translation of the letters of the great Hungarian statesman, Count Stephan Tisza, has recently been published in Berlin, under the editorship of Oskar Wertheimer. These letters are of intense interest by reason of the strong light they throw on the personality of Count Tisza and his policy immediately preceding and during the Great War. This article is in no way intended as a general review of this volume of letters My desire is, by the aid of these letters and authentic contemporary documents, to deal with two matters of outstanding importance—namely, first, Count Tisza's pre-war policy; and secondly, his views as to the relations between Hungary and Austria in matters of foreign policy.

First, what was Tisza's pre-war policy?

It is established beyond doubt that Tisza fought by all constitutional means at his disposal against any steps that might lead to war.

Having learnt of the intention of Count Berchtold, the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, to press for an ultimatum to Serbia, he tried to convince the King-Emperor in a personal letter dated July 1, 1914 (*Letters*, p 37), that this would be a fatal mistake 'There are,' he said, 'at the present time no sufficient grounds for holding Serbia responsible, and for provoking a war with this country, as there is still a possibility of obtaining peaceful explanations from the Serbian Government The Monarchy would appear before the whole world as a disturber of the peace and would start a great war under the most unfavourable conditions'

More than that At the Joint Ministerial Council held in Vienna on July 7, 1914, with Count Berchtold in the chair, Tisza opposed strenuously the sending of an ultimatum to Serbia and insisted on the necessity of formulating demands which might be accepted. He maintained that a diplomatic victory of the Monarchy would be quite sufficient for a successful Balkan policy His views were, however, overruled (Minutes of Council of July 7, 1914, vol 1. of the *Hungarian Peace Negotiations*, published by the Royal Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs)

Again, at the Joint Ministerial Council held in Vienna on

ıly 19, 1914, after it had been decided to send an ultimatum to ɜrbia, Tisza insisted on and succeeded in carrying a resolution hich in effect repudiated all designs of a war of conquest against ɜrbia or of an increase of territory for the Monarchy (*Hungarian eace Negotiations*, vol. i).

Again, when Sir Edward Grey's last attempt at mediation as transmitted to Vienna by Germany, Tisza insisted that Grey's 'oposals should not be rejected *in limine*, but should be accepted ıbject to two conditions—namely, the cessation of Russian obilisation and the retention by the Austro-Hungarian troops the position occupied in Serbia during the negotiations These ɪnditions proved impossible to carry out owing to Russia's fusal to comply with the first one (Burian's *Austria in Dissolution*, p 249)

War having been declared in spite of his protests, Tisza felt his duty to do all in his power to help his country in what he ust have known was to be a fight for life or death.

Tisza's attitude towards the war is well illustrated in his letter ' August 26, 1914, to his niece Margaret Zeyk (*Letters*, p. 62), which, after referring to the recent great victories over the ussians, he says ' But even victorious war is terrible To my ind war means in any case misery, suffering, destruction, the ıedding of innocent blood and the agony of innocent women ıd children . . We had no choice to do otherwise, yet it ırts me that it had come like that '

Tisza's letter of August 27, 1914 (*Letters*, p 63), has been ferred to by a recent writer as though it were a condemnation the old pacific policy of Austria-Hungary This is a complete isapprehension This letter was written on the occasion of the itial military successes of the Austro-Hungarian armies, and as written with the obvious intention of raising the spirit of the ıtion. The letter does not contain even an indirect hint of any reign policy, either pacific or military

The ' twenty bitter years ' to which he refers in that letter ɜre evidently the years of prolonged bickering in both the ıstrian and Hungarian Parliaments which threatened to wreck .e internal stability and the external authority of the Monarchy. ɑe ' improved matters in the last few years ' to which he also fers were doubtless the collapse of the Hungarian Coalition *gime* and the growth of a new sense of solidarity between the ro States of the Monarchy, culminating in the resolute attitude the population when war became an accomplished fact

I pass now to the second question—namely, what were Tisza's ews as to the true relations between Austria and Hungary on atters of foreign policy.

It has been erroneously contended in certain quarters that

Austria-Hungary's foreign policy was directed by the Hungaria and that Tisza maintained that they alone were fit to exerc this control.

The mere fact that the most strenuous opposition of tl Hungarian Prime Minister was unable to stop the despatch of tl ultimatum in itself goes far to refute the contention that Hungaı controlled the foreign policy of the Monarchy. But a further an a strong refutation of this contention is afforded by considerin the distribution of the diplomatic posts of the Monarchy at th time immediately preceding the outbreak of war. At this tim the Dual Monarchy had altogether ten Ambassadors abroac namely, at Petersburg, London, Paris, Constantinople, Berlir Rome (two), Madrid, Tokyo, and Washington Of these ter seven were Austrians, and three only were Hungarians, namely the Ambassadors at Petersburg, Paris and Berlin, but one o these three, namely, Count Szogyén (the Ambassador in Berlin) was for a considerable time before the outbreak of war incapaci tated by illness and was early in August 1914 succeeded by ar Austrian. It is further to be noted that at this time all th diplomatic posts in the Balkan countries, posts vitally importan in the interests of the Monarchy, were held by Austrians and none by Hungarians

Tisza himself never pretended that Hungarians alone were fit for the control of foreign policy. He aimed, on the contrary, at the realisation of the equality promised by the Settlement of 1867, but never fully carried out, and in his letters he constantly insists on the maintenance of this equality and protests against any preponderance of Austrian authority, to which Austria was not entitled either under the Settlement or (in his view) on her merits. In his letter to Burian of August 11, 1914 (*Letters*, p 50), Tisza speaks clearly of the 'absolute parity' which, according to the Settlement of 1867, should exist between the two halves of the Monarchy with regard to the management of foreign policy He adds. 'It is necessary for the capacity of action and the political standard of the Monarchy that the Hungarian nation should retain her influence in directing the foreign affairs of the Monarchy, which she has from 1867 down to our own days, with few exceptions, used against the inferior political factors of the other State.'

A similar view is expressed in the circular of December 31 1914 (*Letters*, p. 137) This document was intended for the pacification of public opinion in the Hungarian counties disturbed by the enormous losses and sacrifices of the World War. The fruits that these sacrifices could, according to this circular, be expected to bear were 'the increase of the authority, weight, political influence and self-assertion of the (Hungarian) nation

thin the framework of equality established by the Settlement 1867. The power of the Hungarian nation and its influence in recting the fate of the Monarchy must grow in proportion to its crifices and exertions.'

It has been suggested by some critics that, while the Foreign nister could ignore the Austrian Prime Minister, he was under control of the Hungarian Premier; and it is sought to support s view by referring to Tisza's letter to Berchtold of September 1914 (*Letters*, p 72). This letter in no way supports the sug-tion that the Foreign Minister was under Tisza's control. The nt, and the whole point, of the letter was that the Foreign nister had refused to give to Burian, and through Burian to za, information on a matter on which it was important that za as Prime Minister should be fully informed, namely, the erican proposal of mediation conveyed through Colonel House. za naturally protested against the withholding of this in-mation.

Comments have been from time to time made on the refusal Tisza to accept the post of Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister the resignation of that post by Count Berchtold towards the l of 1914 or the beginning of 1915. In the course of the last days, an explanation of this refusal in Tisza's own words has n given by a writer in the *Pester Lloyd* (the well-known dapest newspaper) of June 5, 1928 It appears that when the pending resignation of Count Berchtold came to be known in dapest a confidential and hitherto unpublished conversation ok place on the subject between Tisza and the writer in the *ster Lloyd*. Tisza was asked as to the intention of the Emperor offer him the post of Foreign Secretary and his probable sponse to that offer The answer given by Tisza to his questioner recorded in the *Pester Lloyd* is so characteristic of the man that is worth giving in full The following is a translation from the iginal German of the *Pester Lloyd*. Tisza said:

It may be so It is quite possible that His Majesty has this intention. must, however, decline such a request The war can only be brought to successful issue if Hungary gives her full support to its prosecution at, however, can only happen on the supposition that I remain at the d of the Hungarian Government. You know that boastfulness is wholly eign to my nature But when I look around to discover a possible ccessor to my present post, I see no one who would be able to sustain the adfast endurance of the Hungarian nation to the last drop of their blood the same degree as I could. My place is here at the head of the Hun-rian Government I cannot and dare not desert this post The con-tution of our country assures to me a far-reaching influence on the eign policy of the Monarchy. Unfortunately, no one but I can do what ave to do as Hungarian Prime Minister. That is the path of my destiny, which, whatever may betide, I must walk to the end

DANESFORT.

MEMORIES OF 1914—1918

V Spring in Picardy

During the winter of 1915–1916 an uneasy calm brooded over the trench lines on the Somme No heavy fighting had taken place, the line had remained stable since September 1914, when in the course of the race for the sea the French had established themselves before Amiens and Albert but had failed to drive the Germans from the ridge dominating the valley of the Ancre on the west and commanding a wide view over the country between Bapaume and Cambrai to the east The incessant local fighting by mine and counter-mine at La Boisselle and Fricourt brought these villages into some prominence, and the town of Albert had achieved a certain fame owing to the statue of the Virgin and Child which lay dependent from the tower of the church and the legend that the war would end on the day on which it fell Otherwise the Somme battlefield had no history, and was reputed on that account to be happy.

The heavy fighting of 1915 had taken place to the north on the heights of Vimy and Notre Dame de Lorette and round the mining villages of Loos and Hulluch Here the tide of battle had ebbed and flowed, devastating a wide area of country; on the Somme the trenches of 1914 were still occupied, and within a distance of three miles from the front line it was easy to forget the existence of the war. A reserve line was in process of construction, and occasional shallow trenches were found at the side of the road where small forces had come into conflict during the time when the tide of the German advance had flowed over Northern France Otherwise the countryside was not yet disfigured; the villages showed no traces of shell fire; the peasantry carried on their traditional occupations; and the British forces were so small that they were absorbed easily into the villages when they were at rest, and interrupted but little the normal life of the French countryside.

A change was discernible as soon as the Battle of Verdun broke out. The French Army in Artois was relieved by British forces, and the divisions on the Somme were no longer isolated

om the rest of the British Army. The line became continuous om the canal bank north of Ypres to the village of Frise on the omme. New divisions arrived; new railways and roads were onstructed; new gun-pits were everywhere to be found; dumps f material grew larger day by day. The villages became inconeniently overcrowded. It was soon evident that the long period f inactivity was at an end, and that the Somme battlefield was o be the scene of the great offensive of 1916. The first news eached us early in April. At this time the 32nd Division was olding the line from Thiepval Wood to La Boisselle. Our line as now shortened so that it extended only to Authuille Wood. ld soldiers were well aware that the line held by any body of ombatant troops is reduced for one reason only—the imminence f an attack. The news gave every satisfaction The moral of he regiment was high. The continual hardship and heavy asualties sustained by the regiment in the trench warfare of the receding winter had been such as to make the prospect of an ttack alluring. Of the success of the offensive few of us had the mallest doubt. We had at last the men and the guns. Condence reigned supreme, none of us expected to spend another winter in France; and an announcement by the quartermaster that he had been asked to report on the form of winter clothing which had proved of most value in the last winter with a view to its adoption in the coming winter was regarded as an unnecessary exhibition of fussiness on the part of the authorities Not yet had the British Army learned to greet the changes and chances of a war of attrition with the proverb 'The first ten years will be the worst'

The battle order was soon disclosed The 34th Division, composed for the most part of Northumberland Fusilier battalions from Tyneside, came into the line at La Boisselle Our old trenches fronting Ovillers were occupied by the 8th Division, a regular division with a great reputation. Within our area of attack lay the Leipzig Redoubt and the village of Thiepval This might be regarded as a compliment to the division, as Thiepval, being a key position and dominating the valley of the Ancre, had been fortified by the Germans with the utmost ingenuity and resource The vital importance of the position had been early recognised, and a regiment had been placed there as its permanent garrison, never to be relieved This regiment had constructed a labyrinth of underground passages, leading from the deep cellars of the village in all directions Under bombardment the troops were withdrawn into these cellars; the moment the bombardment lifted they manned again their machine-gun emplacements, and met attacking troops with a concentration of fire through which no man could pass unscathed. Such was the strength of

the fortifications, that even the massed artilleries of the Somme could not obliterate them. On the morning of the attack sixteen shells a second were exploding in the village; yet the attacking division was practically wiped out by machine-gun fire. The Germans rightly held that their fortress was impregnable to frontal attack; it fell ultimately when the advance in the south had made possible attack from the flank and rear.

On taking over the trenches fronting Thiepval we found the 36th (Ulster) Division astride the Ancre. Their trenches were in splendid order, and everyone was impressed by the resolute and disciplined bearing of the Ulster regiments. North of the Ancre was the 4th, a regular division, which old soldiers remembered in the later stages of the retreat from Mons. Beyond them and to the north of Beaumont Hamel was the 29th Division, lately arrived from Gallipoli. We were interested to meet the division which had made history on the beaches of Cape Helles a year before. The Germans greeted their arrival, and adequately expressed their sense of the occasion, by a night bombardment of great intensity followed by a raid. I remember the occasion well for several reasons. I had just carried out the relief of the front line near Thiepval Château, and was proceeding down the trench towards my headquarters dug-out to have dinner, when without any warning the barrage descended on the trenches beyond the Ancre. For a moment I hesitated; then the fury of the gun fire showed that there was to be no dinner as yet. Having expressed my disgust in a suitable manner, I gave the order to stand to arms. Then I turned to watch with interest the tremendous artillery battle. Heavy guns were firing from far in the south, and the sky was ablaze as far as the eye could reach. The boom of the guns, the screech of the shells passing far overhead, the devastating roar of the explosions, the fountains of black earth thrown skywards, contributed to the eerie grandeur of this terrible scene.

We were not ourselves under very heavy fire, and I thought of the men in the trenches beyond the Ancre crouching under their crumbling parapets and waiting for the savage *mêlée* of bomb and bayonet which would ensue when the barrage lifted. But only for a moment had I time to think, as there were several loud crashes in the trench, and it became clear that one of our batteries, in retaliating, had mistaken our trench for the German line, and we were being shelled from both front and rear. There was a curtain of fire which cut me off from my headquarters, and I was compelled to make a rather hazardous journey to another company far to the south. I demanded that our artillery should lengthen their range, but received less than no encouragement. The good-natured sarcasm of the gunners was, however, lost on

e, and I had the satisfaction of the last word, as they were so ctless as to drop a dud shell into the trench. This I picked up, nd, having noted the markings, sent back an orderly with a escription of them and other ill-natured comment. In the mean-me we were losing men, and the familiar cry of 'stretcher-earer' passed down the trench. I hurried back, and had just ound my sergeant-major, where he stood intently watching the erman trenches, when there was an overwhelming crash. The ky became a maelstrom of colliding stars, and then turned gold. seemed to be sailing through space into the most glorious of nsets, and the world was very far away I could not struggle, or did I want to I had rather a feeling of peace, of relief that e bitterness of death was past Then the vision began to fade. became conscious of the surrounding mud and of a familiar face felt very sick.

The Thiepval trenches which we held through the spring of 916 differed greatly from those of La Boisselle. They ran rough the garden of Thiepval Château, and in the absence of ell fire there was much that was attractive in the view over the alley of the Ancre and the woods of Thiepval, Aveluy, and uthuille on each side, now beautiful in the glory of spring lowers were often to be found growing in the sides of the trenches nd in 'No-Man's Land,' and just below my dug-out there were e remains of two red-brick gate-posts which had led from the âteau garden to the orchard in the valley below. The flowers und their way into dug-outs; the orchard was swept by machine-ns night and day, and if the apple trees bore any fruit in 1916 ere was no one so foolhardy as to seek it. I was sitting one orning in my dug-out overlooking the orchard when I wit-essed a strange little comedy. I was growing drowsy; we had en through a time of great strain Our trenches had been stroyed by a barrage of great intensity; the Germans had tacked, and there had been heavy fighting with bomb and yonet in our lines Now there was a lull. The sun was warm, d a breeze whispered in the shell-riven trees. There was no und of war but the intermittent thud of a sniper's bullet from e ruins of the château as it struck the earth I was nearly leep when my eye was caught by a most unwarlike scene in the trance to the dug-out A dud shell lay partly embedded in the y mud A mouse with his head on one side peered at me, then ok refuge behind the shell, reappearing a moment later on the r side This was repeated several times. Then, emboldened, e mouse departed and brought back a friend. A game ensued, d whenever I blinked the two mice fell over each other in a dicrously human way as they sought the security of their strange ven.

The garden of the Thiepval Château was a shell trap of the worst description, and our losses here were very heavy, especially in the days immediately preceding the opening of the Battle of the Somme. The right sector fronting the L Redoubt was comparatively quiet, but the château trenche Bromielaw, the Trongate, Sauchiehall Street, and the Hammer and Maison Gris saps were trenches of evil omen. One of saps ran far into 'No-Man's Land,' and those who ventured far end enjoyed the privilege of listening to the conversati the Germans in an outlying post. A more popular diversion mispronouncing the names of the trenches for the benefit o three Highland regiments in the division. I remember w Highland major who on a visit to my dug-out refused for n an hour to touch our whisky on the ground that he never d spirits before noon I then observed casually that he had sumably come through 'Saucy Hall' Street on his way up the The effect was instantaneous, and much of the bottle had before he was sufficiently revived

The German trench mortars had been responsible for r casualties at La Boisselle; here they cost us a heavy toll of Men were blown to pieces and buried, and the noise of th plosions was so appalling and continuous as to cause an al intolerable strain If our guns opened fire, the Germans di attempt to silence them by a counter-battery demonstration put down a minenwerfer barrage on the infantry; and it ca us particular annoyance that the activities of the Ulster Div trench mortars invariably provoked retaliation on our, and their, trenches The excellence of our own trench mortars some consolation to us. The officer in charge of them w redoubtable Irishman, very keen on his job and fearless to a f. One of his assistants, also an Irishman, wasted my time one n in a prolonged attempt to persuade me to let him go on a vis the German trenches He asserted that no man could reason be expected to lob a trench mortar bomb into a trench unles had first had a look into it to see where the bomb would fall

Behind the château trenches lay Johnstone's Post, battalion headquarters, looking out over a wide valley ploughed and for ever swept by flying bullets, and the great of Thiepval Wood dominating the desolate marshes of the A The wood was never silent, for shell and rifle fire echoed endl through the trees, in testimony of the unceasing vigil of opposing lines. At night the flares, as they rose and fell, th the wood into deeper shadow and made it yet more dark menacing On the edge of the wood a communication tre Paisley Avenue, a constant mark for the German artillery, le the high bank above the Ancre On our side of the valle

tter trench, *Hamilton Avenue*, led also to the bank. On
erging from either of the trenches we had the alternative of
oceeding along the main road to Authuille North barricade or
following a safer track under the bank and on the edge of the
ream to a ruined mill on the lower edge of the village. Here
as a bridge just wide enough to permit of the passage of a
olley. Beyond the ruins of the village, in which wise men did
ot linger, was another high bank, honeycombed by dug-outs.
A long causeway across the marshes known as Blackhorse Bridge
ed to Aveluy Wood.

On the edge of the bank, and just beyond the South Barricade of Authuille village, lay the French cemetery where the dead of the first few months of the war lay beside the dead of centuries of peace. The small cemetery had proved inadequate within a short time, and the graves lay outside and around it Now there was a new and already large cemetery below. One evening I stood there looking over the broad marshes of the Ancre and the great mass of Aveluy Wood beyond. There was a lull in the firing, and everything was still. The sun was setting, perhaps the majesty of Nature had stayed for one moment the hand of the Angel of Death The river and marshes were a sea of gold, and the trees of the wood were tinged with fire To the south were the square tower of Aveluy Church and the great trees surrounding the crucifix at the junction of the roads, known as Crucifix Corner. Shadows were lengthening in the woods and on the marshes A cool evening breeze blew gently through the graves of our dead.

Before me lay men of many nations in their long sleep The names inscribed on the dark crosses of the French were full of music; they were men of the Breton Corps, sons of Morbihan and Finisterre. Apart lay the grave of a man killed in the first month of the war, when Uhlan patrols came into conflict with small bodies of British and French detached from their regiments. Near by were the dead of the first autumn slain in the great fight for the ridge Beyond were the men who had died in the long and monotonous days of trench warfare, which for eighteen months had taken, day by day, its toll of human life, of the flower of two nations. Here were the white crosses of the British, men from every shire in England and Scotland Officers and men lay side by side as they fell. The tall Celtic cross of a Highlander was surmounted by his glengarry. The grave of an English officer was inscribed with the words 'So long!' I wondered whether these were the last words of the dead officer, or words written there by one of his comrades who expected soon to see him again A little way apart were the graves of the Indians, with inscriptions in a strange language, men who died on these

bleak uplands so far from their homes, in faithful discharge of a soldier's trust.

In the far corner a padre stood reading the burial service, while a group of men with bowed and uncovered heads stood round a new grave. Here indeed death held nothing of indignity, and all was simple and sincere It was a scene of quiet grandeur. No king could dream of a more splendid resting-place, here above the marshes in the glory of the evening.

The sun set. Twilight drew on. The evening star glimmered above the far horizon. The marshes were grey, and a mist rose from the water Dark shadows enveloped the woods. There was a roar as a shrapnel shell burst, and the smoke hung like a pall over the ground where once Authuille had stood, now a ruin where death stalked night and day. A machine-gun opened fire in the trenches, and the crash of bombs re-echoed through the trees. The weary night watches had begun. The wind rose. The Angel of Death was abroad, and in the wind I could hear the beating of his wings.

Here above the Ancre lie many of the most gallant of my regiment, men who were my friends, men whose memory I will revere to the end of time. Some of them were soldiers by profession ; others had turned aside from their chosen avocations in obedience to a call which might not be denied. Unfaltering and unrepining they offered their lawful heritage of full and splendid life, and trod the dark highway of death without dismay They have passed into the silence We hear their voices no more. Yet it must be that somewhere the music of those voices lingers, and that in time to come it will inspire and strengthen men who in pursuit of an ideal may be called upon to make a like sacrifice. But we who have lost our friends know well that much of the richness and beauty of life passed with them for ever from our lives If we have any consolation, it is that they held their heads high in life, and that when the darkness closed round them they did not flinch

How well I can recall the line of merry faces in the glare of candles in the mess. Chief among them I see my friend Robin Kestell Cornish. In his presence I had always a sense that it was morning ; I could not imagine him growing old. Never have I met anyone so full of the joy of life, yet so careless to preserve it. Eager always for battle, he was magnificent in attack ; in the most trying periods of trench warfare, under continuous shell fire and in every circumstance of hardship, he remained undaunted, resolute and unfailingly cheerful. He had the rare power of inspiring courage by his presence Time and again, when passing with him down a line in hours of stress, I have seen the amazing power which he could wield over men who held him in sincere

affection and absolute trust. I have met many brave men, but none braver than he. And his courage proceeded, not from recklessness or a failure to appreciate the probable consequences of his actions, but from self-discipline. The first occasion on which this was revealed to me was in a heavy bombardment at La Boisselle. I had come in to the headquarters dug-out from my tour of duty. Another subaltern had gone out. The shelling which had been intermittent became suddenly more heavy. Kestell Cornish rose to his feet. I could see that he was debating whether the highest standard of duty required him to join his subaltern and the sentries in the most dangerous posts, and that he was mastering himself by conscious effort. I asked him whether he regarded it as necessary to attempt to reach the mine-craters, as it seemed impossible to get through the curtain of fire He did not reply, but slowly drew on his equipment and passed out into the trench. Later before Thiepval Château, just before the opening of the Battle of the Somme, an order came through that an advanced trench was to be dug 'at any cost.' We looked at each other, knowing well what the cost would be The moon was almost full; the nights were practically cloudless. I remarked that this meant the end of things for most of us He shrugged his shoulders, and replied that it would be far better to lose one's life than to be put to the necessity of reporting that the trench had not been dug. In the event, as darkness closed and before the moon rose, the company crept man by man into 'No-Man's Land' Three machine-guns were turned on the first man, yet somehow the men were disposed along the line which the trench was to follow There they lay digging with their hands and entrenching tools in a desperate effort to gain even a few inches of cover before the moon rose The German machine guns swept up and down the line, and rifle grenades came over unceasingly. Through the summer night Kestell Cornish walked up and down the line, disdaining to take cover, encouraging his men to ever greater efforts, succouring the wounded, staying at the side of the dying But for the force of his example, the trench could not have been dug By some miracle he was not hit. On Hill 60 a year before he had won the Military Cross, he won it again that night and on the Ancre in November. On that occasion fighting took place in the most deplorable conditions of weather, and in the course of the battle he contracted frost-bite. He refused to leave the line of shell holes which was our front line until they were made secure. Unable to stand, he was at last removed on a stretcher. As he was being carried to the rear the Germans counter-attacked, and Kestell Cornish gave the order to his stretcher-bearers to take him back to the line. For three years of constant fighting he escaped death or serious wounds,

although courting them always. But it could not be that such courage should not meet at last its reward. In the grim fighting near Passchendaele he fell wounded by the side of his general, and died in June 1918 at Wimereux. He wrote me a letter a few days before he died For months he had been in dreadful pain. Now he was dying, but there was no word of complaint on his lips; and that ardour of spirit which had given him the power to sway the hearts of men, and to inspire in them something of his own courage, was never more splendid than in the hour of his passing to that high fellowship beyond our ken.

A man very different from Kestell Cornish, but gifted with the same power to inspire affection in the men whom he led, was W. B Algeo, the commander of B Company. An 'Old Contemptible,' he had distinguished himself greatly in the German attack at Ypres early in 1915 On that occasion he was blinded by gas and taken to hospital, but on partially recovering his sight he contrived to escape and rejoined his regiment in the line. He gave the impression of greatly deprecating the war on account of its minor discomforts and its interference with settled habits and regular meals. Its inherent dangers were not judged by him to be worthy of comment. After eighteen months of service in the front line he received the offer of a staff appointment. The message came to him one evening in May when a relief of the line before Thiepval was about to take place He stood looking over the valley of the Ancre and the woods beyond where the glory of life was instinct in the emerald green of the tall trees In his hand was a scrap of paper offering him the chance of life and the opportunity of high distinction in his profession He debated for a little while, and then, turning to one of his subalterns, said, 'I can't leave these old men.' He went up the line, and within a few hours lost his life in a hazardous enterprise in the garden of Thiepval Château. Although dawn was breaking, one of the old men whom he had refused to leave went out on his own initiative in a gallant but forlorn attempt at rescue and, refusing to leave him, fell by his side.

Many others of the Dorset Regiment died before Thiepval in the months preceding the battle and on the fateful morning of July 1. Some who were wounded on that morning returned to the regiment and died in later battles of the war Those few of us who are left may perhaps be pardoned if we have at times the sense of being stragglers.

In a scene to my mind at once the most tragic and the most beautiful in the dramatic literature of our time—in *Le Tombeau sous l'Arc de Triomphe*—the soldier, on whom the dark night of death is already descending, calls his dead friends to be present at his marriage. They only are invited to the most pure of

marriages, consecrated between himself and his bride in the stillness and beauty of a summer's night. He raises his glass to salute and to thank them, and when they answer, he replies in lines of splendid eloquence that he does not know whether it is a cup or a chalice which he holds before him.

To those who served in the war this passage has—and clearly had on the night when first I heard it spoken in a silence so tense as to be almost painful—a special beauty and significance The soldier has not forgotten the dead. The splendid fellowship which we shared has been for most of us the greatest thing in our lives If we have any pride, it is that once we were accounted worthy of that fellowship. We remember that in the company of men high-hearted and generous we too could live a life of courage and fidelity and could go to death as to a holiday As the years pass by, and the dust of the arena sullies our ideals, and the petty ambitions and jealousies of an ignoble civilisation absorb our strength and misdirect our endeavour, we can look back almost with longing on days which, however tragic, at least gave us the honour and dignity of being men. We may perhaps realise how rare is the privilege of dying well, and feel a trace of envy at the thought of those who will never grow old, whom ' age shall not weary nor the years contemn '

The soldier could not say whether it was a cup or a chalice which he raised to his lips Who is to say ? Those who live, as perforce we were compelled to live, exposed to sun, rain and wind, surrounded by natural forces, in the constant presence of death, are conscious of a mystery in the heart of things, some identity of man with that which gave him birth, nourishes him, and in due time receives him again. In the life of cities man is protected from the play of natural forces ; and death, when it comes, has a suggestion of the unnatural by virtue of its unfamiliarity. But those whose daily lot it is to witness the processes of Nature, the awakening and renewing of life in the miracle of dawn, the coming of rest and sleep in the glory of the setting sun, have a greater opportunity of seeing life and death in their true perspective, a fuller appreciation of the place of man in Nature Many of the war poets expressed their consciousness of this affinity, their sense of forming part of the Whole, and the contentment which that sense could bring in the presence of death Most splendid perhaps was *Into Battle*, and those magic lines in which Julian Grenfell had greeted the spring of the first year of the War were often in my mind as we marched on the roads behind the lines between the villages to which from time to time we were withdrawn to rest, Millencourt and Senlis, Bouzincourt and Martinsart, Pierregot and Montigny, happy village of great woods and many châteaux. I watched the coming of spring in the woods, and the

young corn in the fields, and the men, the flower of every shire in Britain, on the march towards the chalk uplands of the battlefield. I wondered often how many of those whose eyes were delighted by the glory of these fields would see the harvest, and I thought of that other harvest which Death would reap. Yet, though I knew that the blood of men who were my friends must soon incarnadine these fields, I had in my heart a sense that through their sacrifice life would become more noble in due time. I had not, and I have not, the power to express that which was in my heart. But anotherman, Allen Seager, saw the spring of 1916 on the Somme, and, conscious that he was at last to meet his long-sought rendezvous with death, wrote his epitaph, and that of the men who were his comrades in that great adventure, in the splendid Lafayette Ode:

> There, holding still in frozen steadfastness
> Their bayonets toward the beckoning frontiers,
> They lie, our comrades, lie among their peers,
> Clad in the glory of fallen warriors,
>
> . . . . .
>
> No human presences their witness are,
> But summer clouds and sunset crimson hued
> And showers and night winds and the northern star,
> Nay, even our salutations seem profane,
> Opposed to their Elysian quietude

C. O G DOUIE.

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THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY *AND AFTER*

No. DCXVIII—August 1928

THE WIDER WORLD

[*This is the first of a short series of articles on International Affairs*]

Those offensively boisterous individuals who tramp the decks of Channel steamers during a storm and those timid military experts who, in comfortable oblivion of the progress of aviation, shake their heads as they discuss the danger of constructing the Channel Tunnel, do, it seems to me, singular disservice to their country. They tend to perpetuate that sense of isolation which has made the Englishman a creature apart from the rest of humanity. In Germany the adjective which most frequently precedes the word '*Engländer*' is '*verrückt*,' or 'mad'; the Italians, in a proverb dealing with those who avoid the shade in the heat of the day, couple Englishmen with lunatics; and probably in half a dozen other languages there are adages which emphasise our eccentricities. This reputation would matter little were it not for the readiness with which we, in turn, herd together the natives of all

other countries under the contemptuous heading of '*foreigners*'; and it must not be forgotten that it was an English lady who became famous by her declaration that 'the League of Nations would be all right if only it was not for all these foreigners.' It would seem that, as a result of the existence of the English Channel, Englishmen are divided into two classes. The larger section of the population looks upon natives of other lands with a kindly contempt; the smaller looks upon them as in every way the Englishman's superior. Very few of us can think of peoples, whatever their nationality, as equals—can realise that, given their geographical, economic and cultural surroundings, they think and act in much the same way all the world over. It will be the object of this short series of articles to deal with current affairs in different parts of the world with impartiality, but without an excess of condescension on the one hand or of adulation on the other.

It should surely no longer be necessary to excuse an interest in foreign affairs The war of 1914–1918 emphasised very painfully our connexion with Europe, and, despite the development of Dominion commerce, the Board of Trade figures for 1927 show that of our imports 73·13 per cent still come from 'foreign countries' and 26·87 per cent. from 'British countries.' Of our exports (British produce), 57·44 per cent go to foreign countries and 42·56 per cent. to British countries; and of our re-exports, 88·92 per cent. go to foreign countries and 11·08 per cent to British countries. Nearly half of our total overseas commerce is still with the continent of Europe. Thus, quite apart from the obligations and implications of our membership of the League of Nations, we cannot possibly afford to 'trust to luck' in foreign affairs.

Since the war the history of the world, and especially of Europe, has been made up of a rather pathetic series of attempts at reconstruction, and of these attempts two or three of the most remarkable have taken place within the past few weeks. M. Poincaré has stabilised his franc; the Chinese nationalists have united China, but not themselves, by capturing Peking, or, as it must now be called, Peiping; and Mr. Kellogg has brought his treaty to outlaw war almost to the point of signature. While there remained a possibility that a sudden change in the political situation in France might send the value of the franc racing up, or, more probably, down, the currency fluctuation epoch of our recent history was not closed. We could still recall the days when paper money was fetched from the banks in Berlin in wheelbarrows; when theatre tickets were paid for with eggs or pounds of butter; when provident Germans who had invested their money in Government stocks were compelled to beg from devotees

of what is commonly called 'the gay life,' who had become momentary millionaires, by selling empty wine-bottles from their cellars.

With the stabilisation of the franc—at a figure, incidentally, which amounts to an official recognition that the war has destroyed four-fifths of the savings of France—we come to the end of that period which made world-known figures of Hugo Stinnes (a shabby little man whom one sometimes saw shuffling across the too luxurious lounge of the Hotel Adlon), Castiglione (the alleged street hawker from Trieste who became for a while Austria's richest subject and the owner of a magnificent art gallery in Vienna), and Loewenstein (the Belgian banker whose tragic fall from his own aeroplane into the English Channel a few weeks ago was an end in keeping with an amazingly sensational and spectacular career) Now that every important country has a stabilised currency, the more fantastic and grotesque results of the collapse of the rouble, the mark, or the franc will be forgotten as rapidly as we have forgotten the more ridiculous or incredible incidents of the war. For myself, I find it hard to believe that, as a newspaper correspondent vaguely attached to the Polish army in its war with the Bolsheviks, I lunched richly and generously off pork and roast goose for the large sum of 1¼*d.* in the best hotel in what I should call Graudenz, but what the Poles insist on calling Gradziadzu, or that a room with a private bathroom at the Bayrischer Hof in Munich cost me roughly 10*d.* a night

The French deputies have now gone off on their summer holidays They will return in the autumn full of health and pugnacity and ready to attack M Poincaré on every opportunity, since they will no longer feel that his fate is bound up inseparably with that of the franc The attitude of the Radical-Socialist Party will be particularly interesting, for it has made itself conspicuous by its efforts to be both in the Government and 'agin' it M Herriot, the leader of its Right Wing, and President of the Council when the Cartel des Gauches was in power, is a Minister in a Cabinet which is the frequent object of attack by M Daladier, the leader of its Left Wing The recent general elections showed the country's dislike of this ambiguous policy, since the party's strength in the Chamber dropped from 140 seats to 117, and there is little doubt that if the Radical-Socialist members of the Government could withdraw without causing a serious crisis they would hurriedly do so, despite the many charms of office. But M Poincaré made it quite clear that, unless his Ministry of National Union received strong support from the Radical-Socialist Party, still the largest party in the Chamber, he would resign, and, rather than accept the responsibility for a new crisis a week after

the stabilisation of the franc, the Left helped to give him a majority of 329. During the holidays, however, feelings of independence will reassert themselves, and if M. Poincaré finds it necessary to demand a new vote of confidence when the Chamber meets again in October, he will not himself dare to hope for support on anything like such a generous scale.

In China things have happened, in the past, in summer rather than in winter, when heavy rains made fighting unusually unpleasant. It becomes increasingly probable, however, that the days of civil war have come to an end, and, in consequence, China is no longer 'news.' It is, of course, extremely difficult to write with any confidence of this amazing country, and it often happens that the Englishmen on the spot are not the best guides: we have every reason to be thankful, for example, that Sir Austen Chamberlain has sometimes appeared rather to neglect the interests of the frequenters of the Shanghai Club. Had he not done so, we should still be at loggerheads with the movement which controls, at any rate nominally, the whole of the country south of the Great Wall. In the same way it would have been ill-advised to pay overmuch attention in the conduct of the war to the opinions of the men who were closest to it, the unfortunate occupants of listening-posts and front-line trenches. The observer from a distance has a better chance of retaining a sense of proportion. Early in July a special service was held near Peking to announce to the spirit of Sun Yat-sen the success of the Nationalist campaign. Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Hsi-shan, and Feng Yu-hsiang, the three most important generals in China to-day, were present. Of Yen Hsi-shan the newspaper reports said little: Chiang Kai-shek became so frenzied in his weeping that he had almost to be carried away; Feng Yu-hsiang turned up at the service wearing a private's tattered uniform and a straw hat. How can one appreciate adequately the motives and ambitions of people so unlike ourselves?

And yet, despite the gloomy forecasts of those business men in Shanghai who were most opposed to the idea of dealing with the Chinese on a basis of equality, the slogans of democracy and self-determination of peoples, so often misused elsewhere, do seem to have met with success in China. There is at any rate a greater prospect of peace throughout this country—roughly the size of the European continent—than at any time since the revolution of 1911. Sun-Tzu once declared that the supreme art of war 'is to subdue the enemy without fighting.' But military practice has changed since the European Powers and Japan took to exporting their unwanted armaments to China. The extent of this arms traffic is impossible to check. Some months ago telegrams from Peking declared that the Northern

armies of Chang Tso-lin alone spent 35,000,000*l.* on the import of arms and munitions in 1927. Last month Sir Austen Chamberlain in the House of Commons gave the more reasonable, but admittedly incomplete, figure of 330,000*l* as the value of arms and munitions which passed into China through the customs at the Treaty Ports in 1926 (this, of course, leaves out of account consignments from Russia) In any case, it is certain that warfare in China has become a dangerous thing to Chinese and foreigners alike, and everyone will hope that the Nationalist leaders will not find, as their predecessors so frequently have done, that nothing disintegrates like success.

When one comes to think of it, General Chiang Kai-shek has performed an amazing task China has roughly one mile of railway for each 500 square miles of territory, and as the Northern armies of Chang Tso-lin retired they managed generally to take with them what little rolling stock there was available, quite heedless of the fact, of course, that this rolling stock was generally the property of foreign companies

Nevertheless the Nationalist armies pushed forward at such a pace, and their propagandists won over so many soldiers from the other side, that, had it not been for the unfortunate Tsinanfu affair, Chiang Kai-shek might himself have entered Peking at the head of his troops a month before the date forecast for this event by his more sanguine supporters in Europe The Tsinanfu quarrel with Japan and the subsequent Japanese refusal to allow Chinese to cross the Tsinanfu-Tsingtao railway delayed him, and gave Yen Hsi-shan, the 'model Tuchun' of Shansi, and Feng Yu-hsiang, the 'Christian Marshal,' a chance to reach the capital before him Of course they jumped at it. Although Feng marched his hymn-singing soldiers until they came through the soles of their boots, he just lost the race Yen was in Peking and Feng was just outside it 'Now,' people said, 'we shall see that these fellows meant nothing when they promised to support the Nationalist cause. They'll either fight each other or both turn on Chiang Kai-shek'

Possibly some such struggle might have taken place had the Nationalist Government not unexpectedly announced that Nanking was to replace Peking as the capital of all China and ordered the transfer of the Ministerial offices to the southern city. Peking was only valuable because, as the seat of government, money flowed more or less regularly into its coffers, to be used for irregular purposes by whichever war-lord was in possession. As a half-empty town renamed Peiping (translated by some as 'Northern Conquered City' and by others as 'Northern Peace') it has lost its attraction, and Feng has made no objection to the appointment by the Nationalist Government of Yen Hsi-shan as

its ruler. He has even promised sulky allegiance to Nanking, and has not denied Chiang Kai-shek's claims to be generalissimo of all the Nationalist armies

Can this harmony last ? It is alleged that for one important railway post five different generals have appointed their own candidates. The struggle between these five nominees for the key of the office safe might easily have far-reaching results But the Nationalist Government has put forward a programme which must make a strong appeal to a war-weary people. Until the 1911 revolution the soldier in China was held in contempt, because fighting was looked upon as an unreasonable method of argument. The rapacity of the war-lords who have overrun the country since the revolution should have encouraged the desire for tranquillity in the breasts of the Chinese, who are probably the most peace-loving people in the world The treatment of various European officials in Chinese Government services and the reluctance to make amends for the anti-foreign riots at Nanking in March 1927, show that negotiations with the Nationalists will be difficult; but at last we have somebody with whom to negotiate, and the very sensible Chinese business conference in Shanghai has made optimists of many people by its insistence that all money will be withheld in the future unless the armies are disbanded In other words, the struggle becomes one between the generals and the financiers

There are, it would seem, three dangers to reconstruction and development in China In the first place, the Nationalist generals may tire of peace and attack each other, despite this shortage of cash. Secondly, they may decide to conquer Manchuria, and there come into conflict with the Japanese, nearly half of whose total trade with China is with this territory north of the Great Wall. Fortunately Chang Hsueh-liang, who has succeeded his father, Chang Tso-lin, as Tuchun of the most important Manchurian province, has been educated in the United States, and has, in consequence, so much sympathy with the Western ideas of the Nationalists that he is more likely to collaborate with them than to fight them. Thirdly, the foreign Powers, in their anxiety to come to unduly favourable terms with the Nationalists, may not trouble to reach agreement among themselves This is a real danger, for half the troubles of recent years in China might have been avoided had the 'foreign devils' been unanimous in their devilry. The Western Powers at any rate have much the same problems to face in dealing with the growing sense of nationality among the Chinese, and logic would demand a considerable degree of co-operation After all, each one of them must have a proverb to remind them that '*l'union fait la force*.'

But, when all is said and done, the most important of the

constructive measures that need attract our attention this month is the least logical. The Kellogg proposal for the outlawry of war is so vague that each party sees it differently, like the characters in a Pirandello play. It is, on the face of it, as unreasonable a document as ever took up the time of Foreign Ministers and their legal advisers; and yet it is one of the most important. Governments have taken it both too seriously and not seriously enough. They have searched through its brief clauses for legal traps that were not there, and they have failed to realise that its only value lies in its simplicity, its avoidance of those tortuous diplomatic phrases which sometimes make a treaty watertight, but which always make it unintelligible to the ordinary man upon whom the issues of war and peace ultimately depend

There was a time when the French were sure that the Kellogg treaty was designed to prevent its signatories from carrying out their obligations under the League of Nations Covenant. They saw danger even in the fact that in his revised draft, submitted to the other Powers towards the end of June, it was only in the preamble, and not in the treaty itself, that the Secretary of State reasserted his opinion that, if one country were to break its pledge under this new treaty by resorting to war, the other signatories would be free to carry out any sanctions against that country which they felt were called for by the Covenant of the League. There ensued quite a discussion as to the juridical value of the word 'preamble' And yet Mr Kellogg, in addressing the American Society of International Law as far back as April 28, declared there was nothing in the American draft which restricted or impaired the right of self-defence, since it was well understood that every country was free at all times, regardless of treaty provisions, to defend its territory from attacks and invasions Since he has also made it clear that under his treaty it is for the countries themselves to decide when war is 'an instrument of national policy' and when it is merely a measure of self-defence, Mr Kellogg would seem to come nearer to the conception of international law which Bethmann-Hollweg used to defend his invasion of Belgium than to the new League conception, which transfers the definition of self-defence from the individual States to the community of nations acting through the Council In other words, the more one studies the Kellogg treaty, the speeches he has made to interpret it and the covering note which was sent with the revised version of it to the Great Powers, the other signatories of the Locarno Treaty, and the Dominions, the more convinced one becomes that, as far as members of the League are concerned, no alteration in international law is proposed

But it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the three brief and rather vague articles of the American treaty for

the renunciation of war. It is easy enough to believe that when M. Briand first proposed a Franco-American treaty to Mr. Kellogg a little over a year ago his main motive was the hope of obtaining from the United States that guarantee of the European *status quo* which had been promised at the Peace Treaty and had been withdrawn so shortly after President Wilson's return home. It is equally easy to believe that when Mr Kellogg answered M. Briand by suggesting a multi-lateral treaty he was thinking more of the domestic than of the international effects of his proposal. But public opinion has taken these two statesmen literally, so that, to their own surprise, they have gone on negotiating until a general treaty became inevitable The Kellogg pact may be too simple for the jurists, but the League Covenant has always been too complicated for the 'man in the street' But the 'man in the street' is the potential soldier in another war, and if he cannot get on without the jurist, the jurist cannot get on without him The Covenant and the Kellogg pact would therefore seem to be, not contradictory, but complementary; this is one point in the pact's favour

In the second place, there is only one country in the world which might be able to stand alone, to keep clear of future conflicts, and that country is the United States, with its stupendous wealth, its geographical position, and its immense natural resources. When a nation in so fortunate a situation comes to the other nations and proposes a treaty to rule out war as 'an instrument of national policy' it would surely have been foolish beyond words to reject the offer and thereby to make naval and cut-throat economic competition between Europe and North America inevitable.

Lastly, there is the effect of this American co-operation on the League itself The League is based on the idea that if one country runs amok other countries must combine to restrain it. The military sanction would be a difficult and a dangerous one to use, but there is, apart from the United States, no country in the world which would risk a war in which it would be absolutely isolated As long as there is a chance that the United States would not accept the Council's definition of an aggressor and would continue to trade with a Government which all the other Governments had sent to Coventry, war in Europe cannot be said to be ruled out, and our own danger of coming into conflict with the United States while trying to carry out a blockade on behalf of the League remains. *Nous allons changer tout cela.* It is conceivable that the United States would merely ignore a nation which had broken its pledges under the Kellogg pact: it is inconceivable that this nation would receive active help from the United States in resisting police measures instituted by the

League as the result of the unanimous vote given by the Great Powers and the other countries represented on the Council

The fact that the United States were not our allies, but our associates, during the war did not make their assistance any the less valuable. They may be quite as useful as our associates in *trying to make the world fit for future generations to live in as if they became members of the League* Already the overcrowding *of the Assembly Hall in Geneva is due in great part to the number* of American spectators, and day by day in September the International Club is filled with earnest visitors from the United States, who, not fatigued by listening to speeches all the morning and speeches all the afternoon, like to hear the drone of a statesman's voice during the sleepy half-hour which follows luncheon

Just fifty years ago the Congress of Berlin came to an end, and presumably many of the people who had attended it went home convinced that peace was assured for all time It is, of course, easy enough to be sceptical about the prospects of peace to-day, but the guns of Plevna were not 'Big Berthas,' and phosgene gas was unknown The fact that the folly of war becomes increasingly obvious does not, of course, mean that it is automatically ruled out It may be that the attempts to construct and consolidate which have been dealt with here are merely equivalent to the sponging and massaging of a boxer between two rounds The franc may be 'pegged' only to relapse at the next crisis; the relative calm in China may only be a prelude to fresh years of civil war, Mr. Kellogg's treaty may only be an attempt to lull people into that false feeling of security about which we hear so much These things may be so, but equally they may be indications of something bigger and more lasting Is it not possible that even now man may be on his way to prove that he can be guided by reason? And, after all, why not? In a world in which the voice of a man in London can be heard in Australia anything might happen.

VERNON BARTLETT.

LANCASHIRE'S TROUBLES

An apprehension of facts and causes assists success in the application of remedies. Lancashire employers and employees have issued reports, abounding in statistics and suggesting that both are aware of the precarious nature of their position Unfortunately, the non-textile public, busy with its own fiscal and commercial afflictions, has little time for the perusal of these reports, and as the textile workers are patient and non-revolutionary, neither evading their own responsibilities for existence nor threatening the Government, little general notice is taken of their reports, and the world comforts itself by assuming that the industry and the county will muddle through

Possibly this unconcernedness on the part of public and Government is fostered by the Lancashire view that no one outside the county and the trade can understand either the manipulative operations, the principles upon which the industry is conducted, or the methods by which it can be regenerated. There is perhaps a measure of justification for the contention that the complexities both of manufacturing and commercial processes, and the international extent of its buying and selling and competition, place the trade beyond the control of the non-expert Where, however, Lancashire is often held to be at fault is in assuming—and she sometimes does at least appear to assume—that fundamental business principles do not apply in her case as they apply elsewhere and in other trades.

Outside the Palatinate there are critics of this attitude, and men not infrequently declare that it is better to leave Lancashire to fight her troubles and enjoy her successes alone, as she will resent anything in the shape of outside advice or guidance. If this were generally and always true, then the plight of Lancashire would be hopeless Misfortune would be bad enough, but misfortune plus unrelieved conceit would be fatal Fortunately, the conceit is not unrelieved ; there are people in Lancashire, thousands of them, who know as well as the other fellow that while egotism in an individual or in an industry may be tolerated, and even excused, so long as it induces purposive and successful effort, it ceases to be either tolerable or excusable if it results

only in the fatuous acceptance of the conclusion that the existent must be the final, and that the methods in use are perfect for all times and in all circumstances. The severity, the extent, and the duration of the depression in the trade has eliminated from the minds of all but the very foolish any tendency to resent or disregard any study of the subject which suggests real interest, reasonable explanation, or possible amelioration.

To understand the situation as it exists to-day one must go back to 1913, or even earlier. In those pre-war days trade policies may have concerned themselves with immediate rather than with future interests, but the financial position of the trade was perfectly sound. In 1913, in one of the textile publications, reference is made to the 'prudent policies of directors who have greatly strengthened their reserves' In the two years 1912–13 these directors had allocated 27 per cent. of the amount distributed as dividends, and in doing so had presumably rehabilitated reserves which had been drawn upon in 1911 By 1922 reserves had disappeared, and credit was obtainable only under increasingly difficult conditions.

The outsider who looks for causes of the present cotton trade difficulties would enumerate the following as conducive ones, adding to them or placing them differently, according to knowledge or predilection :

1 The pre-war practice of limiting production to keep up prices

2 The consequences resulting from war-time and abnormal expansion of productive capacity

3 The war-time flooding of the country with cheap money and the consequent cheapening and extension of unsound credit

4 The subsequent encouragement of new issues and over-capitalisation

5. The complications arising from the great increases in the totals of loan capital.

6 The dislocations caused by war and fashion

7 Hostile tariffs, originally designed to produce revenue, or to protect nascent and national industries, but ultimately extended to the point of prohibition

8 Revolutionary disturbances in Russia, China, and India.

9 The conservatism which led all parties to production to imagine that their knowledge and methods needed neither enlargement nor improvement

10 The under-estimating of the extent, the effect, and the permanency of Asiatic and European competition.

11. Ill-calculated and precipitate extensions of national and local expenditures

Usually when any question of restricting production arises it

is assumed that responsibility for the policy rests upon labour. In the case of the cotton trade, and some others, restrictions have been designed and enforced by the manufacturers. Neither the policy nor the intention has been disguised. The maintenance of price was held to be the most important objective of the whole trade; short time, therefore, was organised by the employers, and acquiesced in by the employees, for the clearly stated purpose of adapting supply to demand and maintaining prices at a constant level.

Such policies are always alluring, particularly so to those who study them not at all, or only superficially. The desire to maintain prices, particularly high prices, is intensely and generally human. Sometimes it is strong enough to obscure, even to ordinarily capable people, the full consequences of the restrictive action contemplated; and it is highly probable that only a few persons were able to see that restricting production to maintain prices involved a developing limitation of demand, and afforded opportunities for new forms of alien competition.

It is impossible in such cases to hide from the world the fact that production has been restricted, or the purpose behind the policy; and every actual or potential customer may be expected to take umbrage and resent the act which minimises his chances of obtaining goods for less money, or more goods for the same money. Consciously, or subconsciously, these offended customers seek to retaliate, and retaliation takes the form of going without, of finding substitutes, or of purchasing in markets where restrictions do not prejudicially apply, and where prices rise and fall as demand is strong or weak.

The impossibility of making the restrictions on output apply internationally doomed them to failure. Had it been possible for Lancashire to compel the coalescence of all the cotton manufacturing countries, a greater, though in any case only a temporary, success might have attended the attempt, by restricting supply, to impose constant prices. The real result, however, of the policy was that some astute individuals benefited, but the trade suffered, alike through annoyance at the policy, inability to pay the prices demanded, and the encouragement of international competition.

The Lancashire cotton industry also suffered, as did other industries, through the war-time expansion and direction of productive capacity. It was not merely that greater production was demanded, but that the goods required were of unusual character. Instead of manufacturing for peace it was necessary to manufacture for war. Both minds and machinery were therefore concentrated upon producing goods which, while being unsuitable for old or new customers of normal type, would nevertheless clog and prejudice peace-time markets. A measure of depression, for which

the industry could not be held responsible, was certain to ensue while these stocks were being reduced, and frequently at under cost prices.

Whether they liked or disliked the process, those who had charge of the war were compelled to finance it by inflation That they inflated beyond the actual needs, even of very serious times, is now admitted. A better knowledge of the real minds of the workpeople of Great Britain, a tighter hand upon departmental extravagances, and a sterner repression of the few who sought to disaffect and destroy would have saved hundreds of millions sterling ; but the knowledge and restraint was lacking, or submerged in fear, and money which had authoritative rather than intrinsic value was made and circulated with little regard to all the ensuable consequences Everybody had money, not merely to burn, but with which to speculate, credit was extended as money grew cheaper, and the gambling instinct found unanticipated opportunity for expression.

It is one of the complaints of Lancashire folk that the monetary policies of the war-time Governments encouraged new issues and over-capitalisation The extent of this over-capitalisation may be deduced from *The Times* of September 12, 1927, and from reports issued by the cotton operatives in 1922 and 1927 These contributions to the study of the problem show the estimated total share and loan capitalisation in 1913, at 14s per spindle, to have been 39,450,000*l* for the whole industry, of which approximately 23,950,000*l* was share capital and 15,500,000*l* loan capital Corresponding figures for 1927, on the basis of the foregoing figures, would be 125,000,000*l* total capitalisation, of which approximately 90,000,000*l* would be share capital and 35,000,000*l*. loan capital To these totals, particularly for interest purposes, must be added bank overdrafts, which are now assumed to be round about 23,000,000*l*

The handicap imposed by these increases in capital responsibilities is appalling Instead of providing for depreciation on 40,000,000*l* at 4 to 5 per cent, provision must be made for 125,000,000*l* at 6 per cent, while loan capital of 15,500,000*l* at 4 per cent. has become 35,000,000*l* at 6 per cent. These capital charges for depreciation and interest in 1927 were stated to be 9,730,000*l*. If a dividend of 5 per cent on ordinary shares is added, an annual total of 14,230,000*l*, or nearly three times as much as in 1913, is required to meet these particular overhead charges. Unhappily, this does not close the story of financial overloading ; there are, additionally, bank overdrafts, running to tens of millions, on which at least 6 per cent. must also be found To this must be added the exasperating incidence of increased rates, taxes, insurances, and transport charges.

Viewing only these financial impedimenta to manufacturing and commercial progress, the observer might regard the position as extremely grave, but when is added to financial incubus and the dislocations of war the effect of fashions which have reduced home consumption of cotton cloths by more than half, he is fain to despair Yet Lancashire must face and overcome these and other obstacles to trading if she would recover her trading status and continue to feed her teeming population. She must struggle against tariffs designed to exclude her goods from Dominion and alien markets, and fight the revolutionary propaganda which disturbs the home as well as those immense markets in China, Russia, and India It will be well, too, if she accepts and disseminates the fact that while social ameliorations benefit all, it is the productive worker who pays for them, and, in doing so, handicaps his own trading opportunities

It has been urged that the cotton trade has contributed to its own distress by egotism and inability to adapt itself to changing circumstances. Inside the industry this criticism would be hotly contested, but it is still urged by people who ask whether Lancashire is as impervious to advice as she used to be. The answer, as they say at Westminster, is in the negative. However self-contained she may have appeared, however resentful of outside advice she may have been, it cannot, in fairness, be urged that to-day she lacks initiative or enterprise, or that she regards with suspicious hostility any and every suggestion from outside, though friendly, sources. She has demonstrated initiative; her attempts to meet or promote fashions in colour and design are almost bewildering Comparison of her present-day products with those of twenty years ago reveals an originality and an æsthetic conception which must be studied to be appreciated.

Actual methods of production have been improved and speeded There never was much slacking amongst the operatives, the men and women who literally produce the goods In the main they are pieceworkers, with time regulated by the clock and effort governed by the machine. There may be room for improvement here, but it is very small The machines cannot be run much faster, nor does it appear that working hours can, or should, be lengthened. The proposals to adopt the shift system do not find favour with the workpeople, who point to, and fear, the practices developing in countries where it is in operation.

It has been urged against the cotton industry that it under-estimated the extent, the effect, and the permanency of Asiatic and European competition Many circumstances suggest that this has been the case, but there is definite evidence of present apprehension of the problem, and the efforts to meet it would be

intensified if that burden of bad finance, which originated with the Government, could be removed.

There are various ways of affording relief from the burden imposed by financial error and chicanery, most of them open to criticism, but not more so than the subsidy to the mining industry. This particular subsidy may have delayed, but it certainly did not prevent, the Communist precipitation of the General Strike The first method would be to write off loan capital and overdrafts in the same manner, though not necessarily in the same proportion, as share capital, or, alternatively, to reduce the rate of interest to the pre-war 4 per cent. Either of these methods would probably be impossible apart from Government action and support, but neither of them would be so expensively ineffective as the subsidies to the mines.

Another method of affording relief to the cotton and to most other industries would be to transfer the incidence of health, unemployment, and pensions insurance, together with such local burdens as arise in connexion with education, police, and similar services, from industrial and local contribution to income tax. At present the demands in respect of these ameliorations and services are issued irrespective of whether profits or losses are being made, and they fall most heavily upon those industries or localities least able to meet them. This suggestion involves a new conception of the uses of income tax and a wider basis of collection. Its adoption would have psychological as well as economic consequences ; the industrialists would be heartened and assisted, while those who have developed a flair for dependency might be correspondingly disheartened and perhaps induced to work

The income tax payer will regard with trepidation any scheme which threatens to encroach further upon his earnings or profits ; but on a scientifically organised basis and method of collection the net increases ought to be cancelled out by the additional earnings and profits of liberated industry.

The State, having assisted in the *débâcles*, might still further assist in the recovery by developing and improving the Consular Service and making it a more effective instrument for expanding overseas opportunities of selling goods manufactured in Great Britain, and by developing commercial information and relationships At present the training of the Consular Service is political rather than commercial , that should be altered.

Objection can, and will, be taken to these methods of relief ; those who suggest them are willing to consider alternatives, although they do not promise to regard with favour alternatives which only seek to impose further sacrifices upon the men and women who accept orders and operate machines or processes. Where the trouble is caused by bad finance and ill-calculated and

precipitate extensions of national and local expenditure it is unfair to seek relief by extending hours, increasing tasks, or reducing wages.

If the alternatives seek to place the responsibility and cost of rehabilitation upon, not the individuals, because that is impossible, but upon the classes who engineered and profited by over-capitalisation and higher rates of interest, these alternatives will be welcomed and sympathetically considered by all who live by or who are interested in the trade

There is, of course, the possibility that nothing will be done, or only those things which are dictated by political exigency. Men of sense and humanity will pray that neither feeble-mindedness nor venality shall dominate the counsels that must be taken. Thy will pray that the doctrinaire and partisan spirit may be eliminated and that the resources, both mental and material, of a great people may be exercised in the rehabilitation of an essential industry and in the comforting of a loyal and industrious community

W. A. APPLETON.

SOME FORCES BEHIND THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT IN JAPAN

ALTHOUGH from ten to twenty years are likely to pass before women in Japan are given the right to vote on equal terms with men, the movement aiming at elevating their status has been attracting considerable attention of late Especially has it come into prominence since the grant of universal manhood suffrage three years ago, and there is little doubt that the recent elections, the first to be held under the new franchise law, helped to stimulate the movement to no small degree In view, therefore, of the great changes that have been effected in recent years with regard to the position of women in Japan's social system and of the still greater changes that are likely to be witnessed during the next decade or two, it may be profitable as well as interesting to look into the causes of this gradual transition and to see what progress has been made up to the present time.

In order, however, to appreciate the significance of the changes that are now taking place it will be well, before proceeding further, to give a brief sketch showing the disadvantages under which Japanese women have had to labour in the past and how it came about that handicaps were imposed upon them Unless this is done, it will be difficult to understand either the causes leading to the woman's movement in Japan or the forces which successively tend to impede or assist it.

That Japanese women have for many centuries past been regarded as the inferiors of their menfolk, and have been made to suffer both socially and legally accordingly, is not to be gainsaid Nor can it be denied that they are even now the victims of social, political, and legal discriminations, though they are accorded far more freedom and consideration than were their sisters of feudal times. That women did not always hold a low position in the Japanese social scale is, however, clear from the records of the past It is hardly necessary to recall, for instance, that Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, is the most revered of all the Japanese deities, and that Japanese mythology credits her with being the ancestress of the unbroken line of emperors. As such, her shrine at Ise is the Mecca of Japan. Similarly, with the

possible exception of Jimmu Tenno, the first Emperor of Japan, no Japanese ruler of ancient days is regarded with more awe and veneration than the great Empress Jingo, renowned for her somewhat mythical exploits in connexion with the conquest of Korea in the third century of the Christian era.

Many other instances could be quoted to show the high regard in which women were held in ancient times. These two, however, must suffice, though it may be noted in passing that there are many stories of women participating in the wars of prehistoric days, both as leaders and in the ranks, and there is plenty of evidence to show that, in those far-off times, Japanese women enjoyed equal rights with men, that they were free to love and marry as they chose, and that there was no difference in social standing between the two sexes.

It was the gradual change in social and economic conditions that tended to lower the status of women to some degree, but it was not until after the introduction of Chinese and Korean civilisation and the spread of Buddhism in the sixth century that women came to be regarded as the actual inferiors of men, and it was not until the publication of the Daiho Laws in 701 A D —the first attempt at codification in Japan—that this inferiority was accorded legal recognition These laws, based on the civil law of China, discriminated against women in a number of ways and made them definitely inferior to men in the eyes of the law. Moreover, by introducing, as they did, the Chinese family system, the right of women to choose their own husbands was henceforth denied them, and marriage, from that time onward, could only take place with the consent of the two families concerned. Henceforth, therefore, both men and women were to lose their individuality and freedom of choice, not only in the matter of marriage, but in almost all actions of any importance From then on the family became the unit of society, while the individual was forced to obey the legal head of his or her house instead of being a free agent to do as he or she wished.

From this it will be seen that it was not only the woman whose freedom of action was restricted The man also was put under restraint. The woman, however, had far more restrictions placed upon her than had the man, and most of these restrictions have remained until quite recently, while some have not been removed even to this day. Especially was this legal discrimination noticeable in the matter of divorce. Thus, while husbands were permitted to divorce their wives if they bore them no son, or if they were unfaithful, talkative, jealous, or lepers, the wives had no reciprocal rights ; for neither infidelity, ill-treatment, cruelty, nor disease on the part of the husbands entitled the women to sue for divorce.

Despite these restrictions and others, even more severe, imposed in later years, Japan has never been lacking in women of intelligence and force of character, who have wielded immense influence. Thus, in the Nara period (710–794 A.D.) the Court women were all powerful, and in political and administrative influence were no whit the inferiors of men. In the Heian period which followed, women of the upper class, it is true, lost much of their mental and moral vigour; but, with the rise of the military class to power in the twelfth century, woman again came to occupy an important position in the social organisation of the country. This was in no small part due to Yoritomo, the great warrior-statesman of those days, who, being impressed by the great ability of his own wife, Masako, placed a number of able women in high positions of authority. Masako actually directed the administration of the Kamakura Government and controlled the war-like *bushi* after her husband's death, while other women of equal ability were entrusted with tasks of similar importance in the rival Court at Kyoto.

In the important matter of inheritance Yoritomo likewise showed his broad-minded attitude towards women. With the one stipulation that 'a thoroughly deserving eldest son' of a wife or concubine could claim one-fifth of his father's estate, he laid it down that widows were to inherit their husbands' property and enabled them to adopt an heir if childless. This is of interest when we consider the fight that is going on at the present time on this very point, as will be shown later.

Though certain new restrictions were imposed during the Kamakura period, and although, as a social-political unit, women counted for little, as wives and mothers they received the highest respect and esteem, much as did the Roman *matrona* of old. While fathers and husbands were absent on military service the wives and mothers were given complete control of the household, and were, moreover, charged with the important task of educating and guarding the children.

As time went on, however, the position of Japanese women in general became less enviable. According to Buddhistic teaching, women were sinful and therefore inferior to men. This combined with the rise of the military class, which held that, as men offered their lives in battle, it was the duty of women to sacrifice happiness, comfort, and even life itself for the good of their menfolk, tended to make them ever more subordinate to the male sex and to hedge them round with all manner of restrictions on their personal liberty.

Then, too, constant civil strife helped to develop the family system still further, and in almost direct ratio with this development women's position, both legally and socially, became lowered

The family was not merely the father, mother, and children, but included grandparents, cousins, and distant relations, together with their servants and retainers and their families The larger the 'family,' the stronger became the position of its head, as all those under him were bound to obey him and could therefore be counted on as his adherents whenever he required their assistance in fighting a rival This large family system may therefore be regarded as the outcome of the circumstances existing in those troublous times, for rival lords sought to strengthen their position by such means and daughters were forced to marry those whose adherence to the family was considered desirable, while love motives were given no consideration at all

Moreover, in order to ensure that there should be no diminution in the strength of a family on the death of its head, the sole right of inheritance went to the eldest son If this had not been done, and if, instead, each member of the family had received a share of the estates, there would have been a division of power and property and the family position would have been weakened proportionately These facts must be appreciated, therefore, if we are to understand how it came about that, until quite recently, Japanese women had no property rights and that, even now, they labour under great disadvantages in this as in many other respects.

One way and another the circumstances of those days made the women of Japan increasingly subservient to, and dependent on, men. Being charged with the education and upbringing of the heir and other children at all times, and being left in control of the whole family and its dependants in the absence of their husbands, the married women, it is true, held positions of great responsibility; but, by their very duties, their power was strictly confined to the household. Outside the home circle they held neither rights nor privileges

It is one of the curious anomalies of modern times, therefore, that, whereas the present tendency is to grant greater freedom to women, the one duty above all others that, despite their low status, earned for them some measure of respect in feudal days has now been taken from them This was the education of the children, especially that of the heir. With the introduction of compulsory education at Government schools, after the reopening of the country to foreign intercourse in the second half of last century, the mothers were deprived of this important task. While therefore they have gained to some extent in the matter of legal rights, they have lost what was formerly one of their greatest, though certainly onerous, privileges of former times.

It was during the Kamakura period and the troublous times

that followed that the power of Japanese women to bear suffering uncomplainingly gradually became second nature with them; for the development of the family system in those days necessitated not only their being restricted to their homes, but also absolute fidelity and obedience to their husbands—not from love, but because the strict *samurai* code of honour and duty demanded it It is this centuries old tradition and training that has probably done more than anything else to handicap the woman's movement in Japan, for it is only the comparatively few who have been able or willing to overcome the consequent belief in their own inferiority and to question men's rights to lord it over them. The few who have succeeded in doing so have a hard task before them to persuade their sisters that the time has come for them to look beyond the horizon of their own immediate family circle and to assert their rights

At the same time the fact should not be overlooked that in Japan, as in other countries, poverty makes for equality Consequently the women of the peasant, the artisan, and the small trader class have always had more freedom, and have occupied a relatively higher position, than their sisters of higher birth and breeding, and the wives of such men have shared the counsels of their husbands as well as their toils As the women of these lower classes form the bulk of the female population, it is by no means lacking in significance that the woman's movement of the present day is tending to lean over to the proletarian parties for support

If the introduction of Buddhism and of Chinese and Korean civilisation, the development of the family system, and the rise of a warrior class each in its turn helped to place Japanese women at an increasingly great disadvantage to their menfolk, it remained for the introduction, or rather diffusion, of Confucianism in the days of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1600 to 1868) to put the finishing touch to their subjection Buddhism taught that women were sinful, and the family system necessitated their taking second place to men Confucianism went still further, emphasising, as it did, the reverence and obedience due to all men by women Iyeyasu, the founder of the Tokugawa Shogunate, was a strong believer in the teachings of the old Chinese sage, and his successors followed in his steps in this respect. Henceforth, therefore, it was not enough that a woman should obey her husband Till marriage she had to give unquestioning obedience to her father, during her married life her husband was her absolute lord and master, and even her parents-in-law were entitled to greater respect than her own parents, in her husband's absence, or after his death, her sons took his place and commanded her obedience To obey fathers, husbands, and

sons therefore became the standard of morals and ethics, and women were relegated to the position of mere housekeepers.

Even in the matter of infidelity their position, which had been slightly bettered in this respect and raised to a nearer level with that of men under Yoritomo's *régime*, was made worse than ever, as adultery, in the case of a married woman, became punishable by death.

As though this were not enough, a set of rules of conduct, known as *Onna Daigaku* or Greater Learning for Women, was drawn up by the followers of Kaibara, a famous teacher of mysogonistic leanings. These rules, which were based on the teachings propounded by this pedagogue, came to be the standard on which women's conduct was henceforth to be based and have exerted immense influence in impressing Japanese women with a deep sense of their own inferiority to men. While, however, Kaibara taught that women should subject themselves to men, he was not, in reality, such a hidebound conservative as he is generally painted Believing, as he did, that women's many shortcomings were due to ignorance and undeveloped intellectuality, he urged that they should be given such an education as would develop their intellectual powers With this end in view he advocated the teaching of such subjects as mathematics and household economy. Thus it may be said that Kaibara, who did so much to complete the subjection of women to men in Japan, laid the foundations of the present-day movement for freeing women from their bondage Up to his time the education of women had been carried on in a somewhat haphazard way in the home, without much attention being paid to the training of the intellect. Nor did it receive as much or as early attention as in the case of men, or as it should have done. Kaibara, however, caused radical improvements to be made in this respect Inasmuch, therefore, as it is true that the spread of women's education has exercised a very direct influence in giving impetus to the woman's movement in modern times, it may be said that Kaibara helped to bring this about.

When, however, we take into consideration the repression imposed on Japanese womanhood by Buddhist and Chinese teaching for the past fourteen centuries, by Confucianism for the past three centuries, and by their offshoots as seen in the family system, the ethics of the warrior class, and the outpourings of Kaibara and other writers of his way of thinking, the wonder is that the women of Japan have never fallen to the level of their sisters in China and other patriarchal countries. The fact nevertheless remains that, despite the discriminatory treatment she has received in the past, the Japanese woman has always been regarded with a certain measure of respect and has, to some

extent, remained a power in the land. The probable explanation is that Shinto, the national religion of the country, though it taught that obedience and cheerful submission were the greatest of female virtues, nevertheless ensured respect for women by virtue of the fact that female deities were the object of worship. No forecast regarding the prospects of the woman's movement in Japan would therefore be complete unless due consideration was taken of the influence which these forces have exerted, and still are exerting, both on the position and the mental outlook of Japanese women. Buddhism, Confucianism, and Chinese teaching each tend to lower their status and make them regard themselves as naturally inferior to men. Shinto, with its worship of female deities and its high regard for Amaterasu, the Sun Goddess, ensures that, whether inferior, superior, or equal to men, women shall be accorded a certain measure of respect

With the opening of the country to foreign intercourse in the middle of last century the impact of Western ideas and civilisation naturally had its effect on Japanese womanhood as on all other things Japanese. The education of both sexes was encouraged, and both women and girls were sent to Europe and America at Government or private expense to study In so far as the aristocracy was concerned, the Emperor Meiji, in a rescript issued in 1871, laid special emphasis on the desirability of wives, daughters, and sisters accompanying members of the nobility who went abroad, so that they 'might see for themselves how, in the lands they visit, women receive their education, and would also learn the way to bring up their children.'

Although the number of women sent to study in foreign lands was necessarily limited, the influence exercised by them in spreading a knowledge of Western ideas and thoughts among their sisters in Japan on their return was by no means inconsiderable In this they were assisted by missionaries, teachers, and foreigners of all sorts, while the introduction of foreign books helped still further to disseminate knowledge which was bound to influence their whole outlook on life [1]

Although many years were to pass before anything in the nature of a serious movement for the emancipation of women was to come into being, one of the first reforms carried out was contained in a decree issued in 1872, whereby the sale or hiring out of girls was forbidden ; and it is significant of the progress made after the restoration of the Emperor to power in 1868 that within a few years a young woman of the *samurai* class had opened a

[1] For fear of their being influenced adversely, certain books have been banned by the authorities, however, even in recent times These include a translation of Molière, 'because of the lack of respect shown in the plays by wives towards their husbands and sons towards parents' !

school whose main object it was to attack the long-established social and family system with a view to easing the lot of her countrywomen. Small success attended this venture, which was frowned upon by the authorities, who forced her to close down, and some years later, in 1885, had her arrested and put in prison for three years on account of her active co-operation with the radical elements in the country.

Remembering how this early pioneer in the cause of women's rights sought to gain her ends by allying herself with the radical elements of those days, it is perhaps not lacking in significance that, whereas at the outset of the present-day movement the majority of those interested in it were educated women of the upper-middle class, increasing interest is now being shown by women of the labouring classes, and the most recent developments in the woman's movement in Japan have indicated a decided leaning towards the left. No less than three women's organisations aiming at female emancipation have been formed during the past few months, each one with proletarian affiliations. A fourth, which came into being in January this year, definitely pledged itself to the cause of the *Rodo Nominto* (Labour-Farmer Party), the most extreme of the four proletarian parties existing at that time[2] Two of these parties, it may be added, include the grant of the franchise to women amongst their declared policies, and all four used numbers of women speakers to stump the country in their cause during the campaign for the recent general election.

The first three of the four women's organisations mentioned above are composed largely of 'intellectuals' from the cities, especially Tokyo, and do not include women from the rural districts. They are mainly interested in fighting against sex inequality and injustice, and have merely allied themselves in this way because the proletarian parties have shown sympathy towards their cause. The fourth organisation, however, is definitely in favour of the proletarian cause as well as of its own, and is said to be composed largely of working women.

What Miss Kageyama—the pioneer woman agitator who was imprisoned in 1885—failed to do by her school and by her radical activities has been largely achieved since then by other and more constitutional means The family system, it is true, is still a force in the land and, as such, continues to exercise its influence on the position of women. It has, however, been weakened to a considerable extent by the natural workings of modern economic

[2] The *Rodo Nominto*, better known as *Rodoto* for short (not to be confused with the *Nihon Rodoto*, a proletarian party of moderate complexion), has since then been dissolved by order of the Government on account of its alleged connexion with Communistic elements.

laws and by the progress of industrialisation. Women have, in consequence, acquired a degree of independence which would have been considered almost unbelievable fifty years ago.

Thus, whereas formerly the family was, to all intents and purposes, a self-contained unit, each member contributing his or her own share to the family prosperity by personal service of one kind or another, for which he or she, in return, received board, lodging, and other similar benefits, modern conditions necessitate individual members going out to work as wage-earners The unity of the family, which was the natural outcome of the old system when each member was interdependent on all the others, has accordingly been weakened

This is specially noticeable in the case of women and girls who, having once tasted of the comparative economic independence obtainable by fixed wages from outside sources, are loath to return to the old form of bondage which practically denied them all freedom of action. Whereas formerly virtually no women, other than those of the courtesan class, were to be found engaged in work of any kind outside their own home circles, latest statistics show that over 1,000,000 are now employed in factories, close on 500,000 in day labour, in mines, and in the service of transportation and communications, and about 1,100,000 in professional work, medical, educational, commercial, and so forth There are, in addition, some 6,000,000 engaged in agricultural work and an unstated number helping husbands or parents in small business ventures.

The majority of the women agriculturists and small business helpers, however, receive no actual wages, as they are working with, and for, their own families, in much the same way as all women did in the heyday of the old family system In return for their labour they are kept by their families, sharing their fortunes and misfortunes proportionately.

It is the 2,500,000 outside wage-earners who, by their comparative freedom from the old restraints of the family system, are awakening to a sense of the rights due to them By the very nature of their work they find themselves brought into direct contact with men, and, in consequence, are no longer so content to bow down to the dictates of their parents as to whom they are to marry The old Confucian teaching that the sexes must be segregated after the age of seven, and that girls must not be allowed to leave their homes after the age of ten, made them willing enough to let others choose their husbands for them in former times, as they had but little acquaintance with men other than those of their own immediate family [3]; but the greater

[3] Though Confucianism advocated the segregation of the sexes, and though concubinage was formerly permitted, the *harim* and the *zenana* or their equivalents

freedom of intercourse resulting from present-day conditions has tended to alter all this. Moreover, many of them, being now economically independent in consequence of being wage-earners, prefer to remain single rather than place themselves at the beck and call of conservative-minded husbands, whereas formerly it was considered a disgrace to remain unmarried, and, being economically dependent on men, they had no alternative but to marry.

Then, too, contact with the outside world is making them question the reason why they should receive less wages than men for the same work, and the spread of education makes them ask why the law should discriminate against them in such matters as inheritance, divorce, and political rights and set different standards of morality for men and women Even the cinema, with its depiction of the love and respect accorded to women in Western countries, plays its part—sometimes, it must be admitted, with results which are not wholly to the good of society

In this matter of questioning they have won the sympathy of an increasingly large number of men as well as that of a large section of the vernacular Press, and improvements are already in evidence Thus, as already noted, the former inequalities in the matter of divorce have recently been dealt a severe blow by the ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of the woman who brought an action against her husband on the ground of his infidelity. Similarly political rights, which formerly were withheld entirely, are now being accorded to women, who since 1922 have been permitted to attend political meetings and take an active part in political discussions.

Then, too, there is the inheritance law, which constitutes the backbone of the Japanese family system. A Bill enabling certain amendments to be put into effect as from April 1 this year was to have been presented at the fifty-fourth session of the Diet, and it was only, as in the case of a number of other important Bills, the dissolution of the Diet on January 21 that necessitated its postponement It will, however, probably be presented early next year, and, if passed, women's legal rights will then be greatly improved.[4]

The proposed new law renders it obligatory, in cases where inheritance is decided by the will of the chief of the family, that the consent of his wife, if he has one, should be obtained. The

have never been known in Japan, nor has there ever been the same strict seclusion as that imposed in Mahomedan countries.

[4] Apart from those clauses affecting the status of women, some of the changes proposed are so fundamental, however, that they are likely to be the subject of as much heated discussion as was the proposed revision of the Prayer Book in England.

old law contains no such stipulation Furthermore, in the case of a husband being adopted into the family of his wife through marriage, as often happens in Japan, the wife is to be regarded as head of the family, unless the husband has any valid objection. This also is a reversal of the present law.

It is likewise proposed to make brothers, sisters, and the widow of a testator joint heirs to the headship of families and to estates, thus abolishing the present monopolistic system, which came into being in feudal days for reasons already specified This is certainly a step in the right direction, for under the existing law a widow is denied the right to succeed to her husband's estate, unless otherwise stated in his will; and a son by a woman who is not the man's wife is given preference to a legitimate daughter in the matter of inheritance, provided the son has been legally recognised by the man [5] True, a widow may, even now, have the title of the property in her name if her deceased husband has no brothers or sisters, but she only holds it in trust She cannot use any of it, even though the amount increases under her management, for it must all go to the children Moreover, she cannot marry again unless another heir is appointed to whom all the property rights go There are even difficulties in the way of her proving her right to property owned by herself prior to her marriage or acquired during her married life, though her husband, during his lifetime, has the right to use such property. The new law proposes to alter all this.

It will be seen, therefore, that the legal, social, and political rights of Japanese women, which formerly were either non-existent or else very greatly curtailed, are gradually being recognised In part this is due to the spread of education; in part it is due to changing economic and social conditions. Japanese sensitiveness to foreign opinion has also had much to do with the changing attitude of the country as a whole towards the treatment of women, for the Japanese as a race, despite, or perhaps because of, the assumption of superiority which some of them are apt to adopt at times, are always anxious to rectify, as far as possible, anything which they consider tends to lower them in the eyes of Western nations Knowing, therefore, that one of the tests of civilisation, according to the Western viewpoint, is the treatment of women, there is a growing desire on the part of educated Japanese to remove those discriminations which are most likely to call forth reproach This is undoubtedly one of the main factors in the movement aiming at the abolition of licensed prostitution, and it is likewise accountable to no

[5] Under the present law, a man can legitimise a child of his own born of a woman who is not his wife, though under the new law it is proposed to make the wife's consent necessary before this process of legitimisation can be made effective.

small extent for the movement in support of women's rights generally.

In so far as the question of prostitution is concerned—a question which is closely related to that of woman's emancipation in Japan—this susceptibility to foreign opinion is well exemplified by the following quotation from the *Osaka Mainichi* in a recent article dealing with the investigations carried out by the League of Nations. Similar sentiments, it may be said, are frequently expressed by all the more reputable units of the Japanese Press.

> That our Land of the Rising Sun should be classed among countries in which the White Slave problem is 'somewhat different' ought to be a challenge to our pride and patriotism We are happy to say that Japan is now an unqualified signatory to the agreement on the White Slave traffic regulation, as seen by the fact that the Privy Council, at the time of its ratification, turned down the reservations awarded to Japan A further clarification of the actual status in Japan is necessary to eliminate the misconception

Press sympathy and susceptibility to foreign opinion, however, are not enough What is needed to give the woman's movement the necessary impetus is for the women themselves to back it up Up to the present this support has not been forthcoming to the extent it should if real headway is to be made, as centuries of subjugation, and long tradition and training, have left the bulk of Japanese women disinclined to question the rights of men to privileges denied to themselves, or to challenge their own alleged inferiority to men. Such rights as they have achieved during the past few decades have been due to change of circumstances rather than to active agitation on their own part, and it is only within the last few years that any real organised attempt, even on a small scale, has been made to obtain for themselves equal rights with men.

As far back as the closing years of last century the famous educator, Fukuzawa, had come out in favour of improving women's lot, and, by the revision of the civil law in 1898, women's personal rights were given more recognition than formerly Polygamy was made illegal; to force a woman to marry against her will was also forbidden; women over the age of twenty-five were given the right to marry the men of their own choice, even without the consent of the family head, women were allowed to possess property of their own; married women, with the permission of their husbands, were able to engage in business of their own. These were the main points in the new law by which women were accorded rights which, though still less than those of their menfolk, had hitherto been withheld altogether.

It was not, however, until 1907 that the first woman's organisation was brought into being, and even then the body thus formed,

though it now boasts of a membership of over 1,500,000, had nothing to do with improving the condition of women in Japan. This was the Women's Patriotic Association. The first organisation aiming definitely at awakening women to a proper sense of their position and the rights due to them was the *Seitosha*, or 'Blue Stocking Society,' which was formed in 1911. It aimed not only at putting women on an equality with men in the matter of rights and privileges, but also, and more especially, at developing the talents and genius of women In order to show their defiance of the male sex, however, the members purposely went out of their way to shock the susceptibilities of their countrymen Smoking and drinking in public were indulged in flagrantly, and free love was practised. As a result, the organisation soon gained odium for itself and disappeared after an existence of barely three years

Reprehensible as this conduct may have been, it set people thinking and gave an impetus to the feminist movement It thereby helped to pave the way for the creation of the *Shinfujin Kyokai*, or 'New Women's Society,' the first women's organisation of a political character in Japan This came into being in 1920, and aimed at obtaining higher education for women, better treatment for women labourers, women's suffrage, improvement in the legal position of women, and vocational equality with men.

One of the first results of its agitation was that the ban on women attending political meetings was withdrawn two years later.

It was shortly after this that the *Shinfujin Kyokai* broke up; but with the removal of this ban five new organisations were formed, of which four still remain The good work done by these bodies at the time of the great earthquake in 1923 gained public recognition, and did much to strengthen the movement The Women's Suffrage Federation was formed in the following year, and now, by means of lectures, the distribution of pamphlets, and the wide circulation of a large number of women's magazines, the aims and objects of those working for feminine rights are being made known to an ever-increasing number of women throughout the country

It is to be noted in this connexion that whereas the woman's movement in Japan was originally confined to social work—for example, protection of children, succouring the poor and needy, relief of families of soldiers killed in action, and rescue work among the licensed prostitutes [6]—it is gradually assuming a

[6] Fifty representatives in the present Diet are said to be pledged to support the abolition of licensed prostitution, and Bills have been presented for severa years past with this end in view Official statistics of January this year showed 50,800 licensed prostitutes

political tinge with women's emancipation as its aim. This tendency has become all the more pronounced since the passage of the Manhood Suffrage Bill in 1925 and the subsequent birth of proletarian parties.

It would be incorrect to imagine that the women of Japan are, as a whole, hungering for the vote Those who really want it are still few in number, and the interest shown in national politics by the bulk of Japanese women is but small. There is, however, a growing interest in local and social legislation and an increasing demand for a voice in municipal affairs. The Seiyukai, the present Government party, are said to admit the justification of this demand, recognising as they do that municipal projects are frequently of such a nature as to affect vitally the interest of the home and of the housewife. They are therefore proposing to recognise the right of women, who are heads of families and over thirty years of age, to vote in the municipal elections. Further than this they are not prepared to go as yet, though indications are not lacking to show that there are many politicians of all shades who realise that sooner or later women will have to be accorded the same political rights as men, and that, therefore, it would not be good policy, as one Japanese writer has put it, '. . . to offend the whole new generation of women who to-morrow will have the right to vote for or veto any or every male candidate for the Diet '[7]

So far as the national vote is concerned, however, the demand is still too small to merit serious consideration It is generally conceded, therefore, that the first step must be to raise the social position of women rather than grant them an extension of political rights, and that equal rights of property are more urgently required than equality of political rights In arguing thus, the case of Great Britain—where, in order to make their social position safe, women's property rights were asserted before political rights were extended—is quoted as an example to be followed.

That steps are being taken with this end in view should be clear from what has been written above One by one the old discriminations imposed by the family system, by Chinese and Buddhist teaching in general and Confucian ethics in particular, and by the *samurai* code, are being abolished, and Japanese women are being accorded rights and privileges which, for centuries past, have been denied to them It was largely due to the conditions of the times and to force of circumstances that they were deprived, little by little, of their freedom and placed so much under the thumb of their menfolk It is largely due to the changing circumstances of the past half-century and to

[7] 'Santaro' in the *Japan Advertiser* of February 23, 1928.

other outside causes that they are gradually regaining that freedom. In the ordinary course of events, therefore, the next fifteen or twenty years are likely to see the bulk of the old discriminatory treatment removed.

If both the authorities and the women themselves are wise, they will let things take their natural course and will use no artificial means either to retard or expedite the movement unduly. Any attempt to slow it up unreasonably would probably only result in the appearance of militant methods on the part of a section of the women ; for Japanese women, despite their usual docility, have been lacking neither in spirit nor in courage. When once aroused they are seen to be, like 'the female of the species' the world over, 'more deadly than the male.' It was a party of fisherwomen who started the famous Rice Riots in Japan in 1918, and Japanese history is filled with instances showing what the women of the country can do when roused

On the other hand, any attempt to hasten the emancipation movement without good reason would result in too great a jolt to the whole social fabric of Japan, by placing a weapon in the hands of the women before they are sufficiently trained either to accept their new responsibilities or to use their new privileges in the best interests of themselves and of their country. 'Hurry slowly' seems, therefore, to be the best advice, and 'Hurry slowly' does, in fact, seem to be the motto of the accredited leaders of the movement and of the country's legislators alike.

M. D. KENNEDY

THE CULTURAL DOMINIONS OF FRANCE

THE High Commissioner to Egypt acted most wisely when he launched his campaign to raise E.150,000*l* to found and maintain English schools in the Valley of the Nile Such a sum is but a fractional part of what is needed. It will have to be multiplied several times if it is going to make its influence felt. It is, nevertheless, an admirable beginning As such it should be applauded

One of the besetting difficulties that has pursued British effort in Egypt is the lack of English schools There is, it is true, Victoria College at Alexandria It is a splendid institution. But its scope is limited. Its message is addressed to a circumscribed audience. There is also the Cairo English School. It is, however, a close corporation. It accepts Americans. But with this single exception it remains a British isle in a polyglot sea. And there are the well-managed schools of the Church Missionary Society. Lack of funds, nevertheless, curtails their number and thus hampers their usefulness.

The circumstance is not forgotten that English is taught in the Government schools Competent and conscientious Englishmen carry out this work. But their task is distinctly limited in its scope. It plays but a more or less effaced part in a general programme of studies English is not used as a vehicular language. It has its allotted number of hours a week. That is all The students are not transferred to an English mental environment. British lenses are not adjusted to their vision. Their plastic minds remain Egyptian. Many of them learn to read and speak English with ease But that language always remains a foreign tongue

Nevertheless, there are in Egypt French, Italian, Greek, and American schools where Egyptian boys and girls are imbued with the spirit of France, Italy, Greece, and the United States. These institutions are heavily endowed. They are admirably managed. Their teachers are efficient They are untiring They are patriotic. They do not indulge in propaganda. They are not anti-British. They are not anti-Egyptian But their kindness, their sense of fair play, their moral ascendency so impress them-

selves upon their student body that these children instinctively come to love the land of those who personify to them all that is noblest in life.

Italy and Greece have such large colonies in Egypt that their schools look after comparatively few Egyptian students. All subjects are taught—in the one case in Italian, in the other in Greek. The children play in these languages. In a word, these educational centres constitute little Italy and little Greece.

The American schools are not of this distinctly national colour. Their influence is all-pervading. They dot the land from one end to the other. Their average daily enrolment is now practically 20,000. The curriculum begins with the primary department. It ends with colleges of arts and sciences. There is also a well-appointed theological seminary And, needless to say, the education of girls and young women forms an essential part of this programme.

But the student body is Egyptian It is made up of Muslims, Jews, Copts, Syrians, Armenians, and Greeks It has what may be called a distinctly *baladi* or local flavour. There are foreigners there too They are, however, boys and girls, and young men and young women from the neighbouring countries They are Orientals and Levantines. They are not Americans. But they all learn to love the United States Children are remarkably astute. They recognise virtue They detect sham. They know that no sordid, no ulterior, no hidden motive has inspired those who are looking after their education. It has thus come to pass that, while their unformed vocal chords are being attuned to a nasal twang, their receptive minds become impressed with an abiding confidence in the idealism of America.

These American foundations are supported by the United Presbyterian Church of the United States. They are known as American mission schools, colleges and universities The purpose of those who direct this vast educational work is to fit the boys and girls committed to their care to become useful and God-fearing Egyptians. It is not sought to make Americans of them Egypt is their home. Her culture is their birthright. These missionaries, therefore, strive to give an Arabic setting to such scholarship as is best suited to the needs of the Orient. They succeed in their self-imposed task And, largely because they never seek to thrust an American point of view into the limelight, their students unconsciously drift into an American orbit. But it is a field of influence that eschews politics. It is loyal to Egypt and respectful to Britain.

France visualises her schools as part and parcel of her mission of peaceful penetration. She deliberately uses them to propagate her civilisation. Her teachers constitute her most effective

foreign legion. They need fear no Christopher Wren. Beau Geste and Beau Sabreur can find no setting in their ranks. Such soldiers are not in uniform. They wear cassocks. And side by side with them are saintly women. They are nuns, untouched by scandal and tireless in their devotion to their cause.

These priests, whose energy is only equalled by their scholarship, and these sisters, whose culture is only surpassed by their modesty, are not in Egypt to fill a sacerdotal office. They are there to sow the seeds of Gallic culture. Persecuted in Paris by French statesmanship, in Cairo they immolate themselves upon the altar of French letters. Hounded at home by the police of the Place Beauvau, abroad they are the agents of the Quai d'Orsay. In a word, when Gambetta cried out that 'l'anti-cléricalisme n'est pas un article d'exportation,' he found a happy formula for an unhappy state of affairs.

To grasp the true inwardness of this polity one should go back to the days of Suleiman the Magnificent It was that haughty prince who promulgated the first of the modern Capitulations In granting to Francis I of France the earliest of these 'diplomas' the Sultan referred to the French king as 'the greatest and most powerful of the Princes of the Religion of Jesus.' Circumstances were such that it was relatively easy for Paris to pose as the champion of Catholicism. It suited the interests of Valois and of Bourbon to push this advantage to the utmost. And it harmonised with the aspirations of the smaller Powers to have as their protagonist the powerful ambassador of His Most Christian Majesty. Thus it was that France gradually became recognised by the Occident and by the Orient as the spokesman of the Church of Rome.

When Louis XIV. came to the throne he decided to strengthen his grip upon this prerogative. He began by winning the Jesuits to his cause He made their priests 'His Majesty's Chaplains for the Levant.' But in return for this favour it was insisted that all members of the Society of Jesus sent to the Near East should be Frenchmen. At the same time the Capuchins were prevailed upon to give a Gallic turn to their representation in those parts. To be brief, the diplomacy of Versailles directed its efforts towards making the Catholicism of the Sultan's domains predominantly French. And a further practical aspect was given to this orientation.

Previous to the reign of the *Roi Soleil* the missionaries who laboured among the Muslims sought to make converts to their faith. They succeeded in winning into their fold many of their separated Christian brothers. They probably won recruits among the Jewish inhabitants. The adherents of the Prophet, however, remained adamant. Conquests of a Muslim soul were as rare as they were of doubtful sincerity.

But the very fact that attempts were being made to spread the Gospel among those who accepted the Quran made matters, at times, extremely difficult for the zealous Fathers Such efforts at proselytising got on the nerves of the Sultan and were apt to react on the necks of the missionaries. These fearless men were face to face with an unpleasant dilemma. If they continued to strive towards the impossible, a martyr's crown for them and the loss of souls to their Church were in sight. If, on the other hand, an attempt was made to adhere to the attainable, the certainty of a happy death was deferred, but contact with the converts was assured The welfare of the misguided Christians was deemed to be paramount And the Holy See and the Bourbon sovereign accordingly covenanted that instructions should be given that no further attempt would be made to convert Muhammadans

This gentlemen's agreement or *modus vivendi* is not of yesterday. It is something like 250 years old As a result of it the Catholic Church in the Near East has become, not a militant religious organisation bearding Islam in its den, but an efficient body devoted to the spread of French culture It has done an incalculable amount of good It spreads science It inculcates knowledge It points the way in sanitation. It teaches men and women to lead better lives By precept and example it wins new friends every year But it gains them for Occidental civilisation, for Western ideals and for French letters

It would serve no useful purpose to quote statistics to show how the Roman Catholic teaching orders propagate Gallic intellectual development Suffice it to say that, what with Jesuit Fathers and Christian Brothers teaching boys and Sacred Heart and *Mère de Dieu* nuns caring for girls, the Egyptian literate non-Al Azhar population has a mental horizon which is largely French. A concrete example will serve to emphasise this moral ascendency.

In the summer of 1925 the American Minister to Cairo offered a banquet to Samy Pasha, who had just been accredited to Washington It was a dry feast. Toasts were drunk in water, ginger ale and coffee The entire Egyptian Cabinet was there. So were a few Americans and a number of local notables The chairman called upon each and every guest to say a word. All of the Egyptians gave different reasons for loving America One admired the United States because it was the land of liberty, another because it was the centre of cotton culture, another because its tourists improved local trade, another because American girls were pretty, another because of Prohibition, and another because moral courage was inborn in American men, and so on and so forth. Each speaker taxed his imagination to

find a different explanation of his affection for the Stars and Stripes.

And finally the turn of the Prime Minister arrived. Ahmed Ziwar Pasha was then in office. He is the clear-thinking and fearless statesman who took up the reins on the morrow of the assassination of Sir Lee Stack, the Sirdar. All foreigners who know Egypt admire the Premier as a man and trust him as a patriot. He arose slowly and deliberately. He weighs over 300 pounds. No one could expect so much avoirdupois to be displaced hurriedly or without solemnity A smile played across his lips when his ponderous frame finally became erect. He spoke in French. Here are the very words which fell from his Muslim lips: 'I was educated by the Jesuit Fathers. All that I am I owe to them I love the United States because when my beloved teachers were exiled from Catholic France, Protestant America gave them a home.' His message delivered, the Pasha carefully resumed his seat.

The very circumstance that His Excellency got out of his coffee, water or ginger ale the inspiration to pay this tribute to his *Alma Mater* shows the firm hold that his scholarship has upon him One of the Cairo comic vernacular papers sometimes humorously calls him '*Monseigneur le Cardinal, le petit Ahmed.*' Such a title, and more particularly such a mentality, clearly point out how far French culture has impressed itself upon a broad-minded and outspoken Muhammadan gentleman And his case is but a striking example It does not constitute an exception It typifies how the influence of French teaching has permeated the very soul of the Orient. Such seed ripens into a harvest of French prestige It brings Egypt into the spiritual empire of France It makes of the Levant one vast Gallic cultural dominion

There is a radical line of cleavage between the objective of the American Mission and that of the Catholic teaching orders The former strives, as has already been explained, to make useful Egyptians of its students The latter work towards implanting French seed in Muslim soil This means that once an Egyptian boy or girl crosses the threshold of one of these foci of French propaganda his or her plastic mind finds itself in a French environment. The child's class work is carried out in French. Mathematics, history, geography, and sciences are taught in French Arabic lessons are given, it is true, by well-trained and patient effendis and sheiks. But the atmosphere of everything is French. And what is more important is the spirit of the playground. It is French During recess the children talk French. When they go home brothers and sisters converse in French. Their accents may be ferocious, but their volubility is both volcanic and unquenchable

The general dissemination of these quasi-parochial centres has caused no small number of French private schools to spring up here and there. They are conducted in many cases by graduates of these religious institutions. Their founders and their staff are men and women born and bred in the Levant. This means that the seed has grown to fruition, and that extra-territorial France is now spreading the intellectual domain of the mother country

Nor do these Church schools and their Egyptian offshoots represent the sum total of French cultural effort Paris has now transplanted to the Orient its *Lycée Laïque.* In other words, there are at Cairo and Alexandria two important State-subsidised French lay *lycées.* They are reported to have an aggregate average daily attendance of 4500 boys and girls. This enrolment is largely made up of local Muslims, Jews and Copts

The Alexandria establishment is housed in an extensive and handsome structure The quarters of the Cairo branch are not pretentious But during the summer of 1927 the Government of the French Republic paid 54,800*l* for a parcel of ground almost within the shadow of the Egyptian Parliament. An old, and to all intents and purposes worthless, palace occupies this plot. Its disappearance should be but a question of months One can, therefore, readily visualise that within a short space of time French lay educators will have within ear-shot of the deliberations of the Egyptian legislators an educational unit which, in grounds and buildings alone, will represent a sum approaching the E.150,000*l* which the British High Commissioner is now raising.

To give a fitting climax to this network of religious, private, and non-sectarian schools there are a French School of Law and a French Institute of Archæology Both of these are subsidised by the French Government. The School of Law has an enrolment of several hundred students It is attached, in some way, to the University of Paris Every year a committee comes out to Egypt from France in order to control the entrance examinations. The students must, however, go to Paris to stand their final tests. If successful they receive a *diplôme d'exportation,* which confers upon them the degree of *licencié en droit.* This means that France says that they are barristers and that they may practise their profession anywhere—outside of France

That this Gallic intellectual leadership knows how to make its influence felt is shown by what happened in Egypt after the Great War. It is not meant by this that intrigue directed from Paris had anything to do with these events There were no back-stairs influences at work. The spontaneity of the movement precludes any such idea. A word of preface is, however, perhaps necessary in order to make this perfectly clear.

When the Egyptian nationalist movement assumed an outward form immediately after the Armistice, it had lungs, but lacked driving power. This will be understood when it is said that the great majority of the Mixed Court Bar, and quite a number of the Native Court Bar, are not Egyptian subjects. It takes lawyers to give impetus to an intellectual movement. These Cairene barristers have among them many Muslims, Syrians, Jews, and Copts. They were born in Egypt of families domiciled for many generations in the Nile Valley. But practically all of the Jews, Syrians, and Copts have foreign passports hidden away somewhere.

They delight in allegiance to countries which they may never have visited. They took no part in assuaging the birth-pangs of the movement for Egyptian independence. They considered that they were above such mundane concerns. So did their brothers, their cousins and their nephews. In their wake followed others who had no credentials from abroad, but who wanted the uninitiated to believe that they had.

One day it became known that Sir William Brunyate, the Judicial Adviser, had determined that the Common Law of England should supplant the Napoleonic codes. Such a decision smoked out the intellectual *élite.* It wilted their masks. Their disguise was discarded; their preserves had been attacked, their cultural stronghold had been assailed. They organised what passes in Egypt for public opinion They brought into the lists the educated minority. Sir William Brunyate found foemen worthy of his steel. England grasped the meaning of the struggle. The Common Law proposal was withdrawn, and French culture planted its standard in the Temple of Victory.

And then weeks passed. One by one the Jews, Syrians and Copts, and their allies who had rallied to the banner of French intellectual hegemony, retired from politics. They were interested in preserving their Gallic heritage. Ballots, as such, meant nought to them. The movement for independence, however, gained an impetus which eventually resulted in the unilateral declaration of February 28, 1922, which abolished the British Protectorate Thus may it perhaps be said that Egyptian independence is the child of French culture, not begotten by Quai d'Orsay intrigue, but born of French scholarship.

England has assured to Egypt a prosperity that the *fellah* had possibly never known since the dawn of history. Her success is all the more remarkable because it has been achieved among a people who are not in intellectual communion with Britain. It is not suggested that Englishmen or Englishwomen should depart from certain practices that have stood the test of ages. It is, however, suggested that if Egyptians were in a position to com-

prehend Englishmen as they are able to follow the trend of thought of Frenchmen, it might perhaps be possible for London and Cairo to avoid many obvious pitfalls An understanding in respect of a major difficulty is almost an impossibility unless each party is able to grasp the point of view of the other.

Kipling wrote as an Anglo-Indian when he said that East and West shall never meet He may be right But France has created in the Levant, and particularly in Egypt, an intellectual, a spiritual, a cultural dominion that tends to strain Kipling's words to the breaking point

Be all this as it may, the High Commissioner to Egypt is rendering a substantial service to England, to Egypt, and to civilisation in starting this movement to raise E 150,000*l.* to build and endow English schools His accomplishment, however, will not be commensurate with his brilliant record unless, at least, one zero is added to this figure. The game is worth the candle. The light which burns to the prestige of France is there to prove it

PIERRE CRABITÈS.

WHO HAS A GOOD TIME IN RUSSIA?

THE above title is borrowed from a poem of Nekrasoff Th poem describes how the seven peasants Patches, Tatters, Bootles Shivers, Burnt-out, Starveling, and Harvestless met by chanc and discussed the question, Who had a good time in Russia Their opinions all differed, the greatest happiness being various ascribed by them to the landlord, the high official, the priest, tl rich merchant, the powerful noble, the Minister of State, and tl Tsar To settle the dispute they agreed to wander togeth through Russia with open eyes and alert ears till they had cc lected the evidence necessary for a positive conclusion. Tl great bulk of the poem describes their peregrinations and the talks with people from the various classes of the population.

The Russia through which Patches and his friends wander is no more, and the fruits of their inquest have only an historic and a literary interest What would, however, be of immen present-day practical and political value would be the verdict such a Nekrasovian jury on contemporary Bolshevist Russi Who is it that now, at this self-same moment, is having a good tin in that mysterious and problematical country? Are hum comfort and content to be found there in higher degrees th before the revolution? Has the sum total of the great burden the suffering of the Russian people been perceptibly diminishec Are the numbers of the happy much larger, those of the wretch much smaller, than they were before? And who are now t happy and the miserable? These are a few of the points whi Nekrasoff's investigators would naturally put into their *qu tionnaire* if they were to set out to-day on their journey of inquir

Unfortunately Nekrasoff no longer lives to put his views abo his country into the mouths of peasant puppets, and we mu therefore attempt to discover for ourselves what impressions would have recorded through their lips after a survey of t present state of Russian society.

At the outset, we shall be safe in assuming that, at a chai meeting to-day, not one of Nekrasoff's peasants would still be his old opinion as to the distribution of happiness in Russia. T last of the Tsars and all his family were butchered in a cellar h

a brood of rats found in a cornsack. His Ministers of State and other high officials, with the princes and counts of his Court, are dragging out the remnant of their days in penurious exile, earning exiguous livelihoods as clerks, shop-walkers, and chauffeurs. Owners of thousands of acres have been thankful for the opportunity to work as agricultural labourers on foreign soil The priest, who formerly, though treated as an instrument of the State, was at any rate supported by it, is now the butt of a persecution as ruthless as it dare be The merchant, the 'nepman,' or man of the 'new economic policy,' as he is called, can, it is true, once more enrich himself, but he must ever be prepared for a fresh change of Bolshevist tactics which will mean a confiscation of his fortune, and perhaps imprisonment, or even death. It is therefore clear that none of the classes which in Nekrasoff's days might have been regarded as having a good time can any longer be looked at in that light. To find the contented and happy in Russia to-day we must evidently look elsewhere

And first let us cast a glance at the peasant, who constitutes nearly 90 per cent. of the population of Russia, and who must therefore be the decisive factor in the answer to the question whether that country as a whole is better or worse off than it was under the rule of the Tsars

Unfortunately, it never was, and is not now, possible to generalise about the Russian peasantry In the old days their economic position ranged up a scale which began in the lowest dregs of the urban population and ended in the minor landowning nobility. To-day the range is probably not nearly so wide, but it is undoubtedly still very large. Implications in the Bolshevist Press show that there are still Russian peasants whose holdings of land and stock raise them to the position of a substantial English yeoman farmer. Like many other things Bolshevist, the theory that the land belongs to the State and is divided equally among those who till it has not got much further than the stage of pious intention

But while it is impossible to say that *all* Russian peasants are better or worse off than they were, it is possible to make certain positive statements about the peasantry as a whole, and there are also certain developments which either favourably or unfavourably affect all the peasants in the same way, if not in the same degree

The most fundamental change that has come over the Russian peasantry as a whole since the revolution is that they now possess more land. The degree of this change is, however, as a rule, enormously exaggerated Before the revolution nearly 70 per cent of the privately-owned land in Russia belonged to the peasants, who, including what they rented, cultivated more than

90 per cent. of the arable land of the country. As the Bolsheviks have placed many of the biggest estates of the landlord class under State management, it is doubtful whether the aggregate addition to the area virtually owned by the peasants—though nominally the property of the State—has been more than 10 or 15 per cent.

This increase in the proportion of the land held by the peasantry was accompanied by conditions very seriously diminishing the gratification which it would otherwise have caused. In so far as the peasants understand the ideas and intentions of the Bolshevist *régime*, they must have fears of the day when the nominal State ownership of the land will be applied in practice, and they themselves, instead of being allowed to do as they like with their farms, will till them as wage-earning labourers, and be reduced to the level of the workmen in the nationalised factories. Here, indeed, lies the fundamental antagonism between the Bolshevist Government and the Russian peasantry, which makes it impossible that a permanent compromise between them should ever be found.

There is, however, another factor in the present situation which does far more than these vague dangers of an indefinite future to stifle any satisfaction the peasant may have derived from the sharing of the big estates It is the 'scissors,' as it is called in Bolshevist jargon—that is to say, the yawning gap between the prices of agriculture and those of urban industry. The actual value of the peasant's produce, as expressed in the prices of those articles which he is compelled to buy, has declined so considerably that it has almost certainly wiped out any benefit that he may have received from the addition of a small patch of land to his farm.

Moreover, here too the peasant has little to hope from the future. All schools of Bolshevism are united at any rate in their determination to build their New Jerusalem at his expense. The only difference on this point between the Stalinite orthodox and the heretics of the Opposition is that the latter would attack the economic position of the peasant more openly and directly Even the Stalinites are pledged to a policy of industrialisation, which experience has shown can be carried out only by a virtual closing of the Russian market to foreign goods. If the Bolsheviks can manufacture cheaply behind a barrier of protection which amounts to the prohibition of foreign competition, they will have won the day, but all the evidence they have heaped up so far tends to show that they cannot do this.

It may therefore be stated with a good deal of assurance that the peasant, who constitutes between 80 and 90 per cent. of the Russian population, neither is having a particularly good time at the present moment, nor is cheered by the prospect of sensible

improvement at an early future. A prominent German democrat, who recently returned from an extensive tour in Russia, says that the peasants there now tell how Nicholas II. meets Lenin in the other world and accosts him with the words: 'Ah, Vladimir Ilyitch, I am glad to find you at last. I have long wanted to ask you why you killed me and made the revolution. You see, you have changed nothing. The peasant must still work for everyone else. As he worked formerly for me in Petersburg, so now he works for you in Moscow. Only the vodka you have made 2 per cent. thinner, but that was not worth a revolution.'

The next biggest class of the Russian population is that of the urban artisans, and here, if anywhere, we should expect to find unmistakable benefits from the Bolshevist *régime*. For here we have that 'proletariat' which is pretended to have made the revolution, in whose name the Bolsheviks proclaimed the dictatorship of their own lower middle-class clique, and in whose interests that dictatorship professes to have been exercised. Is, then, the Russian working man now having a good time, or at any rate a better time than he had before the revolution, or would have had if the Bolsheviks had not seized the control of the revolution? The question is almost as difficult to answer as it was in the case of the peasants.

The first condition of what is generally called 'happiness,' but would be more rationally called 'comparative content,' is a certain modicum of lodging and food. How then does the Russian workman stand to-day in respect to these requirements? With respect to the former, very badly indeed—undoubtedly much worse than his congener in any capitalistic country where there is no dictatorship 'exclusively for the benefit of the proletariat.' If proof for this assertion were needed, it could be obtained from a copy of one of the chief Bolshevist papers for almost any date during the past two or three months. Throughout that period the Bolshevist papers have carried on a strenuous and unflagging campaign to increase the efficiency and reduce the working costs of the building trade, in order to relieve a domiciliary congestion which is probably without a parallel in history. The Bolsheviks have laid down the very moderate theoretical standard of a minimum of 8 square metres of dwelling floor per head of population, but their Press admits that the *per capita* area available in 1924 was only 5.1 square metres, that it declined in the following year to 4.9, and that at the present time it is only 4.5 square metres. Indeed, nothing is more certain about Bolshevist Russia than that the workman there is not having a good time in the matter of housing accommodation, and this fact is not palpably modified by the existence of a few thousand very 'model' artisan dwellings, or by the amusing poems of Demian Biedny, the poet

laureate of the Bolshevist Government, describing the emotions with which a Petersburg coalheaver or a Moscow street sweeper plays with the hot and cold water taps in the tenement made over to him by his building society.

It is also certain that in the matter of food the Russian artisan is not having a particularly good time, whether his standard is compared with what it was before the war or with that of his congeners in other Europan countries. The Bolsheviks themselves do not pretend that the 'real wage' of the Russian workman—that is to say, the purchasing power of what he is paid for his labour—has yet regained the pre-war level; and that this pre-war level was exceedingly low was notorious, though it has now been conveniently forgotten in many quarters. In fact, the beggarly low level of industrial wages in Russia was one of the favourite arguments of Bolsheviks and other Socialists for the overthrow of the Tsarist *régime*. Now that the Tsarist Government has been no more for over ten years and the wages of the old days have not yet been recovered, the Bolsheviks do not dwell with so much emphasis on their penurious character.

Moreover, the purchasing power of the present wages is calculated by the Bolsheviks in terms of the official prices fixed by them for the staple necessaries of life. But it frequently happens, and sometimes over quite long periods, that such staple necessaries of life—as, for instance, during the last shortage of this kind, flour, sugar, butter, eggs, and potatoes—are not to be had at all, or, if procurable, are only to be bought from private dealers at prices 50, 100, or even 200 per cent above those fixed by the Government. From this it follows that the real effective purchasing value of the Russian workman's wages is considerably lower even than the computation of the Bolshevist statisticians, and that it is subject to violent oscillations which assuredly do not add to the gratification and contentment of a man responsible for the bringing up of a family on a bare living wage. On the whole, it would be audacious to say that in regard to food the Russian workman is having a good time, even if his present position is compared only with his own pre-war position. If it were compared with that of, say, the British artisan, the contrast would, in all existing circumstances, be perfectly ludicrous It is pathetic to think of the Russian workman contributing, under the joint influence of persuasion and pressure, to maintain for British miners conditions of life which have never entered into his own wildest dreams.

On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that, though the workman of Bolshevist Russia comes off rather poorly in those things which may be classified under the heading of 'bread,' he enjoys various new benefits from the category of 'circuses.' In the first place, he has the satisfaction of being told, very emphatic-

ally and every day, that he is the bold and brilliant liberator who has struck off the fetters from the limbs of humanity, and who is leading it with pioneer steps into the land of the future flowing with milk and honey. As the message is very flattering to his vanity, and as he is very carefully isolated from all the other theories as to his position in human society, it is probable that he very often believes these assurances, and derives from them a contentment which does something to set off the deficiencies of his material circumstances Nevertheless, historical experience and knowledge of human nature inspire doubts as to the permanence of a spiritual elation which is based exclusively on extravagant promises, perpetual processions, monotonous speeches, and the incessant singing of the 'International' Small as is reflective initiative among the masses of humanity, the Russian workman must surely already be wondering why, if the Bolshevist Government is as strong and feared as it persistently professes to be, and if Russia, which is ruled, as he is assured, by his dictatorship, is playing this glorious part in the great drama of human existence, it should be necessary for his wife to stand six hours in a queue outside a State store in order to secure a pound of sugar or a pair of goloshes

Foreign friends of the Bolsheviks make a great deal of the convalescent homes, recreation rooms, libraries, clubs, and similar amenities of life which the workman enjoys in Russia, but it would be very easy to prove from Bolshevist political literature that these things have not advanced much further towards realisation than the grandiose housing schemes of the Russian Government, and that the whole benefit from them is confined to so comparatively small a number that they have no real significance for the great masses of the urban population It is understood that the money value of these benefits, like that of the reduction for workmen in the price of admission to State theatres, concerts and other entertainments, is included in the 'real wage' index numbers of the Bolshevist statisticians If this is so, then the distance which the Russian workman has to climb before he regains his pre-war economic position must be still further extended

Taking all the above factors into consideration, perhaps we shall not be far from the truth if we say that materially the Russian workman is not, and knows that he is not, having a good time, and that spiritually, while he possibly believes he is having one, he must be beginning to have doubts as to the firmness of the foundation on which his belief is based

It is hardly necessary to review the situation of the professional middle classes. It is notorious that, as compared with their former lot, they are having the worst time of all. We have therefore

practically exhausted the entire Russian nation, and have found that to no considerable section of it can the enjoyment of a good time be positively ascribed. There is, however, one comparatively small class of people who are undoubtedly having a much better time in Russia now than they had before the revolution. That class is constituted by the two or three highest ranks of the Russian bureaucracy, and with the exception of a few specialists, whose services cannot be dispensed with, and who are therefore tolerated in high places in spite of their political heresy, consists exclusively of members of the Communist Party. As must have struck all who have had opportunity or necessity of coming into contact with the Bolshevist official apparatus, this class is composed largely, if not mainly, of Jews, who are at any rate represented in it altogether out of proportion to their ratio to the entire population Moreover, these Jews, especially if their positions in the bureaucracy be exalted, are often of the least ingratiating and obviously least scrupulous type

The predominance of Jews on the upper steps of the Soviet official ladder is the mainspring of the recrudescence of anti-Semitism, which even Bolsheviks admit to have taken place in Russia during the past few years It also lends a certain amount of plausibility to the fantastic theories of the *emigrés* anti-Semites in Berlin, Paris, and other European capitals, who, having ruined their country by their incompetence, indolence and dishonesty, now seek to explain the natural and inevitable consequences of their own action and inaction by an immemorial and ecumenical conspiracy to overthrow all Christian banks, thrones, and altars, and establish in their place a Jewish dominion over all the powers and percentages of the universe For those who had no part in the misgovernment of Tsarist Russia it is not necessary to strain facts and probabilities in this way in order to explain the prominence of Jews in the Bolshevist officialdom. The obvious and simple, if prosaic, explanation of this phenomenon is that the Bolshevist junto gave these leading positions to Jews because there was no one else to give them to In no circumstances would the non-Jewish population have been able to meet the call for the immense army of commissaries, chairmen and secretaries of governmental and semi-governmental corporations, which was rendered necessary by the Bolshevist system of administration, with its nationalisation of a large part of the manufacturing and trading machinery of Russia. It was only among the Jews that the needful reserves of literacy and aptitude were to be found. The Jews had been prevented by oppressive laws and regulations from contributing more than a very small proportion to the students at the high schools and universities, but they had not been deprived of elementary education, and its acquirements were

much more widely spread among them than among the rest of the population. This wider extension of elementary education was not, however, accompanied by a corresponding frequence of Jews in more responsible employment. On the contrary, the Jew was at every turn confronted by legal barriers to further vocational progress.

The seizure of power by the Bolsheviks both increased the number of official posts and diminished the literate class from which alone they could be filled Though the last pre-war census in Russia (1897) showed the existence of 20,000,000 persons with elementary education, only a very small proportion of these possessed the facility in writing and notation necessary to a postal official or railway clerk Of this proportion, again, a million or two fled from Russia after the Bolshevist *coup* Thus, those sections of the Russian population from which the old *régime* was accustomed to draw its officials were quite unequal to the demands made upon them by the distended Bolshevist bureaucracy. On the other hand, there were millions of Jewish clerks, petty shop-keepers, and handicraftsmen who could at any rate read, write, and calculate with speed and accuracy, and who, in addition, had the general alertness of mind and tenacity of character common to their race. Moreover, the Jews had no religious, political, or social prejudices against taking service under the Bolsheviks On the contrary, as they had been brutally treated by all Tsarist Governments, they had always furnished very large contingents of recruits to the ranks not only of the Bolsheviks, but of all other revolutionary parties

Obscure Jews from the towns of the Pale now fill the best offices in Bolshevist gift all over Russia. Though the legitimate pecuniary emoluments of Russian State service are not very generous, they are doubtless quite as substantial as the former incomes of their present recipients Moreover, many of these offices invest their holders with a power and importance immensely gratifying to the vanity of the ambitious Accordingly it may be said that both in material and spiritual respects this category of persons is having a much better time under the Bolsheviks than it had under the Tsars. It has, too, a further very powerful inducement to oppose to the uttermost all attempts to overthrow the domination of the Bolsheviks or change the system of government created by them. As has been seen, it consists very largely of Jews, and it is also aware that anti-Semitism in Russia has spread very rapidly of recent years and become much more intense. It doubtless likewise realises that its own occupation and, to a considerable degree, abuse of high administrative office have been among the chief causes of that growth and intensification, and that it is marked out for expiatory sacrifice the moment

the system by which it is supported collapses. There is, in fact among this class, the consciousness that it is fighting, not merely for power, privilege and profit, but, in the most strictly litera sense, for life. And just as this consciousness is one of the mai sources of the energy and determination with which this officia class has fought, and will fight, to maintain Bolshevist dominatio in Russia, so, too, this consciousness must be regarded as the on drop of bitterness in a cup otherwise deliciously sweet in com parison with all preceding draughts. When the Bolshevist hous of cards finally falls flat, it will crush the life out of many of it most privileged inmates, and no doubt there are some among ther to whom the knowledge that this is so more than counterbalance the additions to their former emoluments and the importanc enjoyed by them at the present time. Of these brooders over ur certainties of the future it would perhaps hardly be true to sa that they are having a good time in Russia.

Finally, there is a small handful of men—perhaps twenty t thirty, perhaps only ten to fifteen—whose general position is ve similar to that of the class just described, but in whose case co trasts between past and present are even more strongly marke Before the revolution—the real revolution of March 1917, not th Bolshevist *coup*—they were nearly all either convicts in pen servitude, exiles in the remoteness of Siberia, or impecunio fugitives in foreign countries. Now they are the oligarchic maste of the biggest white country in the world, and they also enjoy all other countries the humble and unquestioning allegiance of section of the population, which in some cases may be numerical insignificant, but in others is large enough to constitute one of t most difficult problems of domestic politics From the oblivi of Siberian gaols, New York slums, and cheap Swiss lodgir houses these men were suddenly transferred to the centre of t stage of international politics Their names, unknown hithe except to a very small group of specialist political students, a now familiar to all the world. They are glorified by the bli adoration of one-tenth and the ignorant hatred of nine-tenths the civilised world. Who that knows anything of the sec springs of human action will deny that that is a beatification su as few of the conquerors of politics enjoy?

It need not be, and is not here, pretended that these men ha ever been largely actuated, or are now influenced, by the mater possessions and the sensual enjoyments of life True, some them display a sleekness of person in striking contrast with figures they cut in the anthropometric albums of the Tsa police. In the matter of furs and jewellery, their womenfolk, t have not invariably the essential attribute of Cæsar's wife. S these are at most exceptions, and there is as yet no substan

evidence that the present lords of Russia have misused their power and their opportunities to enrich themselves. The charges of nepotism made against them are also not to be taken too seriously, for, with the dearth of competent literacy which has prevailed in Russia during the past few years, it has been none too easy to fill jobs, and there can be no doubt that, speaking generally, the uncles and nephews of the leading Bolsheviks belonged to the class with the highest qualifications for them

There is, however, another force besides the desire for wealth and its amenities which corrupts, if it does not seduce, men in public life It is the desire for power and influence, and this force undoubtedly plays a very large part in the lives of the present rulers of Russia Naturally, its manifestation is restricted by local conditions, which bar resonant titles and gold lace, but within the existing limits it has been allowed full scope Indeed, no modern country has known a cult of self-apotheosis like that of the Bolshevist oligarchs They erect statues to themselves; they bestow their own names on leading towns; they publish bulletins signed by three or four doctors, and sometimes by the Minister for Health, when one of them catches a cold; and they burn perpetual incense to themselves in the Press The Moscow daily papers prove more clearly than anything else how drunk with power are the lords of the Kremlin In these journals the public utterances of the ruling junto are treated like divine inspirations If one of its members makes a speech, whatever may be his subject, and whatever he may say about it, his every word is religiously reported in the newspapers. The Russian Press has the largest format in Europe, but the speeches of a member of the Politbureau frequently occupy two, or even three, of these vast pages It is one of the punishments which the Bolshevist chiefs inflict on friend and foe alike that they compel them to sift these bushels of platitudinous chaff for the sake of a few grains of fresh fact. And the labour is unhappily unavoidable, for only the first rankers dare now and then let a gleam of truth through the veil of conventional falsehood which envelops everything political in Bolshevist Russia to a very much higher degree than in any other European country. It is very rarely indeed that these alone valuable and interesting portions of a Bolshevist speech could not be condensed into at most half a column, and they would gain in everything but verbosity by such compression. But evidently the oligarchs either believe in the sacredness of their own words or regard this method of impressing their own importance on the public as one of the legitimate prerogatives of high office. It speaks in favour of the latter alternative that both the space allotted to speeches and the rubrics expressing their reaction on the audience are apparently graded in accordance

with the rank of the orator in the party hierarchy. The members of the inner ring are always reported *verbatim* and resume their seats amid 'prolonged and tempestuous applause'; second-rank men must be satisfied with a couple of columns and less enthusiastic manifestations of public appreciation; and so the diminuendo of importance is gradually shaded off till we reach the few cold and perfunctory lines allotted to the ordinary deputy.

If the gratifications inherent in the front seats of the political synagogue are as great in Russia as they are elsewhere, then the first-rank Bolsheviks are undoubtedly having a better time in that country than anyone else They are probably having a better time than the handful of Ministers of State, viceroys and provincial governors of the old *régime* whose places they have taken, for the assured acclamations of the multitude are a more stimulating elixir of life than the vacillating favour of a weak and inconstant monarch The immediate personal risks they run are not so great as those incurred by the most prominent servants of the Tsar, and the fact that their comparative security is purchased at a price in blood, suffering, and injustice without a parallel in authenticated history, evidently does not weigh with them Except in extreme crises, like that which led to the eclipse of Trotsky, when public debate in Russia rang ominously with the word 'Thermidor,' they seem to have but little fear of the future; and no doubt their persistent asseverations of the permanence of their *régime* have made them forget their constant admissions, a few years ago, that only a successful Bolshevist revolution in Western Europe, from which we are now apparently further removed than ever, could save their great experiment from failure and collapse.

All in all, it seems likely that Nekrasoff's peasant jury, returning from their journey of investigation, would pronounce that, according to all ordinary human tests, the small circle of the real oligarchs of Moscow are alone having a good time in Russia, and that, so far as actual evidence shows, it is for their sake alone that the Bolshevist domination is being maintained at so high a price, not only to the area of its jurisdiction, but to the rest of the civilised world

E. H. WILCOX.

THE GARDEN

I Changes of Fashion in Gardening

It is interesting to be able to look back seventy years and to note the remarkable changes that have taken place in both taste and practice in gardening. Until about the year 1870 there was one dead level of general treatment that had already persisted for something like a quarter of a century the putting out of a quantity of tender plants for a summer display—for the most part in badly designed beds on grass. In the greater number of gardens there would be circles and stars and crescents, sprinkled about without any sense of design or cohesion My earliest home had a garden that was considered rather above the average in size and quality, but one out of three decorative efforts was a parterre of concentric rings of scarlet geraniums with a central tazza holding a variegated aloe. One of the worst and most popular features was what was called a ribbon border—a stiff edging of deep and exactly formed undulations, planted with lines of blue, yellow and scarlet. There was at the same time a liking for circular beds planted in the same manner with rings of flowers edged with a stiff little succulent Echeveria. This was even more prevalent in France than in England and went by the name of *mosaiculture*

Looking back to this after many years of enlightenment one cannot but wonder at this strange kind of stagnation, this want of right perception in the choice and use of flowering plants, and one cannot but deplore the amount of misdirected labour in the preparation, planting and maintenance that the wretched thing entailed Naturally there were exceptions, some few who had not 'bowed the knee to Baal,' but these were swamped by the full-flowing tide of fashionable, commonplace repetition. The main impression that remained was the general worship of the scarlet geranium. Roses, such as there then were, were also sadly misused—commonly grown as standards in little rings in the grass, at exactly even intervals by the side of the lawn or carriage road. It was only in out-of-the-way places, in country rectories or in the gardens of others who could not afford the apparatus needed

for the propagation of the fashionable summer flowers, or who had the good sense and the fine taste to know the value of the old hardy plants, that gardens of some real interest existed. Here one might still see great clumps of white and orange lilies, and the old rambling roses, jasmine and honeysuckle, and other old-world delights.

The deadening influences of what we look back to as the bedding system, as the main method of horticultural expression, continued till the year 1870 and for some years further, but in the early 'seventies there came a kind of awakening to the possibilities of the better ways of gardening There arose a number of amateurs, each working in his own way to encourage the better perception, and with a deep interest in the good hardy plants that for so long had been neglected. One of the brightest manifestations was what one may call the discovery of the daffodil. The travels of Mr Peter Barr in Spain and Portugal enriched us with several species till then unknown except in botanical collections One of the keenest amateurs, the Rev. G H Engleheart, was among the first to practise the hybridisation of narcissi Mr G. F Wilson, the owner of the land at Wisley that is now the garden of the Royal Horticultural Society, was collecting all the known lilies of the world and testing them for various departments of garden use The Dean of Rochester, the Rev. S Reynolds Hole, had long been devoted to the growing of roses, Lord Penzance was at work on sweetbriars The Rev. C. Wolley Dod and Canon Ellacombe were growers of a wide range of garden plants and gave willing and most precious help to the many who were needing better knowledge and enlightenment A few other brilliant amateurs were steadily pushing on the good work. At the same time the whole horticultural world was being encouraged and stimulated by the writings and constant exhortations in the weekly Press of Mr. William Robinson, to whose vigorous championship of hardy plants, and constant reiteration about the better ways of using them, the beauties and delights of our modern gardens are mainly due To him also we owe the beginning of our knowledge as to the use of rock and alpine plants and the possibilities of the wild garden.

The growing demand for good hardy things was a powerful stimulus to the trade, the reaction to this having proof in the wonderful shows of flowers both in London and elsewhere—shows that have become so much crowded that it is difficult to provide space either for the display of exhibits or for the circulation of visitors.

Now we have not only the flower border and the better arranged parterre, but rock gardens, various forms of special alpine gardens, water gardens, shrub gardens, some of them on an

extensive scale, pergolas, wild gardens and ways of treating steps and pavements. Some of these forms have led to misapprehension, exaggeration, and even misuse. A few years ago the pergola, that capital adaptation of the age-long Italian method of growing vines, became a kind of fashion. The client would say to the designer: 'I must have a pergola.' In some gardens there may be no justification for the presence of a pergola. Its purpose is to be a covered way leading distinctly from one part of the garden to something definite at the end—a summer-house or a bowered seat or, in the case of a largely planned place, a built garden house, of which there are such fine examples of eighteenth-century work. A pergola with no beginning and no end can hardly justify its existence. Also it is better that it should be quite straight and not go uphill; for only specially clever treatment can make a success of one that is curly and not level. Another abuse arose when fashion exaggerated the placing of plants in the joints of steps and paving. In some places it was carried to such an extent that it was hardly possible to pass along without treading on something precious; even the absurdity of labels has been seen among pavement plants. When small plants from adjoining walling drop their seeds, and the seeds are blown or rain-washed into the joints, and little plants come up and extend a little way from the edge, the effect is always interesting; but it should not be allowed to go too far, and even if the paving is laid with unequal joints it is better to have all the middle ones cemented.

Wild gardening in any stretches of rough ground, or in woodland that may adjoin the garden, when practised with restraint and the most careful consideration, is, for true pleasure in beautiful effects, abundantly repaying It should show the use of a restricted choice of plants that are proper to the nature of the ground If the place is open and has a light or peaty soil it will be well to plant it with heaths and some other of the ericaceous plants, in such groups as shall look as if they grew naturally in the place If there is an existing growth of whortleberry and a background of bracken, so much the better, in order to be able to distribute the heaths in stretches cut out of the native plants Such a place comes well after passing through a plantation of azaleas and rhododendrons—shrubs of kindred character.

When woodland is to be planted the opportunities are many, but should be severely restricted. It is enough to have one picture at a time, such as a group of white foxglove rising behind a mass of the common male fern, with the taller bracken at the back and with a more distant setting of silvery stemmed birches and a dark background of the common holly. Daffodils may run through the woodland in March and April and lily of the valley in May. This

restricted treatment of the woodland fosters the sense of restfulness and does nothing to destroy the charm and mystery of beautiful woody places. *It is well to have one or two main grassy ways of ample width through the woodland, with lesser paths not necessarily of turf, for this cannot thrive in heavy shade, but just cleared and with no definite edges; they soon* become dark and mossy.

When the purpose of wild gardening is not rightly understood and any surplus plants are put out into the wild, the result can only be distressful Perhaps wild gardening is the most difficult kind of planting, because to do it rightly there must be this thoughtful restraint; it needs something of the artist's eye to make sure of the desired picture, besides a knowledge of plants and their requirements, moreover, wild ground and woodland may need quite different treatment in one soil and situation and another

There is now such a wide development of gardening possibility, and such an abundant choice of material, that we cannot point to anything special as the fashion of the moment. The most widely prevailing need is for well-planned and well-grown flower borders, mainly of hardy perennials. If this may be called a fashion it is a good and wholesome one, and the word hardly fits it, for what is generally understood as a fashion is something that is transitory and on the side of exaggeration. The common name of 'herbaceous border' is not accurate, for a number of the good hardy plants are not herbaceous; it is simpler to say the flower border, for it may well have the addition of annuals and of a number of tender plants put out for late summer bloom These will comprise any or all of those that were unwisely used years ago when the bedding system was in fashion It should be remembered that it was not the fault of the plants themselves that they were unfairly used, and that if the scarlet geranium reigned supreme it was not the geranium's fault that it was made to sit upon the throne. The plant itself and its many varieties have their place in our gardens. Nothing is better for filling stone vases, or even beds, in places of formal design, for though the greater number of gardens may do better with a preponderance of hardy flowers, there are still the great houses whose near parterres demand the same kinds of plants for the summer months But we have now learnt to use them, not in garish contrasts, as of old, but in harmonies and concords. A happy recollection of such good treatment was in the garden of one of our noblest houses built nearly 400 years ago, where the parterre, itself of fine design, was planted in harmonies of warm colouring. In choice and mastery of material it could hardly have been better done; it was a feast of glorious colour that seemed to recall the work of the great painters

of the school of Venice. For growing flowers can be so used as to make glorious pictures, and those who have treated them rightly will be rewarded by the proud consciousness of having done something to enhance the beauty of the world.

Another example of unfair treatment is the present want of estimation of the common laurel. The laurel is one of the finest of our few hardy evergreen shrubs. It has suffered from its docility—its willingness to be hacked about and made to serve ignoble purposes ; it has been so undeservedly vulgarised that of late it has almost been banned from our gardens. One of the noblest, if not the grandest, of all our evergreens should be restored to favour When it is properly grown it is a finer thing even than the bay, whose proper name it has most unfairly usurped For the bay (*Laurus nobilis*) is the real laurel, and is properly so called in other European languages In the case of such a structure as a temple or garden pavilion by Vanbrugh, if there is beside it a free-grown laurel, with its smooth grey trunk and its outflung branches, that have never been mutilated, there can hardly be a more perfect companionship of architecture and vegetation. Even when the laurel is tamed to use as a hedge, it can be finely done, as in that beautiful garden at Brockenhurst—one of the best, if not quite the best, of the gardens of Italian character in our islands

The great and always growing enthusiasm for gardening has not only animated the nursery trade, but our gardens are becoming more and more enriched by the remarkable discoveries of botanical travellers in the uplands and mountain ranges of Eastern Asia The amount of material for garden use is now almost bewildering in its abundance It is for us to employ it worthily , to study the plants and their needs, and at the same time to cultivate a keen sympathy with all that is most beautiful and instructive in Nature , above all, to work with unending patience and unending fervour.

GERTRUDE JEKYLL

THE GARDEN

II. LAWNS

THE evolution of the lawn is an interesting bypath in the history of gardening. Of the green plots of classical times we know but little, and it is even doubtful whether they were made of turf. Of the architectural splendour of the ancient Roman gardens a wealth of detail has come down to us They reflected, although but faintly, something of the splendour of the pleasaunces of ancient Egypt, but details concerning the restful green plots which undoubtedly adorned the Roman garden are strangely few. Pliny in his description of his Tusculan villa says: 'In front of the portico is a sort of terrace embellished with various figures and bounded with a box hedge, whence you descend by an easy slope, adorned with the representations of divers animals in box, into a lawn overspread with the soft—I had almost said the liquid—acanthus.' Probably this was a kind of moss.

The earliest lawns of which we have any real knowledge were those which delighted our mediæval ancestors. Their lawns were imitations of the natural meadow, and, like the natural meadow, they were starred with flowers. Illustrations of gardens in mediæval romances, missals, and books of hours all bear mute testimony to the fact that a dark green tapestry adorned with a profusion of flowers formed the ideal mediæval pleasure-garden.

> Ful gay was al the ground and queynt
> And poudred as men had it peynt
> With many a fresh and sundry flour
> That casten up a ful good savour.

It was a 'flowery mead' of this description which Boccaccio describes in the *Decameron*: 'What seemed more delightful than anything else was a plot of ground like a meadow, the grass of the deepest green, starred with a thousand various flowers. All around were orange and lemon trees laden with flowers and fruit and in the centre of the green plot a carved fountain of pure white marble' In what is perhaps the best illustration of a mediæval garden—the garden scene in the fifteenth century copy of *The Romance of the Rose* in the British Museum—a 'lawn'

planted with flowers occupies the largest part of the garden. In the centre is a fountain of exquisite design from which the water is carried by a small channel to a lower garden. In Pinturicchio's fresco of about 1495, in the Vatican, Susannah and the elders are shown in a garden consisting wholly of turf thickly planted with flowers, surrounded by a double enclosure, and a very large fountain occupies the whole of the centre of the garden There appear, however, to have been exceptions even in mediæval times to the planting of turf with flowers, for Albertus Magnus in his *De Vegetabilus* describes a green plot in a thirteenth century garden as ' a plot of grass carefully weeded and trampled under foot, a true carpet of green turf with no projections on its uniform surface. . . Behind the grass plot are planted in quantity aromatic and medicinal herbs ' In cloister gardens the green plot in the centre was usually called ' paradise,' and according to Wiclif signified to the monks the greenness of their virtues. Like the ordinary green plots, they were planted with flowers, these flowers being under the special care of the sacristan for the decoration of the church No imaginative garden-lover can look without interest at the fifteenth century doorway (now bricked up) in the Lady Chapel at Winchester, for this doorway formerly led into a sacristan's garden of this type which is known to have existed as early as the ninth century, and to this day the site of this old garden is called ' Paradise ' These cloister gardens (possibly the earliest type of mediæval pleasure-garden) preserved, like the Roman atrium, the traditional rectangular garden of the East, divided into four parts by paths intersecting in the centre of the garden. The rectangular plots of turf planted with flowers and with a fountain in the centre are also suggestive of the rectangular garden plots so beautifully depicted in Persian garden carpets

As in the gardens of the ancient East, the orchard in mediæval days was a pleasure-garden, and here, as in the smaller pleasure-garden, the grass was planted with flowers. Maerlant in his *History of Troy* writes of an orchard .

> The grass was not very high
> But moderate , in it were all kinds of flowers
> On which the dew still sparkled

Mediæval illustrations of orchards show that they were frequently surrounded by castellated walls. The importance of the orchard is clearly shown by the numerous descriptions of it in mediæval romances. It was apparently always in the orchard that in spring-time took place the numerous social festivities It was to the orchard that the lord of the castle and his family repaired after dinner for rest and amusement.

> D'illocques ireng en c'est vergier
> Cascuns jour pour S'esbanoir.[1]

The 'gardens of love' also of the early painters are invariably gardens consisting entirely of turf planted with flowers, with possibly a fountain as the sole adornment of the garden. The 'Mary gardens' show a greater variety of types of early gardens, but some of the most beautiful show the Mother of Our Lord seated in a flowery mead lavishly planted with the flowers which have always been regarded as sacred to her. In the gallery at Frankfurt there is a 'Mary garden' by an unknown artist of the fifteenth century showing the Holy Child and His Mother seated in a garden where the whole enclosure consists of turf planted with roses, irises, madonna lilies, columbines, daisies, etc.

Turf-topped seats were an interesting feature of these early lawns These seats were either made of turf only, or turf planted with flowers, or they were thickly planted with low growing plants, such as daisies, violets, or camomile. There are numerous illustrations of these seats, and it has been suggested that the flowers growing on them were there merely by artists' licence. But the directions in early gardening books show that turfed seats planted with flowers were undoubtedly a common feature in gardens as late as the early seventeenth century In Richard Surflet's translation of *La Maison Rustique* we find: 'These sweet herbes and flowers for nosegaies shall be set in order upon beds and quarters of such like length and breadth as those of the kitchen garden, and some of them upon seats' William Lawson, author of the earliest gardening manual for North Country gardeners, and the author also of the first manual for women gardeners (*The Countrie Housewife's Garden*, 1617), tells us: 'In all your Gardens and Orchards bankes and seats of Camomile, Penny-royall, Daisies and Violets are seemely and comfortable.' Turfed seats were also made inside the arbours which were placed, or rather grown, at the side of lawns. These arbours consisted merely of poles with rosemary or sweet-briar or a medlar tree trained over them. Chaucer describes such a resting place.

> Thought I, this path some whidar goth, parde,
> And so I followed, till it me brought
> To right a pleasant herber well y wrought
>
> That benched was and with turfes new
> Freshly turved, whereof the grene gras,
> So small, so thicke, so short, so fresh of hew,
> That most like unto green wool wot I it was:
> The hegge also that yede in compas
> And closed in all the greene herbere
> With sicamour was set and eglatere

[1] *Roman de Thebes*, thirteenth century.

> And shapen was this herber roofe and all
> As a pretty parlour : and also
> The hegge as thicke as a castle wall,
> That who that list without to stond or go
> Though he would all day prien to and fro
> He should not see if there were any wight within or no

Thomas Hyll, the author of *The Proffitable Arte of Gardening* and *The Gardener's Labyrinth*, insisted that arbours should be covered with plants 'of a fragrant savoure,' and so constructed 'that the Owner's friends sitting in the same may the freelier see and beholde the beautie of the garden to theyr great delyght.' He mentions jasmine, musk, and damask roses as suitable plants to train over arbours These turfed seats were also made round trees. The numerous illustrations of them show that they were supported by wattle fencing, but in no case are they shown planted with flowers An excellent illustration of this type of turfed seat is to be found in the Duchess Ann of Brittany's *Book of Homes* (in the Bibliothèque Nationale).

In Tudor and still more in Stuart times lawns underwent many changes The strong rule of the Tudors had ushered in a period of prosperity and security. Gardens were still 'gardens enclosed,' but the castellated walls and strong defences of earlier times were no longer necessary. In mediæval times private pleasure-gardens were of necessity small as they were within the defences of the castle, but in Tudor times came the transition to the garden enclosing the dwelling instead of the dwelling enclosing the garden Gardens increased rapidly in size, and instead of the small turfed pleasure-garden there were many pleasure-gardens all in the same enclosure Like the ancient Egyptians, our sixteenth century ancestors delighted in making gardens within gardens, an art which is only now reviving in anything like its old splendour. A sixteenth century garden of any size comprised at least an orchard (as in mediæval days, still considered a pleasure-garden, and as such adorned not only with fruit trees, but also with flowers), a knot-garden, a herb-garden, a physic-garden, and a bowling-green. Though not the only pleasure-garden, the 'sporting green plot' was still the chief garden and the scene of festivities. The best contemporary description of such a 'lawn' and the manner of making it is to be found in Gervase Markham.

> To fit a place [he says] for this manner of greene plot, it is requisite that it may be cleansed from all manner of stones and weedes, not so much as the rootes left undestroied, and for the better accomplishing hereof, there must boiling water be poured upon such endes of rootes as staying behind in the ground cannot be well pulled up, and afterwarde the floor must be beaten and troden downe mightily, then after this, there must be cast

great quantity and store of turfes of earth full of greene grasse, the bare earthe part of them being turned and laid upward, and afterward danced upon with the feete, and the beater or paving beetle lightly passing over them, in such sort as that within a short time after, the grasse may begin to peepe up and put foorth small haires; and finally it is made the sporting green plot for Ladies and Gentlewomen to recreate their spirits in, or a place whereinto they may withdraw themselves if they would be solitary and out of sight.

Arbours still adorned these green plots, though possibly not always as beautiful as the arbour depicted in *The Faerie Queene:*

Through which the fragrant eglantine did spread
His prickling arms, entrail'd with roses red.
Which dainty odours round about them threw:
And all within with flow'rs was garnished,
That, when mild Zephyrus amongst them blew,
Did breathe out bounteous smells and painted colour shew.

Parkinson in his *Paradisus* details what should be grown over these arbours 'Let me also shew you what flowers are fittest for your arbours The Jasmine white and yellow. The double Honysuckle The Ladies Bower, both white and red, and purple single and double are the fittest to set by arbours and banquetting houses that are open, both before and above to helpe cover them, and to give both sight, smell and delight.'

Turfed walks were also a noted feature in sixteenth century gardens, and doubtless evoked, as English grass walks do to-day, the fervent admiration of every observant foreigner. Thomas Hyll in his *Proffitable Arte of Gardening* says: 'The commodities of these Alleis and walkes serve to good purposes, the one is, that the owner may diligently view the prosperitie of his hearbes and flowers, the other for the delight and comfort of his wearied mind, which he may by himselfe, or fellowship of his friends conceive, in the delectable sightes and fragrant smelles of the flowers, by walking up and downe, and about the garden in them, which for the pleasant sightes and refreshing of the dull spirites.' 'The fairer and larger your allies and walkes be,' says Parkinson, 'the more grace your Garden shall have, the lesse harme the herbes and flowers shall receive, by passing of them that grow next unto the allies sides, and the better shall your Weeders cleanse both the beds and the allies.' Markham enjoins that sanded or gravelled paths should always be bordered by grass as broad on each side as the breadth of the path. 'Now, you shall also understand that as you make this sandy and smooth walke through the midst of your Alleyes, so you shall not omit but leave as much greene swarth, or grasse ground of each side the plaine path, as may fully countervaile the breadth of the walke: as thus for example, if your sandy walke be sixe foote broad, the

grasse ground of each side it, shall be at least sixe foote also, so that the whole Alley shall be at least eighteene foote in breadth, which will be both comely and stately.' 'In Orchards,' according to Leonard Meager, 'curious green walks kept short by Mowing and Rowling in Summer are of good esteem, and such may be raised so above the common surface, that the wet may have little influence in staying on them even in Winter after a shower of Rain is past.'

The green plots and turfed walks were not always made of turf, but very frequently of camomile. It was of camomile thus planted that Falstaff said, 'The more it is trodden on the faster it grows' Nearly all garden books of this period give directions for the treatment of camomile lawns. Under 'October' in John Evelyn's *Kalendarium Hortense* we find: 'It will now be good to Beat, Roll and Mow carpet walks and camomile for now the ground is supple and it will even all inequalities' Possibly the 'lawn' on which Drake played his historic game of bowls on the eve of the Armada was a camomile lawn. Camomile lawns continued to be a feature of English gardens at least as late as the early nineteenth century. Charles Marshall in his *Introduction to the Knowledge and Practice of Gardening* (1805) gives directions for making camomile 'green or carpet walks' by planting the sets 'about 9 or 10 inches asunder which naturally spreading the runners are fixed, by walking on them or rolling' Camomile lawns and walks were equally popular in Continental gardens, and are described in various books, notably *Le Jardinier Hollandois*, by Van de Groen (1669).

In the most detailed plan of a seventeenth century garden which has come down to us—Wilton garden—quite a third of the garden is devoted to vast lawns bordered by cherry trees. Like Bacon's ideal garden, Wilton garden was divided into three parts, and the plan shows its terraces, its wood with the river Nader flowing through, its ponds and marvellous fountains, and most conspicuous of all is 'the compartment of greene with diverse walkes planted with cherrie trees and in the middle is the great Ovall with the Gladiator of brass, the most famous Statue of all that Antiquity hath left.' Stephen Blake, the author of that rare gardening book *The Compleat Gardener's Practice*, gives his readers the outline of a book he intended to write 'if God permit me life.' In the contents of this book, which unfortunately he did not live to write, we find 'The expert way of laying of Grass work,' and 'How to make bowling Alleys with great care and little cost.' Very attractive lawns and green walks are both depicted and described in Walter Harris's description of William of Orange's palace and gardens at Loo. Both the 'King's garden' and the 'Queen's garden' contained magni-

ficent green plots, and Dr. Harris describes also 'a broad Green Walk between a double row of Oaks half a Mile long' and ending in 'a Gate of Iron of an Ancient Model Joined at the top by a Crown Work on each side; wherein is cut His Majesty's Cypher.'

John Rea in his *Flora* (1665) gives minute directions for the making of lawns, and it is interesting to remember that the wooden rails surrounding lawns which he describes survived into the next century. All grass plots, he says, should be marked out by

sawed Rails five inches broad and an inch and quarter thick that have been laid straight and seasoned a year at least, you may put them to a stone colour with white lead or London white, some charcoal and linseed oyl ground together on a painters stone but the rails and the stone colour will last much longer if they be first primed with red Lead and Timber ground as the former Then after the colours are drie and the Rails fitted to their places nail on the insides thereof pieces of hard wood that will last about half a yard long, placing them an inch under the upper edge if you set them too thin the Rails will be apt to warp and turn with the Sun which done with discretion make holes to let these feet into the ground and so place them by a line . .

The next work is to prepare the places intended for Grass and to provide Turfs for them First, level the ground, and consider the thickness of the Turfs, which when layed, must be three inches lower than the upper edge of the Rails, and the Allies four inches, so the Grass will be an inch higher, remembering still from the Rails to fetch your measure and level, to keep the whole work in order, and if the ground under the Turfs be not barren of itself, it should be covered some thickness with hungry sand to make it so, that the grass grow not too rank The best Turfs for this purpose are had in the most hungry Common, and where the grass is thick and short, puck down a line eight or ten foot long, and with a Spade cut the Turfs thereby, then shift the line a foot or 15 inches further, and so proceed until you have cut so far as you desire, then cross the line to the same breadth, that the Turfs may be square, and cut them thereby; then with a straight bitted Spade or Turving-hoe (which many for that purpose provide) and a short cord tied to it near the Bit, and the other end to the middle of a strong staff, whereby one thrusting the Spade forward under the Turfs, and another by the staff pulling backwards, they will easily be staved and taken up, but not too many at a time for drying, but as they are laid which must be done by a line, and a long level, placing them close together, and beating them down with a Mallet, having covered the quarter or place intended, let it be well watered, and beaten all over with a heavy broad Beater. Lastly cut away by a line what is superfluous that the sides may be straight and even or in what work you shall please to fancy.

In that quaint gardening book translated from the French, *The Solitary or Carthusian Gardener* (1706), a chapter is devoted to 'The different sorts of Green Plots and the way of making them.' The author says there are five ways of making green plots or walks, 'namely by Turfs, by Spanish Clover-Grass, by

Hay-Seed, by the Seed of Sainfoin, and by that of Medick Fodder.' Turf he considers the best. Of sainfoin he says: 'Sainfoin has a very pretty Aspect especially when it is in flower. When it arrives at its perfect Maturity we cut it down.' Green plots made with Medick Fodder he regarded with mild enthusiasm, but he observes that it can be planted in remote parts, 'and by consequence is less in view.' Hay seed he directs should be winnowed 'in order to clear it of the Dust, and the coarse stuff that attends it.' 'A Bowling Green,' he says, 'should be incompassed with great Trees such as Elms, Horse-chestnut trees or Acacias accompanied with Yews. *They are only proper in spatious Gardens and commonly are drawn in the remotest places to prevent the confining of the prospect by the tall Trees that surround it*' Bowling-greens, however, were usually placed where they could be overlooked from the windows of the house or the garden house. At Chatsworth the bowling-green was the central feature of the garden At Cassiobury, however, the bowling-green was in a wood, and the approach was through an avenue of trees.

The eighteenth century ushered in the 'grand period' of lawns Every gardening manual of note of that period testifies to the importance of the lawn, and it is interesting to remember that the name was applied not only to lawns proper, but also to deer parks, etc John Reid in *The Scots Gardener* describes a deer park as a 'lawn,' and a later writer, Alexander McDonald, speaks of 'a lawn of eight acres or more in extent,' and also of 'extensive lawns in parks dotted with noble trees.' In regard to lawns proper, there was possibly no period when the beauty of green turf without adornment of any kind was more genuinely appreciated. 'The Parterre Garden at His Majestys Royal Palace of Hampton Court,' says Batty Langley in his *New Principles of Gardening*, 1728, 'would have a very grand aspect were those trifling plants of Yew, Holly, etc, taken away and made plain with grass.' Langley's book is largely a treatise on lawns, and there are numerous plans of them. One plan shows the house fronting 'a parterre of grass and water,' the water being an oval in the centre of the grass. Another plan shows the south front of the house opening on 'a grand parterre of grass from which over the Canal you have a boundless view into the Country.' Yet another plan shows a garden consisting wholly of variously shaped lawns each surrounded by magnificent avenues and plantations of trees. The only adornments Langley suggests are statues, and it is interesting to find that he suggests including 'Runcina the goddess of weeding.' Le Blond was only one of many who acknowledged that English lawns were the finest in Europe. 'Their Grass plots,' he says, 'are of so

exquisite a beauty that in France we can scarce ever hope to come up to it.' Yet in France they devoted as great attention to lawns as in England. According to this same French authority, 'Handsome grass plots require the greatest care of the Gardener, who ought to be almost constantly attending them.'

Nearly all the gardening manuals comment on the difficulties of getting good seed. 'There is great difficulty,' wrote the anonymous author of *The Gardener's New Kalendar* (1758), 'in getting good seed, for that from a common haystack is by no means proper.' He directs that seed should be obtained from 'the grass of a clean up-land pasture,' but turfing he prefers—'it does the business sooner and much more perfectly.' 'The only proper mixture with the grass of turf is the white trefoil. . . . These mix well with the grass and form a fine thick bottom . . . This little trefoil has all the qualities requisite to thicken and improve the carpeting of turf, and its being plentiful in the spot whence that is to be taken is an advantage not a hurt. But this is the only weed that should be admitted. . . . Let the gardener work with alacrity and dispatch. . . . At the same time that an inferior hand is employed in cutting up the turf, let the gardener himself be preparing the bed for it.' In rolling the grass, he adds, 'care must be taken that the horses should be without shoes and have their feet covered with woollen mufflers.' Even as late as the early nineteenth century, however, hay seed was still used, and it was generally acknowledged that laying turfs was better than sowing seed. Alexander McDonald's *Gardening Dictionary* is one of the earliest manuals in which it is suggested that 'seed should be obtained from a seedsman' and 'should be of those kinds which strike deep root, spread out laterally in their tops and are permanent and capable of resisting the effects of heat; there are many of this kind.' Turfs in those halcyon days cost 'about a shilling to fifteen pence the hundred according to the nature of the soil . . . a man will cut from three to five, six or seven hundred a day or more if very soft easy-cutting turf, with a person to race them out and roll them up as they are cut.'

The green lawns of England are still the admiration of the world. The beauty of the matchless lawns in college quadrangles remains for ever in the memory, and lawns are still the chief beauty of many of the most famous gardens in these islands. The methods of making and maintaining them lack the picturesqueness of olden days, though there are still gardens where the discordant sound of the lawn-mower is never heard, and the lawns are shorn by men who come of generations skilled in the craft of the scythe. 'Mowing 'em and rolling 'em' is still the principal factor in the making of lawns, but they owe

their beauty nowadays at least as much to the chemist as to the gardener The foreigner admires, but even with all the resources of science he cannot hope to make lawns to compare with the deep velvety texture of English lawns. Those of us who live in the Old Country, and those whose lot is cast in the great dominions beyond the seas, are equally proud of the fact that in ' the islands of the west ' we have the greenest and most beautiful grass in the world.

ELEANOUR SINCLAIR ROHDE.

GREEK RACING

TIME, midnight Scene, the interior of a sleeping apartment. Old Strepsiades and his son Phidippides are in bed—the former restless and peevish, the latter snoring heartily.

STREPSIADES (*sitting up in bed*) —I'll be hanged if I can get to sleep for thinking of my expenses, my stud of horses, my debts—and all through this son of mine He rides about with his hair cut long in the latest style, and drives his chariot, and dreams of horses ; while I'm driven mad by interest-day coming on. Hullo, there ! Boy ! Light a lamp and bring me my accounts. I'll see how much I'm in debt, and work out the interest. (*Enter a boy with light and an account-book*) Now, let me see ; what do I owe ? Twelve minæ to Pasias. Why twelve minæ to Pasias ? What have I done with them ? Oh yes, that was when I bought the thoroughbred . . .

PHIDIPPIDES (*talking in his sleep*).—Philo, you're cheating Keep on your own course.

STREPSIADES —That's it ; there's the very curse that's ruined me : even asleep he's dreaming of horses.

PHIDIPPIDES (*as before*).—How many laps in this race ?

STREPSIADES —How many laps you drive your own father ! But what's the next debt after Pasias' ? Three minæ to Amynias for a car and a pair of wheels.

PHIDIPPIDES (*as before*).—Give the horse a good rolling and take him to the stable.

STREPSIADES.—It's me you're rolling, young man—me and my money. Here I am, involved in law-suits ; and now they want surety for the interest.

PHIDIPPIDES (*awaking*).—I say, father, why are you so cross and restless all night ?

STREPSIADES.—It's a bailiff biting me under the clothes

PHIDIPPIDES —Well, father, let me get a little sleep . . . (*falls asleep again*).

The passion for horse-racing, as may be gathered from the above scene in *The Clouds*, disturbed many an Athenian home in the time of Aristophanes, just as it disturbs not a few homes

to-day. Horses in all ages have been the delight of man—and sometimes his despair.

But though the love of racing remains unchanged, our modern conception of the sport has changed vastly from that of the Greeks. To-day we associate the race-course with fine horseflesh and lively betting In antiquity the same associations held, but there was something more, something which made Olympia a very different affair from Longchamps or the modern Olympic games. Among the Greeks racing (like all other sports) went hand in hand with religion. Beauty and speed in horses and dexterity in men were thought pleasing to the gods. To the development of these qualities, as a fitting tribute to the gods, men devoted themselves with religious fervour.

No Greek could think of racing without recalling the games at Olympia, at Delphi, at Corinth, and elsewhere—games essentially religious, given in honour of Zeus, Apollo, and other gods. Hence any notice of the ancient 'turf' must include some mention of these meetings.

A racing calendar for Greece and the Greek colonies would be a crowded one, for every little independent State had its national festivals The Bœotians even named one of their months Hippodromios (horse-racing month), corresponding roughly to our July. Besides these national affairs there were four great Panhellenic games—the Olympian, the Pythian, the Isthmian, and the Nemean, in which men from any country could compete provided they proved their Greek descent

To the Olympian games came all Greece and all the Greek world beyond the seas, from one end of the Mediterranean to the other. Kings, statesmen, warriors, poets, sculptors, painters, townsmen, countrymen, traders, pedlars, touts, and swindlers—all thronged once every four years to see the festival in honour of the Olympian Zeus The games began with the first full moon after Midsummer Day, and lasted five days.

So great was the reverence inspired by this meeting that the month in which it fell became a time of truce, when no armies moved and no fighting took place. During the Peloponnesian War even the powerful Spartan State was forced to eat humble-pie by the Eleans, who controlled the Olympian games The incident serves better than any other to show the importance of these athletic contests in Greek international life

The Eleans on this occasion alleged that the Spartans had violated their territory during the 'sacred truce.' And by virtue of the Olympian law they condemned the Spartans to pay a fine of 2000 minæ—a sum about equal in value to 20,000 sheep. The Spartans sent delegates to Olympia to explain that at the time their troops invaded Elean territory the truce had not been

proclaimed in Sparta, but that they had stopped all operations as soon as the proclamation was made. The Eleans refused to accept this explanation and demanded that the Spartans restore the town they had taken by surprise, in which case their fine would be remitted When the Spartans demurred to this the Eleans required them to mount on the altar of the Olympian Zeus and swear before the Greeks that they would surely pay the fine on a stated date.

> But when [says Thucydides] they would not do this either, they were excluded from the temple, from the sacrifice, and from the games. . . . A great alarm was produced in the assembly lest the Spartans should come in arms; especially after Lichas, a Spartan, was scourged on the course by the judges. His horses had won, but because he had no right to enter the race a Bœotian was proclaimed victor. But Lichas came forward on to the course and crowned his charioteer, wishing to show that the chariot was his All therefore were now much more afraid, thinking there would be some disturbance. However, the Spartans kept quiet, and let the feast pass by.

The race-course at Olympia reached a venerable age: first laid out about 2600 years ago, it continued to bear up for over 1000 years under the scampering hoofs of race-horses. Chariot-racing made an important event in the games from near the beginning; horse-racing proper was not introduced till much later. The same track, the Hippodrome, served for both horse and chariot-racing. Later on other varieties were added: chariot-races with mules, mares, and foals; horse-races with mares and foals; horse-races for boys; and racing in which the jockeys had to leap off as they neared the goal and lead their mounts to the line.

Of the construction of the Olympian Hippodrome little can be said with certainty. We know that hippodromes in general were long enclosures surrounded by raised tiers of seats; that in the middle of the enclosure ran a long, low mound with stone pillars for turning posts at each end. Along this track the drivers raced, keeping the mound on their left, and turning sharply to the left round each end; in doing this their left wheels often grazed the stone. At Olympia they raced eight and even twelve times round the course. The judges assigned places to the chariots by lot, and made arrangements for giving all a fair start.

The conduct of the games must have been a complicated matter, for the ten judges lived at Olympia and received instruction during ten months preceding the event. Entrants were required to present themselves early; jockeys and drivers had to give in their names (with proof of their Greek origin) and bring their horses to Olympia a month before the time. Late comers were scratched.

Women owners could compete, though no women (excepting certain priestesses) were allowed to witness the games. Pausanias mentions the first woman owner of a racing stable to carry off a prize: Cynisca, the daughter of Archidamus. After her many other women kept stables, and many won—especially, adds Pausanias, Macedonian women; Bellistiche was one of these, who once won the two-foal chariot-race.

The prize went to the owner of the horse or the team, and if he rode or drove in person his victory was considered all the more glorious. Among the prominent men of the Greek world who won racing events at Olympia and elsewhere were: Cylon, the would-be autocrat of Athens; Pausanias the Spartan, commander of the Greek forces at Platæa, and nephew of Leonidas; Archelaus, King of Macedonia, who numbered Zeuxis and Euripides among his guests; Gelo, the ruler of Syracuse; Hiero, the brother of Gelo, also a ruler of Syracuse, who entertained Æschylus, Pindar, and Simonides at his court; Theron, ruler of Acragas; Arcesilaus, King of Cyrene (Africa); and Philip, the father of Alexander the Great, whose vanity caused him to engrave on his coins his own successes in chariot-racing at Olympia

It was permissible to transfer the honour of a victory to someone who neither raced the horses nor owned them. Herodotus gives an instance of this queer transaction Cimon (father of Miltiades, the future victor of Marathon) had been driven out of Athens by the autocrat Pisistratus, and during his exile he was victorious in the four-horse chariot-race.

> At the Olympian games which next followed [continues Herodotus] he was again victorious, and with the same mares This honour he suffered to be assigned to Pisistratus, on condition of his being recalled: a reconciliation ensued, and he was permitted to return Being victorious a third time on the same occasion, and with the same mares, he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus, Pisistratus himself being then dead. He was assassinated in the night near the Prytaneum by some villains sent for the purpose, he was buried in the approach to the city, near the hollow way, and in the same spot were interred the mares which had three times obtained the prize in the Olympian games If we except the mares of Evagoras of Sparta, none other ever obtained a similar honour.

The Greeks loved horses. In their poems, their statuary, their paintings, their vases, on their metopes and pediments, the horse is lovingly depicted. Homer, as Gladstone remarked, had nearly eighty epithets for the horse, and used them all with discrimination One of his descriptions has appealed strongly to lovers of horses in every age and country. He is speaking of the two well-matched mares of Eumelus—'those that Eumelus drove, swift as birds, like of coat, like of age, matched to the measure of a levelling line across their backs.'

The most famous breeds came from Media, Thessaly, Thrace, and Cyrene; and bay, according to Xenophon, was the fashionable colour. Winning horses were crowned with chaplets. Jockeys used neither saddle nor stirrups. They rode either bareback or on a cloth strapped to the horse. Their bridles and bits resembled ours.

Horses were so expensive that only the wealthiest men could keep studs. The twelve minæ paid by Strepsiades in *The Clouds* for a race-horse for his track-mad son would have bought nearly 100 sheep. And four chariots cost as much as one race-horse. Under these conditions chariot-racing naturally became the most fashionable of sports; it is noteworthy that of Pindar's forty-four Odes sixteen celebrate victors in the chariot-race.

Racing-chariots, except that they were built as light as possible, resembled the two-wheeled war-chariots of Homer. How the horses were harnessed is not certain; probably the insiders were yoked by small saddles held in place by chest-bands, and the outsiders fastened by a single trace Anyone who tries driving an outsider in this manner will realise what difficulty a sharp corner presented When we reflect that the chariots had to race beside the long mound, just shave the turning-posts (at which the horses often shied), and then double back on the other side, making from eight to twelve laps at racing speed, we begin to agree with ancient writers that good fortune was needed as well as skill.

The driver usually tied the long reins round his body to give his hands more freedom. In an accident the car would soon be shattered and left behind by the galloping horses, but the driver had little chance of freeing himself from the reins Many a man met his death in this way Sophocles in his *Electra* gives a picture drawn from life of a race which ends with a fatal accident of this kind:

Another day there came the swift chariot-race at sunrise And Orestes entered with many other drivers one Achæan, one Spartan, and two Lybian charioteers, he himself with Thessalian horses was fifth; the sixth from Ætolia with chestnut mares, the seventh from Magnesia, the eighth, a man of Ænian blood, with a team of white horses, the ninth from god-built Athens, and lastly a Bœotian car made up the ten.

Then, ranging their cars in the places assigned to them by lot, at the signal of the brazen trumpet they all dashed forward Every driver shook the reins and shouted to his horses At once the field resounded with the clatter of rattling chariots, and clouds of dust whirled upwards. No one in that crush spared the goad, for each was eager to pull away from the medley of cars and the snorting teams whose foam flecked wheels and men.

At each turn Orestes kept his axle close to the post, grazing the stone, and letting out the right-hand horse held the near one in. At first all the cars stayed on their course But, after turning into their seventh lap,

the hard-mouthed horses of the Ænian bolted, and crashed head on into a Lybian car. Through this mishap one car dashed into another till all the plain of Crissa was filled with wrecks of chariots

Seeing this the Athenian driver prudently pulled aside and slowed up, to let the wave of horses sweep by. Orestes, holding in his team and trusting to the finish, was driving last. But when he saw one only competitor left, he cried out sharply to his eager horses and started in pursuit. The two men drove their teams abreast, now one, now the other pulling ahead a little

Orestes had covered safely all previous laps, but now, as the horses were turning, by ill luck he slacked the left rein, and suddenly struck the edge of the pillar It shattered the nave and threw him to the ground, where he was dragged along entangled in the reins. At his fall the horses galloped wildly up the course.

And the people, when they saw him fall, raised a cry of horror that such an end should overtake the young man who had raced so well Now prostrate, now showing his legs against the sky, he was dragged along till the other drivers managed to stop the runaway team and free him So covered was he with bleeding wounds that not even a friend could have recognised his poor body.

The unusual accident to the Ænian's car can be understood by supposing that his horses bolted across the low mound in the centre of the course, and collided with cars going in the other direction.

Greek writers grow too complacent when they mention the simplicity of the only prize to be won at Olympia—an olive garland As a matter of fact, victors benefited in many substantial ways. The fame they acquired could only be paralleled to-day by that of a Sarah Bernhardt, for example, or a Caruso Celebrated sculptors made their likenesses in bronze Poets immortalised their names in song If an Athenian, the victor received from Athens 500 drachmæ and free rations for life (500 drachmæ was considerably more than a labourer would earn in a year) If a Spartan, his reward was the post of honour in battle

Returning victors made a triumphal entry into their own city In one instance the delighted citizens made a breach in the city walls for their champion to enter by Plutarch thinks they wished to show that a city which could produce Olympian victors had little need of walls Or perhaps they felt the city gates were not good enough for a man who brought such honourable distinction to his country.

Pindar never fails to praise the country of the victor; in fact, he usually has more to say about the city, its gods, its history, and its triumphs, than about the champion himself. Naturally women took great pride in being the mothers or daughters of such men. Pliny mentions one lady, Berenice, who was the daughter, the sister, and the mother of Olympian victors. Berenice means Bringer of Victory

What an extravagant fuss men made over the prize-winners can be inferred from an incident in the Peloponnesian War. The town of Scione had revolted from the Athenians and joined the cause of Sparta. Brasidas, a Spartan officer who was campaigning in that region, went to Scione to thank the citizens. After the usual flattering speeches they 'decked him with garlands,' says Thucydides, 'and thronged to him as to a victorious athlete.'

A tribute to the prestige of the Olympian games appears in Thucydides' account of a speech made before the Athenian assembly by that brilliant rascal Alcibiades, who had been attacked for his extravagant way of living. This, said his opponent, made him unworthy to hold any high command.

> It is quite fitting [retorted Alcibiades] that I, more than any other, should hold this command, and I think myself worthy of it Cleon has attacked me on this point, which obliges me to mention it first The very acts that he criticises confer honour on my ancestors and myself, and also do good to my country For the other Greeks, when they saw the splendour of my display as an Athenian deputy at the Olympian games, began to believe that Athens was greater than they had ever thought her—greater even than she actually is Of course they had been in hopes that she was exhausted by the war I entered seven chariots (a number no private person has ever before entered) and won the first prize, and the second and fourth , and I provided everything else in a style worthy of my victory According to the usual view such deeds as these are honourable And it is no useless folly when a man, at his own cost, benefits both himself and his country.

After his victory Alcibiades is said to have given a banquet to all the spectators.

But the extravagance of the public attitude drew caustic comment from philosophers, and especially from Diogenes. As a spectator at the Isthmian games he once raised a rumpus by ridiculing all the competitors Placing a garland on his head, he stalked about asserting loudly that he deserved it: for he at least had conquered his own passions.

STANLEY W. KEYTE.

THE CASE FOR A NATIONAL THEATRE

But you—o' my conscience, I believe, if the French were landed to-morrow, your first enquiry would be, whether they had brought a theatrical troop with them —SHERIDAN, *The Critic*.

I PLACE this quotation at the head of this article not only because it may serve as a reminder that there is more than a danger that without some successful movement in favour of a subsidised theatre in this country whole generations of our countrymen may grow up without any opportunity of seeing a public performance of the great classic burlesque in which it occurs, but also because it illustrates two attitudes of mind which may serve to render that success impossible.

I mean, on the one hand, the attitude of mind of that small section of the community whose advocacy is tainted with 'Dangleism' in its most aggressive and irritating form, who continue an attempt to impose upon a naturally unwilling public their belief that the support of the theatre is such an important part of good citizenship that anyone who fails to be seen sitting in the stalls of his local playhouse at least once a week in company with his friends and entire family is failing in an obvious duty; and, on the other hand, that other and far commoner attitude—not quite so prevalent, indeed, as it used to be, but still deep-seated enough—that all manifestations of a practical interest in the arts, and especially in the arts of the theatre, can safely be left to the 'stranger within our gates,' that we, the English race, have on the whole succeeded in securing a comparatively satisfactory position in the world without the help of art in any form, and that if native artists do occasionally appear among us they must be content with an easy tolerance and look for no organised encouragement.

It will be my object to inquire if a sane *via media* can safely be trodden by the average philanthropist between these two attitudes, and if some form of help can reasonably be demanded from the nation at large at least to ensure that the great classics of the English theatre can be witnessed in satisfactory performances by succeeding generations, and that methods of stage production,

which are more or less universally regarded as satisfactory, can be crystallised and preserved.

Moreover, it is possible—though I will not go so far as to say it is probable—that those elusive millionaires of whose existence in our midst the paragraphists are constantly reminding us may be more inclined to listen to the none too vehement wooing of the committee of the National Shakespeare Memorial Fund and similar bodies if they are told not merely that their assistance is wanted but exactly what it is wanted for.

It might be for the moment an interesting speculation to inquire exactly what would happen if it occurred to—— (I will leave my readers to fill in the blank) to draw a cheque for, say, 920,000*l*., which, added to that seemingly useless 80,000*l*. already in possession of the trustees of the Shakespeare National Memorial Fund, would be sufficient, but by no means too much, to call such an institution into being.

The first step, I take it, would be to acquire a site and build a theatre ; and the first essential of both should be quiet and space.

I do not believe for a moment that the central position which seems so necessary for the success of the ordinary commercial theatre is essential ; on the contrary, it would be in many ways a disadvantage, not only because my 1,000,000*l*. would then tend to become too insignificant a sum, but because a national theatre should not compete, even in situation, with the other theatres, which will continue to exist quite undisturbed by a theatre which will not attempt to rival their activities.

I would myself choose without hesitation some such site as that of the poor doomed Foundling Hospital, because its essential beauties could remain undisturbed—its gardens a pleasure-ground by day and by night an ideal parking place.

Its situation is ideal, easily reached by every form of transit, and surrounded, as it soon will be, by the atmosphere of London University. Moreover, the centralisation of London life within half a mile of Piccadilly Circus seems to be, as likely as not, a transient thing that will pass from us in our own time.

I cannot attempt in the space at my disposal to lay down exact rules as to how the theatre should be built. I think it is clear at least that there should be two stages and two auditoria of different sizes, suitable for the different kinds of entertainments that would be presented there. It is possible that one of these should be capable of use as an opera-house, as well as for the presentation of Shakespearian and other drama on a large scale.

Having supposed, then, the erection of a theatre—or two heatres, rather—what is going to be done with them ?

Let me turn for a moment to classic examples for guidance—he founding, for instance, of the Comédie Française, the house of

Molière, in Paris, still, in spite of its detractors, an exceedingly flourishing and successful institution. That was founded, so the opponents of an English national theatre would say, not to revive an interest in classical performances whose traditions had been forgotten, but to preserve for ever, humanly speaking, great performances of contemporary works which everyone at that time found perfect and absorbing.

That argument, if it is put forward, is a sound one and must be answered. But can it not be answered ? I think it can. If the French people had their Molière, we have our Bernard Shaw and our Granville Barker, who, compositely, make up a figure at least as arresting, and both are happily still with us, and both consistent advocates of a subsidised theatre, which, on any merely selfish consideration, neither of them needs.

My first step, then, in the organisation of a national theatre would be to call Mr. Granville Barker temporarily from his retirement, even if it required—as surely in these glorious circumstances it would not—a special Act of Parliament for the purpose ! He would then organise a company, permanently attached to the theatre, but leaving it to tour the provinces and the Empire when its services were not required, to perform all the works of Shaw and also of Galsworthy, Masefield, and the other dramatists whose names are linked inseparably with the memories of the Court Theatre as it was under his management.

It would be necessary, of course, to call in Mr. Lewis Casson for the reproduction of *St. Joan ;* but, equally of course, a national theatre would require the services of many visiting producers, exactly in the same way as a great hospital commands the services of a staff of distinguished physicians and surgeons.

It would be idle to go through a catalogue of their names and the particular services which they would be called upon to perform, but it is pleasant to remember that we still have with us for advice and assistance one of the greatest stage producers the English theatre has ever known, Sir Arthur Pinero It is unthinkable that the great masterpieces of dramatic craftsmanship written by him—and, what is just as important, produced under his own direction—should continue to be neglected. I can think of nothing more stimulating to such an enterprise in its beginnings than a revival of a series of his early farces, given, no doubt, in the costumes and with the manners of a period which seems now so remote

Then at certain times I have no doubt that it could be arranged that a season of Gilbert and Sullivan operas should be played—once a year or once in two years, as might be considered advisable. It is a fact that the traditional method of presenting them has been most carefully fostered—handed down without a break

from the date of their original production; and their production at a national theatre would make it even more a matter of stringent honour that these traditions should neither be tampered with nor broken

And so it is with all modern plays; and by modern plays, for purposes of convenience, I mean plays which have been given in England for the first time within the last fifty years.

Gradually, then, the national theatre would absorb into its repertory all the plays and productions which time and the best critical approval had determined were worthy of a place there. The experimental theatre, the rebel theatre, would continue its functions, perhaps even with an added stimulus, a half-hidden ambition, behind its work. The rebel of to-day is the statesman of to-morrow; that, at least, is a good, sound maxim in English politics, so why not in the theatre?

The national theatre would be chary—I take it always—of producing for itself the new work of any author, unless it were an author so tried and trusted as Mr. Shaw or Sir James Barrie.

It would be the business of the governing body of such a theatre to make sure first that a play which they intend to include in their repertory has been proved by experience to have the elements of permanent interest, and then to be sure that it can be given in such a manner that its 'production' can be thoroughly satisfactory, both from the point of view of the regulation of its acting and also its decoration

They should be able to call upon the services of pictorial artists to design the scenery and costumes of every play to be presented there; and it is a fact not too well known that we have in England at the present moment a dozen artists whose talents in these directions are undoubted.

With regard to the establishment of a great classical repertory we are perhaps on more debatable ground, but the difficulties here are not insurmountable

The Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon has its own problems to tackle, but when they are overcome, as they must be, it will be in a position to help a national theatre in London and to be helped by it

That its present organisation and system of working, suitable enough for a theatre on a comparatively humble scale, will have to be changed is undoubted.

It is impossible any longer to imagine that one man, however able, can direct and produce a whole series of Shakespearian revivals and depend for these revivals on the continued use of a wardrobe and a set of scenery added to and altered occasionally.

I take it that the whole problem will have to be dealt with afresh: that gradually a new production of every one of Shake-

speare's plays, and, one hopes, the best of the other Elizabethans, will be undertaken, and probably in each case the services of a 'visiting producer' will be called upon. The visiting producer will have the assistance of a permanent acting company at his command, and also perhaps be able to call upon some one or two distinguished actors or actresses from the 'commercial' theatre as guests. He will then ask an artist to design the whole of the scenery and dresses for his particular production, and the play as a whole will be added to the repertory and remain undisturbed in that situation.

When a suitable repertory is thus established at Stratford-on-Avon it will be possible to arrange a season of Shakespearian and Elizabethan revivals at our imaginary London theatre worthy of the dignity and position of both. And so on through the whole classical repertory.

There have been, after all, even in these difficult times, performances of certain other classical plays which have been considered on nearly all sides satisfactory, and there would be no difficulty, so far as I can see, in having them transferred to the stage of a national theatre for their designs and traditions to be maintained for all time.

It is perfectly true, as the Chairman of the London County Council—himself by heredity a theatre man—has lately reminded us, that the theatre in all countries has been kept in a state of vitality by its free lances and rebels But to use that argument to dispose altogether of any approval of a subsidised municipal or national theatre is manifestly absurd

It would be equally logical to say that the National Gallery was an entirely unnecessary institution because within its walls there were, at one period at any rate, none of the works of Augustus John, Paul Nash, and Epstein.

In fact, the establishment of the National Gallery seems to me to offer an early complete analogy to the proposed establishment of the national theatre, or as nearly complete as good analogies need be.

The original cost of both institutions is perhaps roughly about the same, but naturally the cost of the upkeep of a national theatre must be considerably greater than that of a national picture gallery. On the other hand, it is true, and is likely to continue to be true, that the general public will be willing to pay more to witness the public representation of plays than they will to visit a picture gallery I do not say that they will pay enough to cover the current expenses of any form of classical repertory—though the taste for it will certainly grow with the increased efficiency of the performances, and the stimulus of official recognition, though it must not be exaggerated, certainly counts for something.

If you walk down Regent Street and ask the first stranger you happen to meet if he feels any desire to see a national theatre in being, he will in all probability answer you 'No'—if he answers so strange a question at all

If you ask him if he approves of the existence of the National Gallery, he will probably be a little more accommodating. He will not, if he is the average Englishman, be exactly enthusiastic, but at least he will go so far as to say, in the orthodox British fashion, that he supposes so. But that is merely because he has been brought up with the institution in being, and because it has the halo of respectability and inevitableness around it.

I am not aware that the original institution of the National Gallery was received with any particular enthusiasm; in fact, there is evidence to the contrary. Its opening was, I believe, mentioned in only one of several contemporary morning papers, and then in one short and scarcely commendatory paragraph. The opening of a national theatre will certainly have a better 'Press' than that. In fact, the theatre in this country suffers from far too much attention in the public newspapers, it being a fact that it is so much easier and more profitable to write a column of abuse and complaint than of encouragement and wise guidance. And that the art of the theatre, even upon the merest economic consideration, deserves encouragement is undoubted.

It is surely in the theatre, of all places, that the traditions of the correct speaking of English—to give one reason alone—can be best maintained, and to let those traditions be broken would be a national crime

I have spoken of the whim or benevolence of a 'millionaire' as the one hope of bringing a national theatre into being: it seems to me the simplest way to hope for, just as children trust in the waving of a fairy wand, but I do not know that it is the best

There is a story of the foundation of the national theatre in Prague, which I understand to be literally true.

It was built at the time when Prague was still under the domination of the Austrians, when German was still the official language, and at the 'national' theatre all plays were given in German. The Czechs determined, in spite of that, to have a real national theatre of their own, where plays should be given in the language in which they made love and poetry, and they succeeded. What is now the official national theatre was built without the raising of a single penny of funds for the purpose. One patriot presented the site; the architect prepared the plans 'out of hours,' so to speak; the stone, the brick, the wood were presented to the organisers, and all the workmen gave their services for the love of art and for their country.

Is such a spirit possible in our country to-day? Not, I think,

till more powerful voices than mine have acknowledged and preached the need of it; but I refuse to believe that it is altogether impossible. After all, a very fair case can be made for the merely utilitarian advantages of maintaining a theatre which has some regard for our own national ideals and can reflect our present problems and our history.

We have had in the past, we have in the present, and in spite of all difficulties we shall have in the future, great dramatists with a message to give to our children. But it is a mockery to pretend that we treat them otherwise than very scurvily. We may say—and say with a great deal of justification—that no present performances of Shakespeare's plays, of the plays of Sheridan, of Goldsmith, of Shaw, can move the mind of an intelligent man more in the theatre than in the study; but how fitful and haphazard are the chances given to our young players and producers to prove anything to the contrary And in any case this point of view is a selfish one, for the power of enjoying in the reading what is intended to be made manifest in a proper theatrical representation is given to very few, to far fewer, indeed, than is generally supposed.

I make myself, with good reason, no pretence whatever to scholarship, but I am astonished over and over again to find how often the learned stumble over the proper interpretation of some passage in Shakespeare or Ben Jonson, when if they had heard that passage properly spoken their difficulties would vanish.

But the whole art of 'proper speaking' is liable to pass from us altogether if some care is not taken to preserve it.

It is arguable, I suppose, that in the new era towards which we are groping the study of the dramatists of the past will be a waste of energy, that it is time Shakespeare was forgotten, and Congreve and Sheridan and Shaw and the rest of them as well; that we must give all our attention to new media of expression—the movietone, the films, and I know not what else.

To that argument I will listen with a chastened respect, but if it is not so I refuse to believe that the best way of dealing with the problem of the theatre is to leave it to fashion and to chance, as it is left at the present moment It deserves—and if it is to be saved it must have—some form of organised support, and, though not very hopefully, I think that support should come from the foundation in the centre of our Empire of some great theatre organised upon the lines which I have endeavoured to lay down.

It may be observed that I make no appeal for assistance either to the Treasury or to the County Council, for I admit reluctantly that there is no chance of any such appeal at the present moment or in the present circumstances having any chance whatever of response.

But I do believe and trust that any sort of national or municipal theatre may look to some form of negative encouragement from the Government or the Council, as the case may be. It is possible at least that one or other of these bodies might help in the direction of relief from the incidence of property tax and rating, and a national theatre might at least be recognised by the appointment by the Government of some State official, say the Lord Chamberlain, to serve upon its council.

One thing is quite certain, and in this my opinion and experience are of some real value.

The great majority of those devoted people who work—often with a very poor reward in the present and little hope for the future—in the service of dramatic art are only too anxious that the work they do should be of some value to the nation at large.

It is, believe me, from no desire on their part that their energies are so largely devoted to those wretched entertainments which under the name of stage plays follow the fashions and vagaries of the moment. An opportunity to help in the establishment of a great classical repertory, to see a theatre dedicated to the cause of education and civilisation, would be welcomed by them all. And the talent is here, in this country as much as in any other, starving for the opportunity of expression.

And another apparent paradox is evident, and that is that the largest potential theatre audience in England is composed of those people who scarcely ever go to a theatre at all, because there exists no theatre a visit to which is not more than likely to be a waste of time.

NIGEL PLAYFAIR.

THE PLAYS OF SEAN O'CASEY

THE DRAMA OF THE CITY WORKER

A GREAT controversy has raged around the latest play of Sean O'Casey, the celebrated workman dramatist. The rejection of his play by the Abbey Theatre came as a surprise to those who remember all that it owes to the successful O'Casey plays. The controversy was a boon to the general public, which always enjoys watching literary champions pelting each other with brickbats.[1] In the eighteenth century a battle of books was a long-winded affair; nowadays with lightning Press activities and hawk-eyed reporters the staging of such a duel invigorates the cause of literature. The man in the street who has always been scorned by the 'intellectual' has his revenge, for it is he who has to judge the merits of the case. It is a pity that there are not more such controversies, for I can imagine nothing more stimulating to the cause of British drama. The dramatists, the critics, and the public would benefit one another mutually.

Life has changed greatly in Ireland since 1914. Not only has the 'stage Irishman' completely disappeared, but his offspring the political playboy type has become rarer and rarer. The seriousness of the modern revolutionary Irishman contributes to produce a grotesque humour which acts like Pirandello's little demon and destroys every image created by the emotions. Sean O'Casey is the dramatist of Ireland who has reflected these tendencies most unmistakably in modern Ireland. He is the completest expression of the drama of the moment—the drama of the city in contrast to the drama of the rural districts. Though Ireland is essentially an agricultural country and her destiny must always rest with the farmer, she cannot escape the influences of modern mechanical civilisation, which tends to gather all people into cities and hold them together in serried masses. Even in the golden days of Augustus it was necessary to call up a Virgil to sing of simple joys of the country to arrest the city invasions. In Sean O'Casey the problem of the city becomes paramount,

[1] In this case the brickbats all came from Mr. O'Casey.

because he does not set out to describe life in the gilded 'salons' of the rich, but rather the garrets of the poor. A workman and son of workers, he was born and bred in the most squalid quarter of Dublin. All through his life he has lived a life of privations and has gazed at sights of physical and moral degradation. His dramas one by one become the chronicles of his life in days that were full of despair for his country He is no idealist to raise up an unsubstantial pageant: he never alters the truth. He possesses not only the normal gaze of Bernard Shaw, but also a lens to magnify the details around him. What Goethe said of himself might also be said of O'Casey—'The organ which enabled me to understand the world was my eye' Every play is the result of mature observation: the dramatist remains rigidly objective and becomes the sensitive receiver of impressions. He watches his characters work upon the stage without ever giving his own thoughts. Whenever he tries to write of himself and his aspirations his style becomes obscure and halting as if he could not find expression. We must not consider Sean O'Casey a social dramatist like many of his contemporaries, who are eager to preach against this or that vice by means of thesis-drama; he simply looks around him and determines to omit none of the details that appear to him His spirit of observation is totally different from that of English authors: Sean O'Casey is not Anglo-Saxon in spirit; he is a man of the Mediterranean, for whom the most important element is not the essence of anything, but rather its presence. The Abbey Theatre may give itself credit for O'Casey's revolution as a dramatist Always an assiduous spectator at the theatre, he started in the years of trouble to dramatise his experiences He had watched the Anglo-Irish war from all angles In 1916 he had belonged to various organisations, and during the fighting more than once he had been in great danger of losing his life. He told me that on one occasion the soldiers had put him up against a wall, and were going to shoot him, when a scuffle at the other end of the street turned their attention from him and he fled. After various attempts at play-writing he completed *The Shadow of a Gunman*, and it was accepted for production at the Abbey Theatre.

We should remember at the outset that O'Casey is the spontaneous dramatist: without any training in drama he was able to produce a fine play, and we should realise that it was the Abbey Theatre, based as it is on Irish tradition, that gave him his chance. Such discoveries justify more than anything else the existence of a national theatre. *The Shadow of a Gunman* relates the events of the year 1920 during the period of the worst struggles between the English and the Sinn Feiners. In that struggle there were murders, burning of houses, ambushes, blood-feuds, and all

those appear in the play. O'Casey makes us see the terrible sufferings of the poor, of the revolutionaries, of those 'on the run,' and, as usual, the sacrifice of innocent victims. Many of us have lived through that period when the city resounded with the sound of bombs and revolver shots. Late at night we used to be wakened by a loud knock at the door. Then we could hear the throbbing of a motor engine and a loud whistle: men would rush up brandishing 'automatics' and crying 'Hands up!' Or else there were nights lit up by the flashlights of the lorries as they moved through the silent city after 'curfew time.' Furtive figures in trench-coats might occasionally be seen darting here and there to avoid the penetrating rays All those scenes appear to us again as we watch *The Shadow of a Gunman* The setting of such plays is characteristic of the author, for it combines the squalor of the present with the faded glories of a past age. Dublin is a city of the eighteenth century, with its severe Georgian architecture, which drew praise from Professor Ostberg when he was here In the eighteenth century those Georgian houses of North Dublin were full of joy and pageantry Mrs Delaney in her *Memoirs* gives many a description of the wealth and fashion that came to Dublin when it was the most brilliant social centre after London Modern civilisation in the city has moved southwards, and to-day those gaunt houses of the north side are sad remnants of past ages. The big reception-rooms, with their gorgeous mantelpieces carved by Italian artists, are dilapidated, and the houses have dwindled gradually into slum tenements crowded with poverty-stricken inhabitants In a great ballroom that must have resounded with joyful laughter when ladies in powdered wigs danced with their cavaliers, to-day we find eight families living together The squalor of their lives is appalling, because it is the grotesque mocking of time, a sad reminder that

> golden lads and girls all must,
> as chimney-sweepers, come to dust

And so it was with the pomp and circumstance of those ladies and gentlemen whose ghosts hover in those halls at night Here O'Casey lived his life, and here he set the stage for his plays. In this space he makes a whole world move before us with all its prides, vanities, and miseries. The poor folk inhabiting those tenements have all the weaknesses of the richer people: they have their own snobbish codes—the woman who inhabits the return-room will not know the family in the back drawing-room, and so forth. In *The Shadow of a Gunman* the author uses the simple device of the mouthpiece character in order to describe the situation. This character is an ironical spectator of all that happens in those stirring days. And while the city resounds with

rifle fire and the sky is lit up with flares, inside the tenements the ordinary everyday life continues with its monotonous round of squalid tasks and intrigues. Every now and then a bullet pierces a window and kills someone, or else 'Black and Tans' rush in to search the house armed to the teeth with revolvers. Life becomes intense because death is present on all sides. It is interesting to note the part taken by woman in this struggle: she becomes very often the protagonist, for she excites the men to action; she aids and abets them by passing arms, concealing them on her person, and evading the police. She is absolutely fearless of death, and when captured she hurls defiance at the enemy that can break her body but not her spirit. The heroine of *The Shadow of a Gunman* offers her life without demur whilst man plays the coward's part. It is interesting to notice the two forces struggling in the author's mind—on the one hand we have the poet Davoren, who is poet and idealist. Listen to his words:

> The people! Damn the peop e They live in the abyss, the poet lives on the mountain-top, to the people there is no mystery of colour; it is simply the scarlet coat of the soldier, the purple vestments of a priest, the green banner of a party, the brown or blue overalls of industry. To the people the end of life is the life created for them, to the poet the end of life is the life that he creates for himself, life has a stifling grip upon the people's throat—it is the poet's musician.

That is the poetical side of O'Casey, which appears again and again in his plays, but always timorously, like a maiden who has strayed in among men carousing. There is always a little demon at his elbow who prompts him to turn it into ridicule—that bitter ridicule which seems to come naturally to the Irishman when dealing with his fellow-countrymen. Listen to Seumas Shields, the mouthpiece of the author's spirit of disillusion:

> I wish to God it was all over. The country is gone mad. Instead of countin' their beads now they're countin' bullets, their Hail Marys and Paternosters are burstin' bombs—burstin' bombs and the rattle of machine-guns; petrol is their holy water; their Mass is a burnin' buildin', their *de Profundis* is 'The Soldier's Song,' an' their Creed is, 'I believe in the gun almighty maker of heaven an' earth'—an' it's all for 'the glory o' God and the honour o' Ireland'

The next play of Sean O'Casey, *Juno and the Paycock*, shows a notable advance in dramatic art. It is a more mature play, and the architecture is more solid. It is less garrulous, and the characters are more living than in any of his plays. The plot centres in the heartrending civil war between the newly created Free State and the Republicans in 1922, which wrought havoc in many Irish homes, setting father against son, brother against brother, the friends of many a struggle against one another. The author describes life in the Boyle family, who inhabit one of the usual

tenements. Juno Boyle, the mother of the family, has had a hard life. She is only forty-five, but her face has now assumed that look which ultimately settles down upon faces of the women of the working class—a look of listless monotony and harassed anxiety, blending with an expression of mechanical resistance. Her husband is called the Captain. he is a stout, grey-haired man of about sixty. His neck is short, and his head looks like a stone ball on top of a gate-post. He is portly and carries his paunch with dignity: his walk is a slow, consequential strut. This, combined with his lazy habits, has earned him the nickname of the 'Paycock' He is an entirely useless individual—one of those loungers who swell the numbers of those who live on the dole rather than do an honest day's work, and when any money does come their way it goes the way of the public-house at the corner of the street. With such a man for a husband Juno's task has not been easy, and we watch through scene after scene her desperate efforts to keep the family together in the days of trouble. Her son Johnny is crippled in leg and arm owing to wounds received when he was out with the Republican boys He sits crouched over the fire, a bundle of nerves—pallid, trembling The Captain would not be such a waster and drunkard if it were not for his inseparable friend who is called Joxer Daly He is a shifty, cringing individual with a face like a bundle of crinkled paper. He has a habit of constantly shrugging his shoulders, and he hops on his feet. All those characters live as creatures of flesh and blood. I feel that I shall always remember Joxer and the Captain: they have passed from literature into reality I remember O'Casey once saying that those characters are definite types whom he knew in the slums, and that in some cases the names are the same. The play of *Juno and the Paycock* starts off in the author's best comic style. The Boyles hear that they have been left a legacy of from 1500*l.* to 2000*l*, and they straightway begin to live the life of ease: they buy furniture 'on tick,' they invest in a gramophone, they invite their neighbours in for a 'ball of malt' or 'to blow the froth off a pint.' In the second act the dingy room looks prosperous with its paper festoons and cheap pictures. There is gaiety of that type which we meet in Dublin—a gaiety that is like a thin layer covering over and concealing the huge load of misery and despair. Those beings, in spite of their wretched condition, their debts, their famine, their sufferings in war, are always able in a few seconds' respite from sorrow to open their hearts to gaiety. I remember, when the Rebellion of 1916 was raging, walking down the streets where the fighting was fiercest and when bullets whizzed past every second In the middle of the street lay the carcase of a horse which had been shot under a Lancer, and in a doorway a man crouched moaning with pain. And yet at the other side of the

street stood a crowd of men, women and children watching all the proceedings with excited interest as if it all was a spectacle for their benefit. This *insouciance* is a characteristic of a people whose character varies from a sunny disposition to the bleakest despair. In the merry second act, where the friends are all gathered together, the gramophone squeaks, the men smoke and drink, the women sing duets Suddenly sounds are heard outside the door of a funeral starting: it is the funeral of Mrs. Tancred's son the Republican, who was found in a lane riddled with bullets. Then sadness descends swiftly upon the company, but a few minutes later we find them crowding to the windows to look out at the departing funeral:

> MRS. BOYLE —Here's the hearse, here's the hearse!
> BOYLE —There's th' oul' mother walkin' behin' the coffin
> MRS MADIGAN —You can hardly see the coffin with the wreaths.
> JOXER —Oh, it's a darlin' funeral, a daarlin' funeral!
> MRS MADIGAN —We'd have a better view from the street.
> BOYLE —Yes—this place 'ud give you a crick in your neck

In the last act all is changed: the room looks barer and darker; there is an air of mournful sadness about The money has not come to the Boyles: the will is not correct, and there is no hope. Now the creditors begin to descend like wolves, taking away one thing after another But misfortunes do not stop there: Mary has been walking out with a superior kind of fellow called Bentham, but when he finds out the truth about the legacy he abandons Mary As a token he has made her pregnant and left her to bear the full brunt of shame in a city where such lapses are condemned with horror. Poor Juno struggles hard to avert disaster, but disaster stalks her pitilessly. Two Republican gunmen come for Johnny, who, they say, has acted as spy on one of his comrades: they carry him off shrieking to his doom. Then at the end, when we can hardly endure any more, the Captain and Joxer reel in hopelessly drunk and subside on the floor of the empty room. As the curtain falls Boyle mutters: 'I'm telling you, Joxer . . . th' whole world's . . . in a terr. . .ible state o' . . . chassis.'

O'Casey's amazing power in this play consists in not falling into a commonplace melodrama of blood and iron of the 'Sweeney Todd' variety. There is a perfect equilibrium between the comic and the tragic element. It is, however, a most painful play, for, in addition to the harrowing scenes, the comic parts are savage in their pessimism. O'Casey has that power which Chehov possessed of painting the grey lives of those who are destined to be failures. Juno Boyle is one of the finest characters in the whole Irish theatre, and her hopeless struggle is magnificent in its intensity.

O'Casey is always on the side of woman, for he is a pacifist, and he sees that in war there is no glory—nothing but the suffering of the poor and the weak. One of the finest touches is when Mrs Tancred says as she slowly follows her son's coffin: 'Sacred Heart of the Crucified Jesus, take away our hearts o' stone . . . an' give us hearts o' flesh. . . . Take away this murdherin' hate . . . an' give us Thine own eternal love!' This prayer takes on even greater tragic intensity when it is repeated in the last act by Juno as she goes out to find the body of her son.

In *The Plough and the Stars* O'Casey treats the Rebellion which broke out on Easter Monday, 1916. We see the same types as in the two preceding dramas, and the setting is the same, but the canvas is larger and the author does not keep to the formal play structure. Instead he has written a chronical play with very loose connexion between the various scenes. In the two first acts the tragedy is prepared and culminates in the last two The second act represents a publichouse where our friends sit drinking Outside the windows a political meeting is going on, and we can hear the words of the young revolutionary leader who is stirring up the people. The words that float to our ears are the actual words spoken by the Irish leader Padraig Pearse, who was executed by the English after the Rebellion of 1916: 'It is a glorious thing to see arms in the hands of Irishmen We must accustom ourselves to the thought of arms . . . bloodshed is a cleansing and sanctifying thing, and the nation that regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood . . . there are many things more horrible than bloodshed, and slavery is one of them' Meanwhile in the bar we are introduced to Rosie Redmond, a prostitute from the dens of Dublin familiar to those who have followed the wanderings of Ulysses or lingered with the pensive Mrs. Bloom Rosie Redmond, too, is a character from real life who earned fame during the Rebellion There is no particular reason why she should be in the play, but she intensifies the crude realism of the scene by her pert remarks. As usual, O'Casey explains the points of the play by an ironical mouthpiece character called Fluther Good, who performs the same functions in this play as Seumas Shields in *The Shadow of a Gunman* Fluther is a pocket edition of Falstaff—a Falstaff reared on Guinness's stout instead of dry sherris-sack: he is quick in argument and prone to fly into a passion, but there is always a prudent and wakeful little goblin who pulls him back at the moment of his outbursts We generally feel that his temper is all sound and fury, for there is a cute twinkle in his eye as though he could always calculate odds There are certain tricks the author uses with him which usually obtain a laugh from the audience, though they are trivial dramatically: he labels him with certain words which act as a *leitmotiv* For instance, he uses the

word 'derogatory' continually—just as Joxer used to croak the word 'darlin'.' It is Fluther, with his wide fund of human experience, who unifies the play. He is the soul of the people of the slum dwellings, and O'Casey, in drawing him, must have been thinking of Barry Fitzgerald, the finest comic actor the Abbey Theatre possesses, who always plays the part. In the third act the Rebellion has started and the rebels are in possession of the city. We hear sounds of rifle shooting and bombs, and it is rumoured that they are looting the shops It is interesting to follow all the descriptions of our author. When a capital is given up to loot it is time to think of the end of the world, for all the unrestrained passions break out. But the Dublin looting in the Rebellion was an uproarious affair, though all the time shots were flying and the wounded were being carried away on stretchers I have seen old beggar women walking about in black velvet coats and hats with plumes. All our slum friends bring perambulators for the purpose of loading them with every conceivable object in the shops There were many touches of comedy about this scene, though it followed close upon the tragic meeting between Mrs. Clitheroe and her husband, who had rushed away from home to join the rebels and had not been heard of for some days. In the last act the drama reaches a climax of tragedy Poor Nora Clitheroe, as a result of her anxieties, has gone mad : she imagines she sees her husband every moment, and she walks up and down like a spirit from another world. In the squalid room Fluther and his friends are seated on the floor playing cards . they cannot stir from the house, for the fiercest fighting is going on in the street. Through the windows we can see the sky red with fire from the blazing streets In the middle of the room lies a coffin with candles at the head: in it lies Mollser, who has died during the night. The central figure in this act is Bessie Burgess, an oldish woman whose son is at the front in France It is she who is nursing poor little Nora Clitheroe, and it is she who becomes the victim of the play, for in trying to keep Nora back from the window, which is in line of fire, she is hit by a bullet and dies. The last act of this play is the most masterly thing that O'Casey has done. We feel that the tragedy has become transcendental, and that we are watching, not the drama of individuals, but the tragedy of a whole race. Every element of horror is exploited—the blazing streets, the mad heroine moaning helplessly as her friend lies dying on the floor, the coffin surrounded by candles as at a wake and the men playing cards, the rattle of machine-gun fire and the cockney songs of the English soldiery O'Casey has seen every detail and has made them all fit into the picture. All this great apparatus of tragedy he has raised in order to show the futility of war. He is a pacifist, and he wants the freedom of the worker, but he does not

propose any solution He makes his opinions and his theories fit into the framework of the bourgeois play, and thus he is not an innovator in drama. We cannot look to O'Casey yet for the workers' drama It will be interesting to watch whether he will evolve in that direction, because so far his genius has been devoted to a play that is in its substance conventional with its tricks or *lazzi*, as a '*comedia dell'arte*' actor of the past would have called them. There is no doubt that O'Casey is the strongest genius the Abbey Theatre has produced since Synge : it is only just to admit that he has brought the people of Ireland to the Abbey Theatre. In the past five years every play of his has drawn crowded houses, for everyone feels the morbid desire to live again in a few hours those long, tedious years of horror. O'Casey is the dramatist of the days that have just passed away : he is not the dramatist of a new nation full of hope in its future progress. In this respect he is a contradiction to the optimistic spirit which has prevailed owing to the wise government of Mr Cosgrave and his colleagues. It is, however, not so easy to forget those days of stress, and we are still plunged in the shadow of tragedy : it will take years of statesmanship to reconstruct a new feeling among the people. When I watch those crowded houses at the O'Casey plays I am struck by their restless attitude towards events that were so familiar. They are fascinated by them, but the tragic side makes them laugh hysterically as if willy-nilly they could not let sadness overpower them O'Casey has performed a great function in Ireland because he has turned the Irishman's thoughts in upon himself so that he may see all his faults Let us not see too many of such plays, for in an epoch of reconstruction, such as we are initiating in Ireland, all our energies should be set upon creating a new country, and to do so we must have faith in the future :

Der glaube lebt.

We must create upon solid foundations, and those plays of O'Casey clear away many vain hypocrisies By all means let us strengthen our sense of Irish nationalism, but there must never be any attempt to construct a barrier of brass around our shores in order to preserve us inviolate from the thought of Europe. Rather must we build bridges uniting us more closely to Europe and modern civilisation. Narrow nationalism breeds race jealousy, and the outcome is war Let us remember countries like Sweden and Norway, that gave a wonderful example to all the world by settling their difference, not by force of arms, but around a table O'Casey's plays, with all their pessimism, will wake up the slumbering bourgeois to the realities of life and will turn his thoughts to big problems of humanity. Irish drama has been content too long to narrow its compass : O'Casey has

widened its scope because he feels the drama of the worker. The drama of the worker is the drama of modern civilisation, and there are two ways of considering it. Machines are either to be the slaves or the masters of men. In the first case we get dramas like *R.U.R.*, by Capek, where the mechanical Robot performs all the work of life, or else *Masses and Men*, by Toller, where the workers' revolution brings tragedy after tragedy in its train. In the second case we reach the domain of frankly mechanical dramas like those of Marinetti or Casavola in Italy, full of optimistic belief in the future of the machine. O'Casey has not reached that stage of evolution: he is still dominated by the traditions of the well-made play, though in *The Plough and the Stars* there is a tendency to explore new paths In *Nannie's Night Out* there is an attempt to base a whole play upon the picaresque personality of the drunken old Dublin slum woman, but it is only a rough sketch that needs development. After the great success of *The Plough and the Stars* in Dublin at the Abbey Theatre, O'Casey crossed to London He was disgusted with the attitude of a certain section of the public which objected to his plays. *The Plough and the Stars* excited the fierce opposition of those who objected to the pessimism of the author in dealing with the Irish War The direct cause of the disturbances which took place in the theatre was the introduction of the flag of the Irish Republic into a publichouse. In years of political upheaval there is always a tendency to magnify small events into great ones among people who are in a state of nervous tension. The incident of the flag in the publichouse was regrettable, but it certainly helped the success of the play by giving it publicity. Since O'Casey has been in London a lean period seems to have set in. Rumours were current that he was working at a play of slum life called *The Red Lily*. So far I have not heard that the author has completed it. This year, however, he finished a play in four acts called *The Silver Tassie*, which was published by Macmillan & Co. in June In this play the author has set himself a new task He has left behind the plays of his former manner, and he is groping towards new dramatic values The play deals with the European War, and is decidedly pacifist in its scope. It describes the useless carnage, the sufferings, the privations, the maiming, the hopeless inutility of war. In the first act we watch the soldiers getting ready to join the troopship whose funnels can be seen near by. We hear the siren and we watch the scurrying confusion. The mothers and wives hasten to pack their men off: they are in terror lest they may miss the boat that is to carry them off to the front, for then they would lose the separation allowance. The hero has just arrived back from a football match: he is captain of the winning team, and, flushed with excitement, he

carries back the silver cup, the reward for his labours This first act is written in true O'Casey manner—there is movement, there is life: the characters are real beings, and we turn our thoughts back to those days during the war when we saw soldiers marching down to the Dublin docks accompanied by mothers, sisters, wives, sweethearts through the muddy streets, saluted by the excited populace. O'Casey is at his best in describing such a crowded scene. He is essentially a photographic dramatist, and his eyes take in every detail. It is a pity that we cannot give the same high praise to the other acts of the play. The second act which is set in the trenches 'somewhere in France,' is a queer fantastic scene that recalls slightly the dream play in *Masses and Men* by Toller. The author has introduced a grotesque chanting in doggerel verse which haunts one's imagination. The characters, however, seem to float away from reality into a phantom world, and in the third and the fourth acts they seem unable to wing their way back to earth. The author shows his disillusioned fascination: the young football hero of the first act is wounded and paralysed; he is wheeled about in a bath-chair. The girl whom he loves goes off with someone else. The war has not given anything to these poor waifs; it has maimed and crippled them, leaving them nothing but bitter memories of a former world. None of the characters in this play strikes me as forcibly as Juno Boyle, Joxer, or Fluther Good; it is as if the author on leaving the scenes of his impressionable years had ceased to see intensely. We must admire O'Casey, however, for struggling towards new values. There are many striking touches in the play, especially in the first act, which show that he has not lost his master hand. I feel that he is on the threshold of a great discovery. He must classify his ideas and work them up into a synthesis The fault of *The Silver Tassie* is that it is too vague and indefinite. It will be interesting to see whether the public will reverse the decision of the Abbey Theatre directors, who consider it inferior to the author's other plays The whole correspondence relative to the play, which was published in the *Observer* and in the *Irish Statesman* for June 9, is an illuminating fragment of dramatic history. It is not often that an author possesses such a fund of Elizabethan expletive as Sean O'Casey · not only does he try to shoot his enemy with his pistol, but he throws it at him to finish him off At times in his plays he is Aristophanic in the mixture of phantasy and crude invective. Take the following example:

FIRST STRETCHER-BEARER —The red-tabb'd squit!

SECOND STRETCHER-BEARER —The lousey map-scanner!

THIRD STRETCHER-BEARER —We must keep up, we must keep up the morale of the Army

SECOND STRETCHER-BEARER (*loudly*) —Does 'e eat well?

THE REST (*in chorus*).—Yes, 'e eats well!

SECOND STRETCHER-BEARER.—Does 'e sleep well?

THE REST (*in chorus*).—Yes, 'e sleeps well!

SECOND STRETCHER-BEARER.—Does 'e whore well?

THE REST (*in chorus*).—Yes, 'e whores well!

SECOND STRETCHER-BEARER.—Does 'e fight well?

THE REST (*in chorus*).—Napoo, 'e 'as to do the thinking for the Tommies!

It is difficult to imagine such scenes when we read the play, but in a production they would no doubt flog up the excitement of the audience. The chanting in the scene of the trenches would be more striking on the stage where the author wishes to make it all seem like a fantastic echo of the grim vision of war. The crude realism of the words, however, does not suit the chant. O'Casey, like James Joyce, possesses an amazing gift for words—they seem to pour out in a torrential stream that nothing can stop: sometimes the flood rushes jerkily along as though stopped by boulders; at other times it races vertiginously. The special O'Casey rhetoric becomes a temptation to the dramatist, who should seek greater simplicity. The following passage is uttered by Sylvester Heegan, a docker sixty-five years of age: 'An' the hedges by the road-side standin' stiff in the silent cold of the air, like frost beads on the branches glistenin' like toss'd-down diamonds from the breasts of the stars.' Such purple patches are frequent in the later work of the author. Occasionally he makes very good use of rhetoric, as in the phrase 'I'll spend a little time longer in the belly of an hour bulgin' out with merriment.' When we read the play we have the impression that the author was trying to whip up his genius into excitement but without success. After the excellent first act, which suggests *Juno and the Paycock*, the second act comes as a contrast, and we feel that the author tried hard to rise to the magnitude of his subject. In the third act the characters become fainter and fainter and cease to interest us. Susie, the prayer-meeting Bible-quoting girl of the first act, has evolved into a frivolous V.A.D. who only thinks of pleasing officers, but we are not shown any gradual transformation. It is impossible to reconcile her new personality with the old. Poor Harry, wheeled about in a bath-chair, paralysed from the waist downwards, is a pathetic figure, but he has not half the personality of poor, pale little Mollser sitting outside the tenement in the third act of *The Plough and the Stars*. *The Silver Tassie* was a most interesting experiment, because it liberated O'Casey from the slum tenement play and it showed him new horizons in drama. He has not lost any of his power in writing or his vivid imagination. He is treading a new path, and I am sure that it will not be long before he discovers fresh treasure.

WALTER STARKIE.

CHAUCER'S PHYSICIAN AND HIS FORBEARS

UPON the April night when mediæval England put on immortality at the Tabard Inn, it is pleasant to recall, at any rate for a few of us, that there was a physician in the company. He was not perhaps the noblest of its members, nor was his tale one of the most original. But his general demeanour, as Chaucer has represented it, was at least consonant with the dignity of his profession; and he has been given the credit, in his own subject, for a tolerably wide amount of reading. Indeed, he was familiar, so his creator assures us, with no less than fifteen medical authorities, ranging from Æsculapius, Hippocrates, and Galen to the most recent of the Arabian professors; and Chaucer has been kind enough to include in the list two of his own fellow-countrymen.

These were Gilbertyn and Gatesden, as Chaucer describes them—Gilbert the Englishman and John of Gaddesden—and since they have come down to us linked for ever in the prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, it is not unfitting, perhaps, that they should head the procession of post-Conquest English medicine. Moreover, without stressing the point unduly, since the character of each must be chiefly deduced from his writings, it seems possible to discern in them, already in being, two very recognisable medical types—in Gilbert the scholar, serious and detached, in John the first of the fashionable physicians.

That is not to suggest, of course, that they were without predecessors in a still more primitive England. Long before the birth of Gilbert in the reign of Henry II., some sort of medicine had been practised in these islands; and it is not improbable even, as Sir Norman Moore has reminded us, that men who had consulted Galen as to their health had paused to greet one another, and possibly discuss their symptoms, upon the Roman causeway in Cheapside. But that had been long since in the greater days both of Rome and medicine. Even before the legions had been recalled from Britain, there had already begun to ebb from the Roman Empire all real knowledge of the great Pergamite's work and the lofty traditions that lay behind it. The dissections and experiments by which he had already established, during the

second century after Christ, the origin of the nerves, for instance, and their functions, and the nature and purposes of the various muscles—these had never been repeated; and what little of his knowledge had returned to England with Augustine and his followers had been almost submerged by the decadent mysticism of the later Greek theorists.

Nevertheless it is clear that, thanks to these missionary clergy and the schools founded by them in connexion with their churches, certain elements of the old Greek teaching had been introduced into Anglo-Saxon practice, and equally clear that the Anglo-Saxons themselves possessed a by no means negligible native art. Much of this was fantastic, of course, a system of charms connected with ancient tribal beliefs. But it also included a popular herbal lore evidently based upon practical experience By the end of the ninth century, therefore, it may be said that English medicine had become a blend of four separate streams—legendary versions of Hippocrates and Galen, derived at second hand from their Græco-Latin successors; a considerable infusion, from the same source, of Mediterranean and Oriental magic, discreetly tinctured with Christianity but unchanged in essence; a native contribution of the same kind, similarly Christianised and to the same extent; and a perhaps more trustworthy botanical lore, both indigenous and imported

As for its practitioners, since medicine was a proper study for most of the higher and particularly the monastic clergy, these may be regarded, whether Saxon-born or Continental, as having been its chief exponents But there may also be divined from the works of Bede an inferior order of '*medici*' or leeches, who acted under their instructions and seem to have been entrusted with most of the surgical operations. There were almost certainly, too, in every scattered community, local herbalists and hereditary cure-mongers; and there is no reason to suppose that they were markedly less efficient than their corresponding fellows upon the Continent. Indeed, at the time of the Conquest there was probably little to choose between the general level of Anglo-Saxon doctors and those to be found practising the same art in the better educated countries of Europe. And there had appeared in none of these, where the Latin tongue was the only educational literary medium, anything in the vernacular which was at all comparable with the Anglo-Saxon *Leech Book* of the physician Bald.

Whether Gilbert ever read this cannot be stated. But it must have been part of his mental heritage. And since it is the earliest medical treatise composed in these islands, or at any rate the earliest that has survived destruction, it is interesting to pause for a moment and turn its pages, if only for what they reveal of

its creators. For though Bald is described as having been its sponsor—it was written soon after the death of Alfred the Great—it was actually transcribed by one Cild, perhaps a secretary, at Bald's behest. Whether the latter, like Bald, was himself a leech—they were both probably monks—must be left a matter of doubt. But that he was not altogether the meek scribe the following passage seems to show. Thus 'against bite of snake,' runs a part of the manuscript, 'if the man procures and eats rind which cometh out of Paradise, no venom will damage him. Then said he that wrote this book that the rind was hard to be gotten'; and as Cild permitted himself the small liberty, we may surely imagine its accompaniment—the momentary deepening of a crease or two on that solid and impassive Saxon countenance.

There is a familiar ring, too, about some lines of Bald occurring at the end of the second volume, in which after telling us that he is the owner of the book, which he had ordered Cild to write, he goes on to add: 'Earnestly I pray here of all men, in the name of Christ, that no treacherous person take this book from me, neither by force, nor by theft, nor by any false statement. Why? because the richest treasure is not so dear to me as my dear books, which the grace of Christ attends'—a legend that must since have been inscribed, a trifle less politely perhaps, and in a more schoolboy hand, by at least as many fifth-form descendants of Bald as there have been schools in England

But, apart from all this, the book itself is a fascinating mirror of Anglo-Saxon medicine. First translated, in the middle of the last century, by the Rev. Oswald Cockayne, it consists of two volumes, and in its earlier chapters follows the current Greek fashion. Diseases are dealt with geographically—that is to say, as they affect each portion of the human frame, maladies of the head, for example, including 'half-head's ache,' sore throat, hare-lip, sundry affections of the eye and ear, and even the spitting of blood—presumably because this appears at the mouth. There then follow leechdoms against a variety of tumours, remedies for snake-bite, of which we have seen an example, advice upon certain internal and abdominal complaints, and a number of more or less complicated prescriptions Thus the components of a 'quieting drink' include betony, helenium, wormwood, ontre, horehound, lupin, wen-wort, yarrow, dwarf dwostle, and field-more, or wild carrot In most cases these herbs were administered as 'simples'—watery infusions, or infusions of the herb in vinegar, ale, or milk But they were also given as confections made up with honey, or applied as ointments mixed with butter.

As regards the charms in popular use, and of which the *Leech*

Book contains many examples, these were of various types, and included the wearing of amulets, the saying of prayers in connexion with certain herbs, the uttering of formulæ now quite unintelligible, and probably even then so to the utterers, the relating of stories, Biblical and otherwise, appropriate to the particular occasion, and the performance of ceremonies so obviously pagan that they have only been dragged into Church, as it were, at the last moment. Thus 'if wens pain a man in the heart,' it says, 'let a maiden go to a spring, which runs due east, and ladle up a cupful, moving the cup with the stream, and sing over it the Creed and Pater Noster, and then pour it into another vessel and ladle up some more, so as to have these cups full. Do so for nine days; soon it will be well with the man'; and there are no directions as to the patient drinking the water. Or again 'for flying venom and every venomous swelling. On a Friday churn butter which has been milked from a neat or hind all of one colour; and let it not be mingled with water. Sing over it nine times a litany and nine times the Pater Noster and nine times this incantation,' whereupon follow some lines of apparently corrupt and incomprehensible Latin.

As in other countries, too, there was a firm belief in unlucky or Egyptian days; and there is an odd reflection of this in a Latin tract, the only medical work quoted by Bede. It was concerned with blood-letting; and while this may be performed, it says, in acute cases at any moment, the moon and seasons should, as a rule, be very carefully considered. Equally curious, and perhaps older in origin, were the favourite charms by narrative. There was the story commonly told, for instance, to sufferers from toothache of how Christ, observing Peter in similar distress, uttered a long adjuration to neuralgia that it should cease from troubling the servants of God. For a stitch in the side there was recalled the tale of Longinus, the fabled centurion whose spear pierced our Saviour; and the crying of 'Lazarus, come forth,' over a woman in child-birth continued to be practised late in the Middle Ages.

But in many other respects the medicine of the time was not wholly lacking in a certain insular common-sense. The *Leech Book* suggests, for example, very reasonably, that broken limbs should be wrapped in softened elm bark; while its advice upon pleurisy that this should be treated with an initial purge and the applying of poultices is considerably sounder than that of a Dr. Clark—an Edinburgh notability of the eighteenth century—whose panacea for the same condition was a ball of dried horse dung to be drunk in water.

Whatever its merits, however, it has to be admitted that no great figure had emerged from Anglo-Saxon medicine; and it

remained for Gilbert, born, as far as can be judged, 100 years after the Battle of Hastings, to become the first Englishman, medically speaking, who achieved a European reputation. By that time there had already been begun, though by no means finished, the gradual fusion of Norman and Saxon, though the average Island doctor, at any rate in the country, was probably much the same as he had been for centuries. He was still some local monk, or parish priest, uneasy in his French and rusty in his Latin, living with his people under the wing of the manor, and himself not far removed from the villein order For the manor inhabitants, if these had remained Saxon, he was probably, in illness, the first line of defence, some neighbouring abbot, or divine from the nearest town, being called in, if necessary, as a consultant. But he was not the sort of person that the new Norman aristocrats, even if they had understood his language, would have been likely to trust. And most of the leading physicians, attached to the Court and castles, were foreigners who had been trained on the Continent. There were possibly men of this type, too, in the principal towns, where, thanks to the policy of Henry I, the beginnings had appeared, recruited from the various grammar schools, of an educated middle-class laity. Such were the sheriffs and their assistants, the administrators and clerks of the Exchequer, and the lawyers connected with the Royal Courts of Justice, many of them originally of humble birth. And though there is no direct evidence that Gilbert sprang from this class, it is clear that he must have had a good general education

Where this took place is again beyond verification, but wherever he was born and brought up, there would have been no great difficulty for his parents in discovering an appropriate school. There would have been three in London, for instance, attached to St Paul's, to St. Mary-le-Bow, and St Martin-le-Grand ; and at all three of them he would have been taught in French the rudiments of Latin, rhetoric and logic. At such ancient schools, too, as those of Canterbury, Winchester, York and Sherborne, and at a score of similar country foundations, boys were being educated to the university age. And although, strictly speaking, there was as yet no university, there was already the nucleus of one at Oxford, to which, during Gilbert's childhood, there was a great access of students, recalled by Henry II. from the schools of Paris.

On the other hand, there were no such centres of medical teaching as had already been established on the Continent. And apart from the leper-houses, an odd hospital or so, like that of St. Bartholomew's in London, and the efforts of the religious orders, particularly the Augustinians—who bore ' for Christ's sake,' according to a contemporary writer, ' the filth and impurities of the patients and the annoyance of almost unbearable

smells '—there was no organised treatment of the sick. It was almost inevitable, therefore, that the young Gilbert should have looked abroad for his final training; and our first real knowledge of him is as a student at the leading European medical school.

This was at Salerno, and according to one tradition it had been founded by Charlemagne in 802, and according to another by refugees from Alexandria fleeing from the Saracens 150 years earlier. In any case its position, just south of the Bay of Naples, had been peculiarly favourable to its development, owing to the survival in the neighbourhood of a certain knowledge of the old Greek language; to the Benedictine library of ancient medical manuscripts at Monte Cassino, some eighty miles distant; and to the fact that, as a harbour town, it was upon one of the principal trade routes and the highway followed by the crusades. It had thus not only accumulated, by the time of Gilbert, a considerable amount of clinical material, but, thanks to the reports of returning travellers, a great international prestige; and it had also become, or was in the process of becoming, the first Christian receptacle in Europe of the new medical knowledge that had been travelling westward with the soldiers of Mahomet.

This consisted in part of a clearer restatement of the older and more scientific Greek medicine—not at first hand, since the earliest documents were only studied again at the Renaissance, but in the purer tradition that had survived in the East and been welcomed and preserved by such men as Haroun al Raschid. But much of it was really new in the sense that, with that astonishing Mahommedan invasion—an invasion that was to build for a moment an empire reaching from the Indus to the Atlantic—various diseases, such as small-pox and measles, hitherto unrecognised in Europe, had been differentiated and accurately described. Moreover, the Arabians, though their love of astrology had led them to emphasise this in their medical systems, were as free as the first Greeks from the supernatural elements that had since crept into European practice.

With the translation of their works, therefore, into Latin, and their acceptance and study at Salerno, European medicine had begun to experience a new and revivifying impulse; and, even before this, the great Mediterranean school had become responsible for some sound teaching. Its *Regimen Sanitatis*, for instance, written in Latin verse, supposedly for Robert, son of William the Conqueror, contained such wisdom as the following, taken from an English translation of 1607:

> Great Suppers do the stomacke much offend,
> Sup light if quyet you to sleepe intend,

or again,

Good dyet is a perfect way of curing
And worthy much regard of health assuring.
A King that cannot rule him in his dyet
Will hardly rule his Realme in peace and quyet.

It was accordingly to Salerno that Gilbert went, where it seems pretty clear, from his own writings, that he was a fellow-pupil with the famous Gilles de Corbeil, afterwards physician to King Philip of France. He seems to have been there, too—possibly on the quay—when the little one-masted, clinker-built vessels staggered into port with Richard and his crusaders in the autumn of 1190. There is at any rate a tradition that he became medical attendant to Richard's right-hand man, Hubert Walter; and since we know that he travelled in the East, with a physician's eye—he tells us of a Christian canonicus suffering from rheumatism whom he happened upon at Tripoli, in Syria—he may well have accompanied Walter through the following campaign. He may even have returned to England with him, though there is no evidence of this; and at some time afterwards he is said to have been Chancellor of Montpellier, where another medical school was rising into a fame second only to that of Salerno. In any case, much of his life seems to have been spent in France, and, according to Littré, there existed, in the fourteenth century, a street near the Paris schools known as the Rue Gilbert l'Anglois.

But it was chiefly to his *Compendium* or, as it was sometimes called, his *Laurea Medicinæ* that Gilbert owed his fame—a book that still survives, in manuscript form, in several English libraries, and was printed (700 pages of it, in double columns of impacted Latin) at Lyons in 1510 and again at Geneva in 1608 as the *Laurea Anglicana*. It was divided into seven parts, devoted respectively to fevers; diseases of the head and nerves; diseases of the eye and face, including the ears; respiratory complaints and affections of the external members; diseases of the intestines; diseases of the liver, spleen and kidneys; and diseases of the generative system, with chapters upon cancer, gout, skin complaints and poisons. In fact, like the treatise of Bald, or a general text-book of to-day, its object was to cover the whole field of medicine, although it also contains a certain amount of original observation and research.

Gilbert seems to have been the first authority, for instance, to call attention to the contagious nature of small-pox and its possible conveyance by what he describes as 'the fumes' of the sufferer. With regard to cancer, too, he makes the statement that it will yield to no medicine but surgery. And he has some shrewd things to say concerning diet, and notably for those travelling at sea. These he urges to purify their drinking water, if

necessary by distilling it through the alembic, and he further advises them—700 years in advance of our modern knowledge of vitamins—to be sure that they take on board with them plenty of dried grapes, apples and pears. He also quotes largely, often, it is feared, without acknowledgment, from the newly-translated Arabian and Persian writers—men such as Rhazes, Avicenna, and the contemporary Averroes of Cordova; and he seems to have appreciated the great Hippocratic aphorism that the true doctor is but Nature's minister.

At the same time, it is clear that he continued to share the still unrouted belief in magic; and he includes in his treatise an impressive list of the legendary 'antidotes,' or compound medicines. There is the Potio Sancti Pauli, for example, based upon a formula said to have been composed by the great apostle; the plaster of St. Peter and St. Paul; and the famous Esdra Magna, containing 100 ingredients, attributed to the prophet Ezra while in exile at Babylon. He can find room, too, for such a prescription as that based upon the advice of one Cophon 'to feed a chicken with white Hellebore, and after eight days to kill it and make broth of it, which he tells us is a very good gentle purge.'

When all has been said, however, and making allowances for his time, he seems to have been a man of colossal reading, not altogether lacking in an independent judgment, and obviously a force that his own world reckoned with. Thus, he is quoted by name in the *Treasury of Poor Men*, a book of popular medicine, written about 1270, and again in a volume of surgery, written about the same time by Theodoric, Bishop of Cervia. And he was evidently an honoured memory in his native land at the birth of the sprightlier John of Gaddesden.

This was in 1280, fifty years after Gilbert's death; and in the Hertfordshire village from which he takes his name there is still to be found, at the gates of Ashridge Park, a pleasant old house alleged to have been his From internal evidence this hardly seems likely, though he was obviously associated with the district, and may possibly have been related to a John and Margaret de Gatesden, the holders of a small neighbouring manor. But nothing is really known about his parents except that his father, as he has confided to us, was fond of fruit and milk, and, oddly or otherwise, of a somewhat choleric temperament. He also developed, later in life, a salivary calculus which his son removed, and may therefore be presumed to have been comparatively young when John appeared in the world.

As for Little Gaddesden, then in the deep country and a full day's journey or more from London, the principal landowners at the time of his birth were Geoffrey de Lucy and the Earl of

Cornwall. When John was five years old, however, the latter bestowed his estate upon a religious foundation—the College of Bonhommes at Ashridge—with fullest rights as lords of the manor, return of writs, view of frank-pledge, assize of bread and ale, gallows, tumbril and pillory, and freedom from all suits at the hundred court. And it was possibly to this great house, half a mile away in the woods, that John was sent for his first lessons. Otherwise the nearest schools would probably have been those at St. Albans, where a new one had just been established, its founder having stipulated that the sixteen poorest scholars should not be asked to pay fees.

But it was not until he was at Merton, founded some thirty years earlier, that John emerges, as it were, into authenticity; and it is interesting to note that, since the days of Gilbert, Oxford had definitely produced a medical school. It was still, on the practical side, inferior to that of Salerno, where it was at least customary to dissect a pig, and where the student was obliged, at the end of his course, to work under a doctor in general practice But academically, judged by the time consumed, its curriculum seems to have been fairly exigent, a Master of Arts requiring four years before he was able to qualify in medicine During the last two of these he was expected to conduct arguments with doctors appointed by the university, and included amongst his text-books were the *Regimentum Acutorum* of Hippocrates, the *Liber Febrium* of Isaac—a centenarian Hebrew, who had flourished in Egypt during the ninth and tenth centuries—and the *Antidotarium* of Nicolaus Præpositus, the standard pharmacopœia of the time. Apparently it was quite possible, however, to leave Oxford as a fully-fledged doctor of medicine without ever having seen a patient, performed a dissection, or done an atom of practical work.

But it was upon London that John had set his eyes. And, from what he has permitted us to deduce, so small an obstacle as a lack of practical experience was not very likely to have deterred him. For though such a countryside as he had been brought up in, where even the de Gatesdens, no doubt, still ate with their fingers, might not have altered much since the days of Gilbert, in London it was far otherwise. With its 30,000 people and its great markets, with its merchants living softly, some of them in glass-windowed houses, with its Florentine bankers and German commercial travellers, and its wealthy and powerful city officers, there had already grown up in it a population eminently adapted to his purpose. Even in such outside villages as Strand and Holborn men of means were beginning to build houses, while two-masted vessels of as much as 300 tons, owned by Englishmen and carrying English goods, were laying the foundations of a new and still more prosperous industry.

There was no longer any need, therefore, to go abroad, as a *fellow Hertfordshire man* had done before him—an inexplicable *person, one John of St. Giles, who had built up the richest practice in Paris, and then given it all away, on the spur of the moment,* to become the first English Dominican. *Not that John had any objection to holy orders* He was destined himself to hold a stall in St. Paul's—the eighth, to be precise, on the left side of the choir, with the corps of the prebend at Tillingham in Essex, and the psalms proper for daily recitation the 17th to the 21st. But meanwhile there was one's living to be considered; and for anything he may have lacked in his Oxford training, he was very soon to make ample amends in his rapidly-growing London practice.

Indeed, according to Dr. John Freind—writing with the slight condescension of an eighteenth-century physician to surgery—he not only dabbled in this inferior craft, but was willing, if he were paid for it, to draw his patients' teeth, cut their corns, and even kill their lice. Throughout his career, in fact, he seems to have been singularly free from anything that could be described as false modesty. And when, in his middle thirties, he composed his *Rosa Medicinæ*—in five parts, as a rose has five sepals—he assured his readers that, even as a rose excels every other flower, so it excelled all previous works on medicine.

Like Gilbert's *Compendium* and Bernard de Gordon's *Lilium*—a more recent book by a famous French scholar—it was chiefly a repetition of other people's sayings, but it quickly attained a great success There was an Irish translation of it in 1450. It was printed at Pavia in 1492, at Venice in 1517, and at Augsburg in 1595. And it may safely be assumed to have played its part in his own increasing prosperity. It seems at any rate clear that he was employed as a physician by Edward II. and possibly Edward III ; and he is said by Freind and various later historians to have been the first Englishman to receive such a post. In view of the fact, however, that an earlier Oxonian, Nicholas de Ferneham, afterwards Bishop of Durham, had been domestic physician to Henry III., this would appear rather doubtful. And there is an English-sounding ring about Master Nicholas Tynchewyke, who had held the living of Reculver, and to whom Edward I. in 1306 had declared that under God he owed his life. But, however this may be, John was certainly called in when one of the royal family fell ill with the small-pox, and was fortunate enough to effect, so he tells us, a very remarkable cure.

Whether this was an anticipation of a future light-therapy is hardly a matter, perhaps, for present discussion. But he wrapped the patient in a scarlet cloth, and confined him in a bedroom hung with scarlet curtains, with the happy result that he

emerged unimpaired, '*sine vestigio variolarum*.' Another recommendation of his, the wearing for colic of a seal-skin girdle with a whalebone buckle, has been said to have introduced the familiar 'cholera-belt' of a still undeparted day. And supporters might even be found, it is feared, for the theory that, in certain other respects, he was not unprophetic.

Thus 'he was very artful,' says Freind—and it is a well-documented statement—'in laying baits for the Delicate, for the Ladies, for the Rich; for the former he has such a tenderness that he condescends to instruct them even in Perfumes and washes; especially some to dye their hair; and such a respect for the latter that he is always studying to invent some of the most select and dearest medicine for them; and if there is a very good thing indeed, he orders twice the quantity for them as he does for the poor.' John is always quite frank, indeed, about his pecuniary gains, making a lot of money, he tells us, by dealing in strong waters. And it cannot be said that he was niggardly of financial advice to his less successful fellow-practitioners. Thus, having cured twenty patients of dropsy by the use of spikenard, he proceeds to add that this is a medicine not to be given without payment in advance. And his book contains a section devoted to 'disagreeable diseases which the doctor can seldom make money by.'

As a Court physician, too, he was fortunate in finding himself able to lend the full weight of his medical authority to the ancient belief in the efficacy of the royal touch in certain tubercular diseases of the skin and glands. This was of course a very strong and, for many centuries afterwards, an almost universal article of faith, the king's power deriving, it was held, from the unction of his hands during the process of coronation. And it was John's invariable habit when his patients failed to react to his own sovereign remedies for these complaints—the blood of a weasel or the droppings of a dove—to advise an appeal to the reigning monarch. Another of John's customs, based on the assumption that a cuckoo has epilepsy once a month, was to add this bird to the mistletoe and boiled boar's bladder with which he treated his epileptic patients. And since he was also an authority on cooking in general, he may well have presided over the kitchen preliminaries.

For Dr. Freind, indeed, it is clear that he was altogether far too versatile, and it has to be remembered that in addition he was an oculist, poet and grammarian. But at least his life must have been a full one and not, it may be inferred, without its satisfactions. And if it be true that he suggested to Chaucer the slyer touches in the portrait of his physician—whose 'studie was litel,' it will be remembered, 'on the bible,' and who 'kepte that

he wan in pestilence, For gold in phisik is a cordial, Therefore he lovede gold in special '—it would hardly seem fair to deny him the honour of having inspired the others; a 'practisour' less than 'parfit,' but whose taffeta-lined cloak need not be eyed, perhaps, too censoriously.

H. H. BASHFORD.

PURITAN BUNYAN AND CATHOLIC DANTE

A FEW years ago New England celebrated the coming of the Pilgrims to Plymouth, and in the same year there was also commemorated the 600th anniversary of the death of Dante, whose religious beliefs and teachings are generally regarded as at the opposite pole from those of the Puritan fathers.

And now, in this year of 1928, another band of '*Mayflower* Pilgrims' has come to visit Plymouth Rock, there to rededicate themselves to the principles of liberty which animated the first Pilgrims, and which are still needed to maintain peace and goodwill throughout the civilised world And in this same year the English-speaking world is preparing to celebrate the tercentenary of John Bunyan, that stern Puritan whose teachings and ideals were of such enduring value that to-day they must be compared with those of the greatest prophets and teachers of all time.

The chief works of Dante and Bunyan have often been compared in a general way from the point of view of a Christian's pilgrimage through life, but their differences have always seemed so great that no thorough-going comparison of *The Divine Comedy* and *Pilgrim's Progress* has been made. But because the most vital and inspiring forces at work in the world to-day are precisely those that animated both Dante and Bunyan, leading each to a great spiritual vision of the essential oneness of Christians as children of the one true God, it is worth while to inquire closely into the embodiment of these forces in literary works so divergent as *The Divine Comedy* and *Pilgrim's Progress*. Religious experience, however different the form of its expression, was not one thing to Dante and another to Bunyan, and something else, perhaps, to members of the Church of England. The larger part of any comparison of the Catholic poet and the Puritan preacher must be taken up with a synthetic and sympathetic interpretation of those great realities of life and experience which are the common meeting-ground of all who call themselves Christians. If we can be convinced that these were apprehended in their essential truth, far above doctrinal or sectarian controversy, by a Puritan and a Catholic alike, then we shall gain added reason for a belief in the unity of Christendom on the

basis of a common faith and hope which must bring with it its own inspiring message of peace and goodwill.

But there is another part of the comparison between the two writers which must be briefly considered before any resemblances as regards Christian experience are pointed out. We must gain a basis of reality, of knowledge of life itself, of power to picture flesh-and-blood people like ourselves, in an allegory like *Pilgrim's Progress*, before comparing it to so realistic a poem as *The Divine Comedy;* otherwise our study of Bunyan as a consummate artist will be without value and unconvincing. The first step, then, is to inquire whether *Pilgrim's Progress* may justly be held up before the greatest poem ever written as a picture of life in any age.

Most extraordinary, as coming from a man like Bunyan, are the methods he seems instinctively to have adopted, without study or conscious art, for producing a sense of reality. Bunyan has been called 'the Shakespeare of Theology,' but we forget all about his theology in reading his stories of Apollyon, Vanity Fair, Doubting-Castle, or of Giant Despair and his wife Diffidence. His dramatic power, his catholicity of feeling, his far-reaching, comprehensive grasp of the innate goodness of human nature, and his keen penetrating insight into the human heart, are indeed comparable to Shakespeare's, but in the domain of literary art, not in the field of theology. In striking contrast to Dante, whose immense fund of knowledge was as deep as it was broad and inclusive, stands the poor tinker of Elstow, a man of little education, having access to but few books, and those chiefly religious, with but scant opportunity for knowing the world about him and observing different types of people, spending much time in prison. We are constantly surprised at running across some of our own friends and acquaintances typified in Bunyan's characters for all time. Hampered far more than was Dante by the limitations of a rapidly advancing journey as the subject of his tale, having no such elaborate framework as that of *The Divine Comedy*, Bunyan rightly perceived that his surest means of touching the hearts of men through pictures of human life lay in selecting the most salient features of a situation or the most striking characteristics of a person, and bringing these into contact by a few telling strokes. In the light of critical circumstances, against which an individual must necessarily react, are often revealed, as by a flash, not only his state of mind at the moment and his real character, but also his past history and his probable future, so far as essential development is concerned; so that we seem to see his life whole. When, for example, Pliable reaches the Slough of Despond and tumbles in, he at once gets angry with Christian for having brought him here. As with difficulty he climbs out, it is, of course, on the side nearest his own home, and we are not in the least

surprised to see him scampering off as fast as possible. Nor are we surprised, later on, to hear from Faithful that when Pliable reached home all bespattered with mud he refused to confess what had happened to him, and that, as a consequence, his neighbours jeered at him and refused him work, despising him as a turncoat. Or, to take another illustration, in that tell-tale blush of Talkative's, when he is asked whether his religion standeth 'only in word and tongue, and not in deed and truth,' followed by his quick, give-away recovery upon finding himself caught in argument, and his angry farewell, we see his life spread out whole. Ignorance, too, fumbling in his bosom for his certificate of admission to the Celestial City, just as if he really expected to find it, then hurled straight down to hell because it is not there; By-ends, making straight for Demas; Christian and Faithful receiving meekly and patiently all the shame and torment heaped upon them at Vanity Fair—these are only a few instances of that realistic, vivid, instantaneously suggestive character-drawing in which Bunyan was so proficient. His method was that of Shakespeare, it was also that of Dante.

In their example of Christian fortitude and faith, turning many others to Christ even at Vanity Fair, we have on a larger scale than is often possible in *Pilgrim's Progress* an illustration of still another method used by Bunyan as often as he could for the sake of realism. By seeing people in groups we get little glimpses of the reaction of character on character, so that each stands out clearly by himself, an individual as well as a type, contrasted by little differences in trait or temperament. Besides this large picture at Vanity Fair you see the same sort of thing in the differences revealed in Christian and Faithful as they converse with Talkative. And the differences between Christian and Faithful as distinct individuals are clearly set forth in the familiar account of how the latter met Apollyon, hobgoblins and demons, seeing only cloud and smoke, where the former found only sunshine and peace. The criticism is sometimes made that there are in *Pilgrim's Progress* some characters who are mere personifications of abstract qualities, but such criticism overlooks one important fact. Instead of adopting the novelist's more deliberate method of comment or description for similar purposes, Bunyan, like Dante, wishing neither to retard the movement nor to bring a subordinate character into undue prominence, adopted the dramatic method. Worldly Wiseman, for example, is an essential part of the action itself, corresponding not merely to the Wolf of *The Divine Comedy*, but to Plutus; and he plays something of the same kind of subordinate but active *rôle* as do Minos, the Minotaur, or the Centaurs, introduced as very real personages for the specific purpose of transferring the action from one scene to another. As a matter

of fact, Worldly Wiseman, like all the other people he met, was an extremely real person, at least to Christian—and if not to us, why so much the luckier we—whom he made to see terrifying flashes of fire out of the hill whither he was induced to turn to seek Legality, and to feel his burden heavier, not lighter, than before. Was it but an abstraction that brought forth all those curses from Christian ? Or do we think of him as a mere personification of abstract qualities when Evangelist describes Worldly Wiseman as so called 'partly because he savoureth only of the doctrine of this world (therefore he always goes to the town of Morality to church); and partly because he loveth that doctrine best, for it saveth him best from the cross' ? No, we know him too well ourselves for this, and we easily recognise him again in the garb of Demas, the traitor of *Pilgrim's Progress*, whose type Dante placed in lowest hell. In such methods, then, of realistic character-drawing and character-reaction, Bunyan may be compared both with Shakespeare and with Dante, each being guided by instincts essentially dramatic.

As we turn now to the consideration of the spiritual experiences of Bunyan and Dante, let us not lose sight of the intense reality of the spiritual world to each of them, as real as the world in which they actually lived. This fact is, of course, the secret of success with such a theme as they each embodied in a work of art, and it must be kept constantly in mind. Broadly speaking, man's daily struggle out of the darkness of sin up over the Hill of Difficulty into the light and sunshine of peace with God is the subject of the Puritan pilgrim's progress 'from the City of Destruction to the City of Zion'; it is also the subject of the Roman Catholic pilgrim's progress from 'the realm of woe':

> Into the Heaven, that is unbodied light,
> Light intellectual, replete with love,
> Love of true happiness, replete with joy,
> Joy, that transcends all sweetness of delight.

Let us look first at the picture of Dante at the various stages of his journey from the time he is lost in the gloomy wood of error until he can again behold the stars and discern afar 'the quivering of the sea.' Then let us look at the picture of Christian from the time he walks solitary and distressed in the fields, not knowing where to flee from the wrath to come, until he reaches the place of the Cross. The vices of Florence, the disintegration of Italy, the corruption and Phariseeism of the Church, the death of Beatrice, and unhappy family life have all combined to bring Dante deeper and deeper into a dark and savage wood of mental, moral, and spiritual unrest. Assailed by doubts, threatened with despair, he seeks relief first in one way, then in another, only to be driven further

back into the forest of perplexity and error. Withdrawal from the world, even a Franciscan garb, is powerless to overcome in him the allurement of sensuality; not by the cords of asceticism can the panther be caught that blocks his way out of the wood. He tries to climb the Hill of Philosophy, and, for the moment, sunshine floods his path. In the triumphs of a mighty intellect there is, for a time at least, a certain satisfaction, some degree of happiness. But ere long the lion of pride rushes across his path; though fame is near at hand, the lion cannot be passed, unfathomable depths of mystery open on every side, and only retreat is possible. No more do the good things of this world prove capable of satisfying Dante; the highest good, the truest happiness seems ever further off. Hence, when the she-wolf of avarice attacks him, he rushes deeper still into the dark and loathsome forest. Spiritually, he is just beginning to realise his need of outside help from some power greater than anything he has ever known. But he is lost and does not know which way to turn in order to find it. And so Virgil, representing human reason, cognisant of the potency of Christianity which he has just missed for himself, is sent to point out the only right path to Dante. But hardly has his first step in the right direction been taken when Dante falters. Learning from Virgil that his only road to salvation lies through greater knowledge of sin, through peril and suffering and constant struggle, he is afraid to go on, lest he be found wanting in strength and courage for such a journey. Even the assurance that Beatrice has sent Virgil to his aid does not suffice when Dante reads the inscription over the gate of hell, but Virgil lays a friendly hand on him and gives him one smile of encouragement and hope, and Dante plucks up heart to pass through the gate. He has learned the most elemental lesson of Christian experience: man, conscious of failure without divine help, needs the assurance of human sympathy and help to make him realise that this is a God-sent means of enabling him to take of his own free will the first hard step on the right road to salvation, trusting in the continued help both of God and man whenever he needs and seeks it hereafter. Then on and on, deeper and deeper down into hell, Dante goes, led by Virgil, in perils often, through sorrow and pity, fear and despair, until at length, having come to a knowledge of what sin and punishment mean, and to a determination to cast Satan behind him, he and Virgil find a hidden way out of the centre of the universe to return to the fair world and see the beautiful lights of Heaven. Then into the presence of Cato, whose face 'seems illuminated with the light of the sun of divine grace,' then over the desert to a place 'where the dew strives with the sun,' Dante follows Virgil, who washes his tear-stained face with dew and girds him with the smooth rush of humility. And then,

in light increasing both in splendour and size, there opens to his dazzled view the form of wings; the oars of the heavenly steersman come to bear Dante to the foot of the Mount of Purgatory in a bark wherein sit many souls singing the Easter hymn of deliverance from Egypt. The Angel blesses them with the sign of the Cross, and after tarrying to talk with Dante and Virgil, they are hurried off by Cato. And now, in some mysterious way, Dante seems to have become one of them; by the grace of God, he has seen the Cross, and he is ready for the ascent up the Mount of Purgatory.

Now turn to the picture of Bunyan's pilgrim, called Christian. Weighed down by a heavy burden of sin which testifies to his ever-increasing inability to rid himself of it, Christian is the very picture of despair as he walks in the fields, fearing judgment from Heaven, looking this way and that, wishing to run yet standing still from fear and ignorance of the right road to peace and happiness. His rags bear witness to the miserable failure of all his efforts, and at length, in desperation, he cries out, 'What shall I do to be saved?' Evangelist then appears to point out to him, as Virgil to Dante, who was also lost in the same mazes of sin and error, the mighty power of Christianity, and his need of divine help. And as Dante has to be rescued from the perils of self-will, pride and avarice, before he can even reach the first gate on the road to salvation, so does Christian. Proudly conscious of his own sufficiency, heedlessly careless of the way, he falls into the Slough of Despond, and then, once on his feet again, he is easily enticed onto the alluring path of readily acquired riches pointed out to him by Worldly Wiseman, and Evangelist has to save him from great danger. But when he learns from Evangelist that the right road lies through many such perils, and still greater ones, Christian, like Dante under similar instruction from Virgil, is afraid to go any farther. But Evangelist kisses him, gives him one smile, and bids him Godspeed, and he plucks up courage, even as Dante did when cheered by the smile of Virgil. He, too, has learned the first lesson of Christian experience, for now he recognises his need of help from a Power outside himself, greater than any he has ever known, or called upon so sincerely before. He is now ready to take of his own accord, like Dante, the first real step on the road he would fain travel. Assured of divine help through human sympathy and aid, he hurries as fast as possible to the wicket-gate. Once inside, he is to begin, as did Dante after passing through the gate of hell, the first part of his journey, taking the direct road to salvation through greater knowledge of sin and its consequences.

Dante saw sinner after sinner punished by the very crimes he had committed, and began to understand that the sin is its own punishment. His fear of danger for himself grew, and his pity for

the sinner changed to horror and disdain the deeper into hell he descended. Christian, also, sees others punished in like manner as they have sinned. In the House of the Interpreter he learns not only what sin is, and what its inevitable results, but he perceives his own danger, and his fear increases. He is shown one called Passion, seized with incessant restlessness and discontent, greedily grasping all that is put in his way, then left in rags, like himself, because he spends it as quickly as he has gained it, just as with Dante the avaricious and spendthrift are punished, doomed to hurl themselves at each other to all eternity, restless and discontented for ever. His fear grows as he talks with the man called Despair, shut up in an iron cage, pitifully crying out, 'O eternity! eternity! how shall I grapple with the misery that I must meet with in eternity?' Christian asks Despair how he came into such condition, and whether there is no hope for him The man tells a terrible story of his past, much as Dante's sinners do, and then says, 'For the lusts, pleasures and profits of this world' he is now denied repentance; in the enjoyment of them he once took delight, but now, he says, 'every one of those things also bite me, and gnaw me like a burning worm' Are we not reminded of the carnal sinners of the Inferno, where the whirlwind which 'never rests draws the spirits with its clutch, vexes them with whirling and beating,' where no hope ever comforts them, whether of rest or a lesser penalty? Here, in sight of Despair, Christian learns something else: it is not sufficient merely to see others punished or to feel a sense of fear of impending danger, but he must be impressed with a consciousness of personal guilt, as he sees sin reaping its own reward. Warned by the Interpreter to let the misery of Despair be an everlasting caution to him, Christian says, 'This is fearful; God help me to watch and be sober, and to pray that I may shun the cause of this man's misery.' He remembers his own narrow escape from Worldly Wiseman, and his own haste to follow advice as to how to get rich quickly is also brought to mind in seeing Passion unhappy and in rags, while Patience waits quietly for the best. Christian's quick perception of the meaning of these sights, his obvious horror, and his prayer for help, are sufficient evidence of the burnings of his own conscience.

But even more forceful means are adopted to teach him this most important lesson. He talks with one who has dreamed of the day of judgment, when the good are gathered together, but he is left behind, and the pit of hell opens just where he stands, and 'the man in the cloud' never takes his eye off him. Then says the Interpreter to Christian, 'Hast thou considered all these things?' And Christian replies, 'Yes, and they put me in hope and fear.' This vivid fear of hell, as a very real possibility for himself, first felt in a general way before he

set out on pilgrimage, then more intensely in the telling of this dream—in reality, his own—continues to terrify Christian for a long way on his journey. It assails him in the Valley of the Shadow of Death, in the midst of which he sees the mouth of hell. Flame and smoke and hideous noises terrify him more and more for miles, he seems to see fiends drawing ever closer to him, and he is sure they will tear him in pieces. When they get almost up to him, he knows that the weapon wherewith he slew Apollyon will not avail him, and, to his despair, neither has that other weapon called All-Prayer as yet helped him, because he has not known just how to use it But now, with the fiends actually upon him, he cries out vehemently, 'I will walk in the strength of the Lord God' 'So they gave back, and came no further.' Was it not thus that Malacoda and his band of demons knew that they could not harm Dante, for he had come among them, as Virgil told them, through the will of Heaven? But even yet Christian is haunted by the same fear of hell, and he loses it not until he comes close to the gate of the Celestial City. On the Delectable Mountains the Shepherds point out to him a byway to hell, and he hears the noise of fire and the cries of those in torment, and smells the odour of brimstone. This byway, he is told, is that by which hypocrites enter, and traitors, liars, dissemblers, and those who blaspheme—a veritable Malebolge—and the fear of it now makes Christian seem more than ever, like Dante, in danger from the demons. Think you that Christian left these Delectable Mountains without remembering that dream in the House of the Interpreter? He has just been tempted himself to blaspheme, and the dream seems about to come true. 'Nay,' he cries out to Faithful, 'we had need to cry to the Strong for strength.' 'Ay,' say the Shepherds, 'and you will have to use it, too.' Or think you that Christian is not still more violently stirred by a sense of his guilt and danger and need when he sees poor Ignorance, having struggled up to the very gate of heaven through his unaided efforts, hurled straight down to lowest hell? Now turn back just a moment to Dante and see how the same lesson of personal guilt is impressed on him while the fear of hell torment is still strong within him. Having been turned aside by the wolf of avarice, like Christian by Worldly Wiseman, he is pierced to the heart at sight of the punishment of the avaricious and prodigal, afraid that he, too, be made to roll a great weight for ever against a prodigal friend. Having been impeded by the panther of lust, he is at first warned by Minos not to let the broad entrance to the circle of carnal sinners deceive him, and once inside he swoons when he hears the pitiful story of Francesca. Over and over again he has to be helped by Virgil, too much afraid to go on or turn back, and even in Purgatory he can never

forget that warning sounded by the Angel when he opened the gate for him to pass through :

> Enter, but this warning hear :
> He forth again departs who looks behind.

As Dante goes along bowed down by the sin of pride and confesses to fear of its punishment even after he has turned away from it, think you that he is any more free from fear of hell torment than was Christian on the Delectable Mountains ? Or think you that Dante is unmindful of such peril when he trembles with fear as Beatrice so sharply rebukes him at the very gates of heaven, any more than Christian was when he saw poor Ignorance cast down to hell from those very gates ? No , Dante and Christian must learn through frequent and painful struggle and danger that the pleasant-looking bypaths leading to hell are easily mistaken for the road to heaven And only by turning into them now and then are they brought face to face with personal guilt But Christian has to learn still other lessons in the House of the Interpreter before he is ready to start on the hardest part of his journey, and here, too, the progress of Dante is paralleled, as we shall see Christian is next taught the need of divine grace in the heart, to be gained only through knowledge of the Gospel—the very lesson, be it noted, which Virgil, accounted, during the Middle Ages, as a prophet of Christianity, was sent to teach Dante throughout the nine circles of hell and up the steep ascent of Purgatory as far as the Earthly Paradise Christian is shown a large parlour full of dust that cannot be removed by sweeping, but only by water, signifying that man's sinful heart cannot be purified by mere obedience to the law, but only through the power of the Gospel. The work of grace in the heart is still further impressed upon him by a vision of Christ pouring oil on a fire which the devil is trying to quench with water. Lest Christian should fear the mighty power of the devil more than he feels the greater potency of the Gospel unto salvation, he is shown next a victory over evil He sees a beautiful palace upon the top of which are certain persons walking, clothed in gold. Many would fain enter therein and have their names written in the book which one is holding ready, but they do not dare attempt an entrance for fear of an armed host waiting to do them all possible harm. Yet one man is hacking his way through, and presses forward into the palace, whereupon a voice is heard, saying,

> Come in, come in ;
> Eternal glory thou shalt win.

So the man goes in and is clothed with garments of gold. And

Christian says to the Interpreter, 'I think I know the meaning of this.' Are you not reminded of Dante when he and Virgil find the gate to the City of Dis blocked by demons? Dante's fear is perceptibly increased by that of Virgil; then Virgil says, 'Nay, it will behove us to win the fight.' Suddenly they see more than a thousand demons fleeing before an angel sent from heaven to open the way even in hell Like Christian, Dante thinks he knows the meaning of this.

Strengthened at sight of victory over evil, Christian leaves the House of the Interpreter more stable, as he puts it, in what he has begun to take in hand Up the walled highway, the burden on his back heavier than before, he painfully toils. Ere long he comes to a place where stands a cross. All at once his burden falls and rolls into a sepulchre below. In this falling of Christian's burden of itself, without apparent effort on his part, critics have been wont to see and emphasise evidence of Bunyan's Calvinism But what is of vital importance here is not theology; it is life. We see only a human soul, deeply conscious of sin, come to that critical moment when, of its own volition, it is ready to set sin behind and take up its cross and follow Christ. It is the point not where effort ceases, but where it is really about to begin with greatest sincerity and earnestness. Though the burden fall, its marks will remain until the soul is finally freed from all its innate capacity to sin; yet from now on struggle and hardship will seem not a burden but a joy. Christian, looking back to this moment a little later, says that he still has within him 'carnal cogitations' which make him do ill when he would do well, but now there come to him 'golden hours' in which, as never before he saw the Cross, annoyances and perplexities seem to vanish, for now he rejoices in thought about the Cross and the gifts of the Shining Ones, and he can think more definitely of that City whither he is journeying to see the living Christ. Having thus seen and loved the Cross, joyful in the assurance of forgiveness vouchsafed him by one of the Shining Ones, in the mark set on his forehead by another, and in the roll given him by the third, Christian is at exactly that stage of spiritual development reached by Dante when his face is washed with dew and he is girt with the rush of humility. As Christian weeps bitterly after his burden falls, and then leaps for joy when the Shining Ones set their marks upon him, so does Dante stretch out to Virgil 'cheeks suffused with tears,' and then feel springing up within him, with what joy we can easily imagine, all the good that had been lying latent in him before, obscured by the darkness of sin. And then the sign of the Cross made by those heavenly helmsmen who bear Dante to the foot of his purgatorial mount, where the hardest part of his journey is to begin, gives him, as does Christian's thought about the Cross to

him, a much more definite picture of that eternal City which is his goal.

Now these two pilgrims, each ascending his own mount of purgation, meet, of course, different situations, different kinds of people, but they also have experiences which, from the spiritual point of view, are practically identical. With each the way is long, difficult, painful: struggle, hard work, discouragement, fear, dangers, on the one hand, there are for each; and, on the other, help, encouragement, faith, hope, joy, and victories. However great the differences between the Puritan and the Roman Catholic treatment of this purgatorial process, we must not be blinded to the process as an actual fact of Christian experience. If Dante's *Purgatorio* is to Protestant readers not merely the representation, in beautiful poetry, of a Roman Catholic doctrine, but a vital part of every man's struggle out of sin up to God, a very real experience of spiritual growth, then it can mean only this, that the path deliberately chosen by Dante and the path voluntarily traversed by Christian are equally beset, spiritually speaking, in some manner, by Apollyon, by lions and hobgoblins; that each has its Valley of the Shadow of Death, its Vanity Fair, its Doubting Castle, its Enchanted Ground, as well as its House Beautiful and its Delectable Mountains. In other words, each pilgrim reaches at last a haven of peace and joy, Dante his Earthly Paradise and Christian his Land of Beulah, but in order to get there he must go through exactly the same kinds of struggles that the other does, for he represents the typical Christian of every age If you wish to draw the parallel a little more closely, this is perfectly possible, for Christian sees many a sight that acts as a bridle, and many a sight that acts as a whip, as he ascends his mount of purgation, even as Dante does. For instance, Simple, Sloth and Presumption, Formalist and Hypocrisy, in illustrating to him so forcibly the wrong way to reach his goal, act, as do the illustrations of the vices to Dante, like a bridle to keep him in the straight and narrow path of virtue. The very names of the witnesses, the judge and the jury, at Vanity Fair, suggest actions which make him wish to get away from the place as quickly as possible, but he must needs stay and learn of them to refrain from sin, even as Dante has to remain on each Purgatorial Terrace until he is ready to leave such things behind, being restrained by them as by a bridle. All the records and signs of great victories over evil foes, seen by Christian in the House Beautiful, act much as do the examples of virtue contemplated by Dante on each Terrace, goading him on to the virtue to which his attention has been, for a space, particularly drawn. The monument that represents the pillar of salt, with this inscription, 'Remember Lot's wife,' becomes, as Hopeful

says to Christian, 'Both Caution and Example to them.' And as Dante had to be severely rebuked for listening to the words of the Siren, and made to turn his thoughts from earth to heaven, so do Hopeful and Christian have to be severely chastised by the Angel with the whip to prevent them from being turned aside by Flatterer again, and to make them go on their way with faces turned heavenwards.

The Divine Comedy, and especially the *Purgatorio*, is sometimes criticised as built upon too self-centred a salvation; the same criticism, if justified, would apply, also, to *Pilgrim's Progress*, though perhaps not to such an extent But is it justifiable so far as to constitute a real blemish that detracts from the value of either work as a comprehensive vision of man's religious life and progress? Or do we feel, in each case, the inspiration of the ideal of mutual helpfulness and co-operation as a vital part of the educative discipline through which salvation becomes possible? Virgil and Dante, at times uncertain of the right path up the Mount of Purgatory, are obliged to inquire of others who, through personal experience, have learned to recognise it, however hidden, and who are glad not only to point out the way, but even to accompany the pilgrims so far as is permitted them, in order to make sure that they do not go astray on the unfamiliar roads that are frequently, and purposely, divided into paths which appear easier or more attractive than the straight and narrow one leading to salvation In such service, help is found by each individual as he feels the joy of being in company with those who are, or have been, encompassed by the same temptations and struggles as himself, and who, with him, are still fighting the good fight that means victory in the end. Furthermore, what is more convincing or more symbolic of human help often given, as by an angel sent from God, here on earth to those in sorrow or despair, than the beautiful service of that angel, seen only once in hell and making us wish to hurry there whence he has come, who quickly descends straight from heaven at a moment of spiritual crisis when Dante, disheartened at the approach of demons, almost gives up? The law of charity and brotherly love is carefully expounded to Dante by Virgil, who, after showing him envy punished, tells him that the more love and charity people show each other the better do they themselves become; and the more they distribute of their wealth for the good of others, the richer do they grow themselves. Because Dante finds this so hard to understand—for the simple reason that he is so intensely human—the acts of charity performed by the envious, which he must study until their lesson sinks deep into his heart, make the law clearer to him through the contrast of actual examples of the sin upon which his attention is being focussed. For, obviously,

these examples are calculated to impress him with the folly of selfishness as contrasted with the wisdom of helpfulness as a distinct advantage on the road to salvation. Then, again—for there are many instances that may be cited—delight in working for God, as well as in looking upon the works of His hands, is assuredly part of Matilda's joy when we hear her tell Dante that she is here in the Earthly Paradise, where he finds her, for the specific purpose of helping him solve his doubts. Inasmuch as it was through self-will that Dante had gone astray in the wood of error, part of his purgatorial discipline, part of his training in the knowledge and love of God, necessarily lay in watching others practise the Christian life in its various aspects, constituting a sort of clinic, as we should call it, a laboratory wherein the practical part of the Christian's duties should be seen as supplementary and necessary to the theoretical part. Hence all the help that Dante himself received from other penitents, so gladly given him as part of their daily work, must have made him realise the value of service to others as vital in the lessons being taught him all the way up the Mount of Purgation Who knows—and we can hardly fail to think of this—but that Dante himself in accompanying the various bands of sinners, so painfully cleansing themselves of sin and needing all the encouragement they could get, gave as much help, perhaps in other ways, as he received? Because so much more is always suggested to our imagination than the poet states specifically, because he is so true a poet, we surely are at liberty to follow out suggestions so clearly made as these Knowing Dante's attraction to the Franciscan Order, is it hard for us, for example, to feel the effect upon him of the account of the self-sacrificing life of St. Francis? In those terrible pictures which he draws in order to show the power of evil passions to separate men and bring nations to war, and in those fairer pictures of the purgation of anger, pride, envy, avarice, lust, Dante's purpose was, in part, to make it abundantly clear that not through hate, not through strife and discord between men, but through mutual helpfulness and love, will the welfare of society be promoted and peace be for ever established upon earth Through such pictures as that of the harmonious conference of princes, once deadly enemies, we are left with the strong impression of the helpful power of love to make friends out of enemies if only the spirit of co-operation can be made active in their hearts

And what about Bunyan's Christian? Have you ever stopped to think how many people he tries to help after he sees the Cross? It will pay you to make a list of them—they are too numerous to be mentioned here. By rendering good for evil he also brings many to Christ at Vanity Fair, and of these

Hopeful becomes his own helpful friend. In talking with Faithful about Talkative, Christian draws a terrible picture of life without charity to others as the fruit of religion. As Bunyan throws into clear, bold relief characters like Worldly Wiseman, By-ends, and Talkative, are we not sure that his purpose was partly, like Dante's, that of exposing certain classes of men who, if left unrestrained, were likely to gnaw the very heart of society? Bunyan's sense of the need of salvation for the individual was coupled, then, like Dante's, with the individual's thought and care for his neighbour—with a feeling, that is, for the common welfare of society as secured through mutual co-operation and helpfulness on the part of its members. This was the message that Dante, in exile, was trying so hard to bring home to the citizens of his own distracted Florence, to disintegrating Italy, and to the world. And Bunyan, in prison, was trying to teach the same lesson to the men and women in England and America It is by reason of such teaching, which, in spite of discouragements and outward appearances to the contrary, has endured even until now, that we can hope that something of the spirit which animated Dante and Bunyan is still endued with enough vitality to make Christian idealism the ruling power in the world of to-day.

The enduring power of such books as Dante's and Bunyan's consists in this, that with a definite moral purpose directed to specific ends, and to meet special conditions in each case, each was based upon the universal element in human life, and so contains truth and applicability to life in any age and any place. That the moral purpose of *Pilgrim's Progress* does not obtrude more, always seems extraordinary every time we read the book, and can be accounted for not on the theory of conscious art, but on that of pure genius naturally and spontaneously expressing itself through intuitive insight into the human heart and human need, with great intensity of feeling and strong convictions which act and react on each other. But did you ever notice the clever little artistic trick that Bunyan plays on you just where he could do it with little danger of being caught—namely, on the Enchanted Ground? Christian and Hopeful are so anxious to get through this place without going to sleep, and getting into all sorts of danger thereby, that they discuss deep religious questions for a long time, entering into such philosophical discussion as ordinarily would retard the movement and lessen the interest; but you gradually become so eager to get out of this dangerous region yourselves that you instinctively and zealously join in the argument, apparently without even realising that you would not naturally wish to do this in reading such an exciting book. Nothing else is to be done, and you do it. How different from

Milton's way of dragging in such philosophical discussion, and how much more like the method used in *The Divine Comedy*, when Virgil keeps Dante engaged in conversation on deep subjects as they pass through places of danger. Such art is beyond criticism, for it springs from sheer determination to get the thing said that ought to be said, and in such a way as to make others see it as an essential part of the whole work.

We have said that Dante reached his Earthly Paradise, and Christian his Land of Beulah, through similar spiritual processes. For what do the Earthly Paradise and the Land of Beulah, reached only after much effort, really stand ? For ease and rest and happiness merely ? The flowers are very beautiful, the birds are ever sweetly singing, and here are all good things for the refreshment of pilgrims, and here all may walk at will without danger, in great joy But the hardest struggle is, in reality, yet to come for both Dante and Christian Ere long Dante, with beating heart, meets Beatrice and is sharply reproved for his sins. With bowed head, his heart pierced with shame, scarcely able to speak, he confesses, but only after a hard struggle. Then, as Beatrice turns to the Grifon, symbolic of Christ, the reflection in her of perfect goodness causes the 'nettle of penitence' so to prick Dante that he falls in a swoon It has been well said of the poet here that 'it is with true insight into Christian experience that Dante does not place the most poignant consciousness of sin at the base of the purgatorial mount , . . or later when he strikes his breast three times , but on the summit in the stern presence of the veiled Beatrice . . . The keenest sense of sin comes when the penitent soul first confronts the perfect righteousness.' And what of Christian ? He and Hopeful have not solaced themselves for long in the Land of Beulah when two Shining Ones appear to lead them to a river which they must pass in order to reach heaven Christian begins to sink ; all his sins, 'both since and before he began to be a pilgrim,' rise up and stagger him, and he fears that he will never reach the Celestial City. But his soul goes out to God in deeper penitence than he has ever felt, and he gets safely across The dramatic power, the sheer intensity, the human struggle and conquering faith of this tremendous episode must be compared with Dante's pictures in order to be appreciated at its fullest value ; and what more could be said in praise of it ? Bunyan did not give Christian the keenest sense of sin when his burden fell and he started up his mount of purification, nor yet when he was chastised for sin by the Shining Ones who set their marks upon him, but very near to heaven, when he first began to realise what the perfect righteousness was as he struggled so hard to cross the river in order to reach that City of which he had just gained so glorious a vision.

Then the two Shining Ones come out to meet Christian and Hopeful, guiding them through regions of the air, up and up and up, toward the gate, talking of the wondrous sights and sounds, the joy and happiness so soon to be theirs. Like Piccarda, the pilgrims feel now, and can say even before they enter highest heaven, 'In His will is our peace.' For their hearts are satisfied; heaven is all about them; they are content with every joy that comes to them, not knowing anything higher, yet, for this very reason, capable of ever-increasing joy Although Bunyan represented heaven as reached through death, symbolised in the passage of the river, he certainly intended, as his preface and his whole book show, that this last part of his *Pilgrim's Progress* should suggest the life of the Christian while still on earth, just as all the rest of his book is a picture of actual life, and just as Dante's *Paradiso*, no less than the other canticles, is a picture of life as it is lived on this earth Christian seems, indeed, in heaven before he 'comes at it' simply because Bunyan, like Dante, is portraying the happiest possible Christian life here and now, when the soul, in moments of ecstatic vision or self-sacrificing toil, catches little glimpses of the Celestial City whither it is journeying The fall of poor Ignorance down to hell after he has mounted to the gate of the City without realising his need of divine guidance is intended to impress upon us the everyday, ordinary Christian's need of watchfulness and prayer even in some of the soul's 'most golden hours' when heaven seems nearest, for Christian saw 'That there was a Way to Hell even from the Gates of Heaven.' The startling contrast with which this lesson is emphasised by Bunyan is both true to life and very artistic in effect. It is precisely the same method as that adopted by the greater artist Dante to enforce exactly the same lesson, for twice, when we are about to lose ourselves in the vision of heaven, with all its joys, Dante suddenly carries us straight down to earth and shows us wicked popes and clergy awaited in hell. But it is earthly struggle ending in victory and joy that makes heaven seem near which Dante, like Bunyan, is depicting as experienced only through watchfulness and prayer, and it is in this final happiness that each pilgrim reaches his goal. For the shock lasts but a moment, and our keenest, most enduring impression of each book as we feel the final thrill of it is that of ecstatic vision as possible even on earth itself Bunyan's picture of heaven is, however, not one of complaisant ease, but, like Dante's, one of active life, a life of praise and worship in company with all the heavenly host. As Christian in the House Beautiful enjoyed the companionship of other Christians, and then found helpful friends in Faithful and Hopeful, and as Dante rejoiced in the fellowship of those who, like himself, were purging away their sins as together

they toiled up the Mount of Purgatory, so here the still happier voices of all the saints immeasurably and perceptibly increase the peace and joy which are theirs. Bunyan, like Dante, shows us, indeed, golden streets, shining raiment, harps and palms and crowns, but it is not by such means that either of them gives us the feeling of actually being in heaven Through the use of such static descriptions, however sensuous in detail, Milton failed to produce any effect of realism, because he failed to arouse any such intensity of emotion as Bunyan and Dante succeed in stirring to the depths. For it is through feelings, aroused to their highest possible pitch of intensity, that we are made to see the sights for ourselves, and to know that here is, in very truth, the essence of heaven itself With keen insight into the realities of spiritual experience and vision, the greater seers, owing their superiority as artists to knowledge of the human heart, take a man first of all through danger, doubt, temptation, trial, hardship, struggle, then gradually out into the light of faith and hope and love, leaving him at last actively engaged in his own highest and noblest possible work among others who have also taken up their cross to follow Christ To tell the story of how, through long, slow and painful processes and stages of spiritual development, a human soul comes into its own, growing ever more capable of living here on earth its own most natural and normal life among men as God intended it should—this was the main object of Puritan prophet and Catholic prophet alike It was the artistic purpose both of a great poem and a great prose masterpiece, each written by a typical Christian capable of grasping and visualising the essential realities of life Read again over and over that picture drawn by Bunyan of Christian's approach, with Hopeful, up to the gate of heaven, then through it, and compare it with Dante's gradual home-coming to the same haven where he would be. Feel, only feel, the inexpressible joy of the three pilgrims from the same City of Sin to the same City of Forgiveness , feel the rapture of their welcome into the courts of heaven as, with all their capacities, mental, moral and spiritual, as well as physical, strengthened to endure the sights of dazzling brightness and the sounds of ineffable sweetness, the heavenly hosts, with trumpets, come to salute them with ' ten thousand welcomes,' making all the spaces resound with songs of joy. As to Dante, guided by Beatrice, there descend from the Empyrean itself happy spirits to conduct him on high, so to lead Christian and Hopeful through the gate come the Shining Ones, guiding them higher and ever higher, causing them to feel so swallowed up, as Bunyan says, ' with the sight of angels and with hearing their melodious notes ' that they seem, as it were, in heaven before they come at it, like Piccarda, you remember, so happy in the lower spheres

And then they look, and, behold, 'the City shone as the Sun,' and Bunyan, as he wrote, wished that he was there with them, even as Dante longed and prayed that his wondrous vision might soon become a reality. But from the heart of each prophet, scorned of men but loved of God, there surely trickled, as Dante hoped he could make it, some of the sweetness of the vision, for each saw it so clearly himself, and longed so intensely to make others see it, that his labours were not in vain, even unto this hour.

And so, from whatever point of view we consider *Pilgrim's Progress* as compared with *The Divine Comedy*—and we have by no means exhausted the parallels that can so easily be drawn between them—we go right around in a circle to the place we started from, that of Bunyan's universal appeal and truthfulness to life just as we know it now so many years after he and other Puritan pilgrims took the journey over the same road, whether in England or in America, and just as Dante knew it as he wandered, long before, an exile through Italy. And this is tantamount to saying that it is well worth while to compare Bunyan in certain respects with a poet who, in many, many ways, far transcended anything he could possibly accomplish. Surely we can find both pleasure and profit, then, in thinking of the one as we gratefully remember the other to-day, because, after a long, hard struggle towards the same goal, each pilgrim found it in his own life Let us, therefore, do as Bunyan asked of his readers, and if we find any dross to throw away, 'yet preserve the gold,' for it is the same pure gold, tried in the fiery furnace of experience and suffering, that Dante has given us in his epic of the human heart. Though we find more of it in the one than in the other, it is all too precious to lose.

MARY W. SMYTH.

A HITHERTO UNKNOWN DIARY

The discovery of a hitherto unknown diary, especially when its writer happens to be a man who took a leading part in the diplomatic and social activities of a long and pregnant period in the history of Europe, is an event of no small importance. Such a document has recently come to light in the form of a daily record of his life kept by Baron Philipp von Neumann, the Austrian diplomatist, from 1819 to 1850. During much of this long period Neumann was attached to the Austrian Embassy in London, as Secretary and later as Counsellor, and on more than one occasion he acted as Chargé d'Affaires here during the not infrequent absences of Prince Esterhazy, the Ambassador ; and the special interest of his diary for English readers centres naturally on that large portion of it concerned with his life in this country. But besides this we obtain invaluable data connected with his travels on the Continent, on diplomatic business and for pleasure ; an extraordinarily interesting account of a mission on which he went to Brazil in 1826, and of his residence in Florence as Chargé d'Affaires, to mention but these.

To use a trite phrase, Neumann was a man who knew everyone and went everywhere. His name occurs in all sorts of contemporary records, from that of Greville to that of Gronow—who used to see him dancing at Almack's—in the memoirs of Prince Metternich and the pages of the Duchesse de Dino's diary. But it is in his own journal that we are able adequately to realise how prominent a part he took in the social life of London, and incidentally for how much he stood, in a quiet unobtrusive way, in the complicated diplomacy of a period when the Metternich touch was dominant in the councils of Europe. For Metternich was Neumann's special hero, to whom by inclination and intimate association he was specially allied, as he also was by an affection more than filial.

But the special value and interest of the diary for us lies in the fact that it gives a picture of a long and particularly notable period in our annals, from the point of view of a foreigner who regarded this country with an affection and who visualised it with a knowledge second only to that with which he regarded and knew

his own. There is not a well-known personage of the time, from the three British sovereigns with each of whom he was acquainted, who does not figure in the pages of the journal. There is not an important event (and how many occurred during the thirty-odd years recorded anyone even slightly acquainted with the history of England will realise) about which the diarist does not set down something illuminating

The diary practically covers the same period as does Greville's, but it differs in two respects from that famous record, for whereas Greville's pages are not so much a diary as an elaborate series of selected events and a collection of character studies set down with the perspicuity and acerbity for which 'The Gruncher' was famous, Neumann's record is really a diary consisting of daily entries, and thus often filling gaps in the better-known production. Then, too, it is differentiated from Greville's by the fact that it is written from a foreign, although from a consistently friendly, point of view, and thus we have here our political, artistic, and social life mirrored through the spectacles of a stranger who sets down daily the names of those with whom he came in contact in the way of business or pleasure, the balls he attended and the plays and concerts he went to, as well as records of such things on the Continent, in most of the capitals of which he was as much at home as he was in London These entries are made specially valuable by notes of conversations with illustrious people; by anecdotes told him at first hand by such *raconteurs* as Talleyrand and Metternich and Wellington; by the current gossip of the day, in which many an interesting fact and personage is evolved from the spirit-land of the past into something like a living reality; and we are able thus to reconstruct a picture of English society at a time when it was emerging from the free-and-easy days of the Regency into the immaculate aura which overspread society under the influence of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert.

Something of what is known of Neumann's career during the active political and social course of his life can be gained from the pages of his diary; but in addition Wurzbach's *Biographical Lexicon* affords a certain amount of information on the subject down to the year 1830. Wurzbach's notice runs thus:

Philipp Freiherr von Neumann (statesman) was born in Vienna about the year 1778 After having completed his education he first joined the Treasury (Finanz-Hofkammer), but changed over to the diplomatic service in the following year (1803). He was Secretary to the Embassy and, later, Counsellor, in London, and was on more than one occasion Chargé d'Affaires at this post His activity was regarded as notable, especially in 1814 and 1815, on the occasion of the remittance of the English subsidies to the Austrian Government, when he succeeded in obtaining very favourable conditions for Austria on the question of the rate of exchange. In 1824 he took part in the negotiations between

Portugal and Brazil, as a result of which the reconciliation between King Dom Juan VI. and his son, Dom Pedro of Brazil, was brought about. In 1826 Neumann was sent on a special mission to Brazil, during which he succeeded in silencing the doubts that arose concerning the legitimacy of the title of the Infante Dom Miguel to the Regency of Portugal, and in the October of the following year he took part in the negotiations on this matter, carried on in Vienna In December 1829 he earned great credit by the way in which he conducted the Treaty of Commerce between Austria and England, a treaty that proved very favourable to the former country, and it was as a reward for his services on this occasion that he was created a Commander of the Order of Leopold, a distinction which, according to the rules of the Order, carried with it the title of Baron, the diploma for which was dated August 31, 1830

Thus far Wurzbach's record extends, and apart from a mistake in the year of Neumann's birth, which actually occurred on December 4, 1781, and the fact that no mention is made of his having spent some of his earlier years in Brussels, or of his having first come to England in 1814, it will be observed that nothing is said as to his parentage. In the Austrian State archives, however, it is recorded that he was the son of Karl Neumann (born 1737), who occupied a post as King's Messenger attached to the Austrian Embassy at Brussels, by his wife, Maria Josepha Dupetiaux, a Belgian lady. They had five children, of whom Philipp was apparently the eldest, and they died respectively in 1813 and 1835. The question of Philipp's parentage is important, as rumours were once current that his actual father was Prince Metternich, a rumour repeated by Ernest, King of Hanover, in a letter to Lord Strangford in 1844 Apart from the fact that any statement made by Ernest, King of Hanover (more notoriously known as Ernest, Duke of Cumberland), is open to the gravest doubt, the explicit statement in the State archives and the nature of the references to Prince Metternich throughout Neumann's diary, full of affection and admiration as they are, are not such as to lend any countenance to the report, and it must be remembered that in that diary, one obviously not written with an eye to publication, the writer is accustomed to set down matters (except political secrets, of which he is careful even there) in a free and open way; and there are a variety of occasions on which he might well have stated the fact of this supposed paternity had there been any reason to do so.

To carry on the record of Neumann's career where Wurzbach leaves it, we find that, after having acted as Chargé d'Affaires during one of Prince Esterhazy's (the Austrian Ambassador) absences from England, he in 1833 returned to Vienna, where he remained, with intervals of travel in Italy and elsewhere, till 1840, when he returned to this country to take part in the negotiations for the settlement of the disputes between the Sultan of Turkey

and his vassal, the Khedive—the well-known Turco-Egypti Affair to which so many references are to be found in the diaı In 1842 he paid another visit to his native city, but although the moment he supposed he was going to stay there a considerat time, he in fact came back to England very shortly after.

On more than one occasion Neumann sets down in his dia a *résumé* of the important diplomatic transactions in which took part, and on December 4, 1840, he writes that, that dı being the fifty-ninth anniversary of his birth and the thirt seventh of his entry into the diplomatic service, he had th concluded in six years three outstanding undertakings which l later (on July 13, 1841) summarises thus: the completion of tl Turco-Egyptian Convention, following on the Agnatic Arrang ment between the King of the Netherlands and the Duke Nassau; the Treaty of Commerce with England; and the Co ventions of July 15, 1840, and of July 13, 1841.

At various times he had been offered by Prince Metterni diplomatic posts in other countries; but although, on certa occasions, these were such as he seems to have desired, when tl actual opportunity arrived he never appears to have cared or be able to accept them. This was the case when he was anxious be appointed Minister in Brussels. He records (October 22, 183 that Prince Esterhazy had applied to Metternich for this post (his behalf, but he was not appointed either because Metterni had difficulty in fitting his diplomatic staff into the posts th vacant or because he realised that Neumann, as a *persona grata* London, was too valuable an agent at the Court of St James's to l removed. Again he was offered the post of Minister at Washin, ton, but this he refused, as he did the suggestion that he should (another occasion go in a like capacity to Switzerland.

The fact is, Neumann, prescient diplomatist as he proved hir self, was essentially a man of moods, and he was what is called ladies' man. Throughout the diary there are many references his *affaires du cœur*, in which such fair ones as a certain mysterioı C. and another no less mysterious Madame M., besides his avow passion for Princess Esterhazy, Lady Caroline Montague, Mi Emily Johnstone (to whom he was actually engaged, but who di six months later, to his profound and pathetically express grief), as well as others, had a place. The breaking off of a pleasaı association of this kind was enough to make him wish never to s the country in which it had occurred again; the forming of a ne one was sufficient to make him never to want to leave it.

In 1842, on the resignation of Prince Esterhazy as Ambassad in London, Neumann was nominated Envoy Extraordinary ar Minister Plenipotentiary here; while before that he had be accredited to London, in addition to his position as Secretary

Legation, as a sort of *amicus curiæ*, Prince Metternich realising his diplomatic capacity and also the peculiarly friendly footing on which he stood with the leaders of both political parties in this country—Wellington and Peel on the one hand, Palmerston and Aberdeen on the other.

The curious thing is that, on Esterhazy's retirement, Neumann was not given the post of Ambassador. Reading between the lines of his diary, it is obvious that he expected the offer and would have hailed it with delight. The one reason why he was not appointed seems to have been that others higher in the diplomatic service had claims on Metternich which he could not neglect. He found, too, that Neumann was specially useful in a subordinate capacity, and so long as the latter did not actively rebel he was glad enough to use him in this way, and not to create enemies among others who were more insistent in their claims. There may have been other reasons, and the chief of them was probably the fact that, excellent diplomatist as Neumann was in many respects, there were certain indispensable qualities for such a post as that of Ambassador which he lacked. His nature was obviously too temperamental; his mind was too restless a one for such a position. On the other hand, as a subordinate who could be sent here, there and everywhere as occasion required, he was eminently qualified. His honesty and integrity, his care and industry, while engaged on any special labour, were manifest And thus it happened that a man who had taken a leading part in a variety of important negotiations, and who for a great number of years had been immersed in diplomatic work, comes down to us almost unrecognised by name, and only filling secondary positions during his extended career as a public servant.

Turning from the political aspect of his career we find Neumann a very cultivated man. He was a reader who appreciated Scott and Byron; he was a lover of music who understood the art theoretically if not practically—one who could judge vocal and instrumental performances with the acumen and assurance of a critic. Queen Victoria took his advice concerning the engagement of a singer of superior quality to those who sometimes performed at Buckingham Palace; and his pregnant remarks on the qualifications of such singers as Rubini and Tamburini, Grisi and Mario, and the rest, may be set beside his criticisms on theatrical exponents, from his unstinted praise of Rachel and Mars, and the dancing of Taglioni and the Elsslers, to his judgments on the performances of those who did not reach the high standard he exacted. To say he was a Viennese is to imply that he himself was a fine dancer, and, indeed, Gronow records his prowess in this respect at Almack's, of which he was an *habitué* and one of the shining lights.

As a man in the society of London during some thirty-six years off and on, he was an unqualified success, and we find Prince Esterhazy on one occasion remarking to him that 'he held a commanding position in the world here.' From the three sovereigns of this country with whom he was on terms of friendship downwards he was a welcome guest at practically all the great houses in the metropolis and a large number in the country. There is, too, hardly a well-known man or woman of the period with whom, as his diary proves, he was not on more or less intimate terms. With the protagonists of the two great political parties he was not merely a diplomatic colleague, but in most cases on the most friendly private relations, and his record of constant visits to Wellington at Strathfieldsaye and to Peel at Drayton, to Palmerston and Aberdeen, and so forth, proves that he was sought for other reasons than mere political ones. He was by instinct and upbringing a Tory (as a friend and pupil of Metternich he might have been supposed to be a reactionary; but he was far from this), but Lord and Lady Holland were delighted to receive him in their Whig stronghold, and with Melbourne and the Duke of Devonshire he was as much a *persona grata* as he was at Court where on more than one occasion he was present at dinners *en petit comité*.

When King Leopold of the Belgians was paying visits to this country he always made a point of sending for Neumann and discussing current affairs with him, and when the diarist visited Paris he was invariably a guest at the Tuileries, where Louis Philippe engaged him in talks on all sorts of matters and Queen Marie Amelie received him as a friend.

The pages of the diary reveal the frequency of his visits to Strathfieldsaye and Longleat, Brockett and Badminton, Woburn and Oatlands, Stow and Moor Park, and the intimate character of his relationship with their owners and their families. The fact is the diarist was a man who possessed the art of separating his diplomatic from his social life in a remarkable way. When at work at Chandos House (then the Austrian Embassy) or discussing high diplomacy with Palmerston at the Foreign Office or in Piccadilly, or with Brunnow or Stockmar at the Travellers (of which he was for long a member), he showed himself the level far-seeing man of affairs who, while possessing feelings of the utmost friendliness for this country, never allowed such sentiment to weigh with him when the interests of his own land were in question. On the other hand, when off duty, so to speak, he could throw himself into the life of gaiety and sport which was the life of so many of his social friends, attending balls and receptions without end when in town, and when in the country hunting and shooting (not always with invariable success, he confesse

and playing whist with as much devotion as did his friend Talleyrand.

When we follow him (in the pages of his diary) to his own country, we find him, unlike the proverbial prophet, as popular and sought after there as he was in England. From the Emperor of Austria and Prince Metternich downwards, he was always among that select society of Vienna whose brilliancy has become proverbial. Among the great Austrian names which swim into our ken in the pages of his record none is more frequent than that of Metternich, and none is mentioned with greater tenderness, and even affection. Nor was he less welcome in other Continental centres. In Paris he had hosts of friends, among them Talleyrand, the record of whose anecdotes and table-talk forms some of the most interesting and valuable pages in the diary. That record is invariably friendly to those it discusses, and I can only recall two instances in which the writer exhibits a want of sympathy with his subject: one is in the case of Count d'Orsay, whom, however, he seems to have known but superficially; and the other that of Prince Louis Napoleon, in which, no doubt, political matters had chiefly to do with his disinclination to foregather with the 'Man of Destiny' in exile, whose entrance into a room where the diarist happened to be was the signal for the latter's rapid exit.

The period during which Neumann was living among us and daily setting down his observations on men and things was one of the most varied and significant in our annals. It saw the end of one *régime* and the beginning of another. It is, as a rule, difficult exactly to realise when one epoch ends and a new one begins. Fashions in thought and dress, in manners and customs, in a hundred and one manifestations, change so gradually and merge into one another so subtly that there are, as it were, no clean-cut edges, but merely a gradual variation in the pattern of life's texture. The close of the Georgian era and the opening of the Victorian proved, however, an exception to this rule. And for this there were a number of obvious reasons. The first thirty-seven years of the nineteenth century had seen the close of George III.'s long reign and the blooming of that full-coloured Regency flower which for two decades typified the life of the period. But a change was at hand, and it was as if that great, big, very rubicund peony was to be replaced by a budding white rose. Stated in plain terms, the boisterous age of George IV., whose characteristics were to some modified extent carried on during the seven years of his successor's sovereignty, suddenly gave place to a sedate and temperate period, and a fact recorded by Neumann, that cards were not permitted at Windsor Castle on Sundays, can be compared with the lurid happenings at Carlton House and

the factitious atmosphere generated at the Cottage in Windsor Park but a decade earlier.

It does not necessarily follow, of course, that the example set by a Court is imitated by society at large. George III.'s influence, for instance, had little effect on the majority of his more highly placed subjects. In the case of Queen Victoria, however, this effect, owing to causes which are not far to seek, was almost instantaneous, and if society here and there went on in its accustomed way, it was less openly than before, and if Lord Melbourne continued to swear by and large, it was in a more discreet way than heretofore. Her age, her innocence, something rather pathetic in her youthful loneliness, coupled with so much anxiety and responsibility suddenly unloaded on to such young shoulders, acted like a charm on society It began to think, and if it never wholly resigned itself to the restrained manners and decent customs of a new and strange *régime*, it took care to act outwardly as if it did, and the moment between the death-bed scene at Windsor and the early morning scene at Kensington thus inaugurated an entirely new scheme of things. That is why the actual transition of the eighteenth century into the nineteenth is at first difficult to estimate; for the eighteenth century, for all practical purposes, did not end till the year 1837.

The change that thus came over society, especially that section of it in which Neumann moved, can be traced, to some extent, in the pages of his diary. That diary begins on September 1, 1819, practically on the eve of George III.'s death, and it closes in 1850. A very superficial knowledge of the history of these thirty odd years is sufficient to indicate what a full and pregnant period it was in the annals of Europe The momentous events occurring in it, concerning all of which Neumann has much that is interesting to say, include the accession and coronation of George IV. and the trial and death of Queen Caroline; the Cato Street Conspiracy, the murder of the Duc de Berry, and the fatal accident to the Duke of Orleans; the death of Napoleon I. and that of George IV., and the accession of William (Greville's record of the free-and-easy-ways of the new monarch is confirmed by Neumann, by the way); the introduction and passing of the Reform Bill; the accession of Queen Victoria, her marriage, and the two attempts on her life by Francis and Oxford; the Chinese and Afghan Wars; with an etcetera so long that many pages could be filled by the record. Were, however, these the only topics dealt with by Neumann, his diary, apart from its particular value as being that of a stranger viewing matters from an alien, although sympathetic, eye, would be but the exploration of well-known themes. The special importance of his record lies in the fact that, while discussing such matters often at considerable length, it

gives us not merely a general picture of life in London, Paris, Vienna, and elsewhere during a long period (a period covering the ominous year 1848, when crowns were threatened and were even toppling about all over Europe), but it brings us into touch with a vast number of important people in the realms of politics and fashion, so many of whom have since become household words.

The innumerable conversations recorded with Talleyrand, from whom he gathered so many interesting anecdotes, and with Metternich, with Wellington, who so frequently fights his battles over again in the diarist's pages, and with Palmerston and Peel, shed fresh light on the characters of those illustrious men and not infrequently confirm anecdotes elsewhere recorded. The diarist's intimacy with a number of great ladies—Princess Esterhazy, the Duchesse de Dino, Madame Lieven and Lady Jersey, to name but these—is productive of much that is interesting and intriguing to the lover of the gossip of a past day, as well as not a little which has helped to make history

With Continental society, apart from that of his own country, Neumann was as familiar as he was with our own. In Paris and Madrid, in Rome and Lisbon, he was always a *persona grata* at Court as well as in the fashionable and diplomatic *salons*. With Spanish and Portuguese affairs he was, as an actor in much that concerned those countries, as thoroughly familiar as he was with the doings of the Austrian Government, at that time so closely associated with the Peninsula; while his journey to Brazil, of which a full account is contained in the diary, enabled him to investigate a country then something of a *terra incognita* and to set down a record of the governance and natural features of that empire as it was just a century ago, which will to-day be read with special interest.

Enough has been said, I think, to prove that the diary of Baron Neumann is a document of extreme importance for the period—1819–1850—which it covers. The high and responsible position of the writer, the large and varied circle of his friends, his activities in politics and diplomacy as well as in art and literature, music and the theatre, his undoubted charm of manner, which made him a welcome guest at many Courts and in many private houses, all combine to give his record a special and peculiar significance.

As a rule the diarist's entries are full and vivid, and when he is recording some of Talleyrand's reminiscences (and when Talleyrand talked he was full of them), or Wellington's comments on some of his great battles, or Marmont's account of the 1830 Revolution, or stories of Napoleon's first meeting with Madame Waleska, or of his abandonment of the projected invasion of England, or Queen Victoria's remarks on Oxford's attempted assas-

sination, he gives us first-hand information concerning notab people and events of the greatest value; while as a man who wa obviously fond of ceremonial his reports of the three coronatior in this country at which he was present are particularly vivid an picturesque.

The diary throughout is written in an easy colloquial style For it *is* a diary whose entries were obviously set down without a thought to publication, and it is thus free from that rathe factitious style which, in spite of their essential value, detracts from the charm of not a few similar records. In it those whose names have long become historic, in some cases almost legendary, live again. For here we are in the company of one who was not only in but of the society in which they moved, visiting Windsor and Strathfieldsaye, meeting Macaulay and Luttrell at Holland House, being introduced to the Countess Guiccioli (and incidentally wondering what Byron could have seen in her), dining with Lady Blessington and conversing with the amazing old Lady Cork, and at one time almost living in Talleyrand's pocket. In a word, we have here a picture of the Europe of a century ago—that period which to-day seems almost as distant and indistinct as the Middle Ages, whose manners and customs are so different from those that obtain in our more relaxed times. It is by means of such vignettes as we get in this diary that we are able to visualise that age of change which was ushered in by the accession of Queen Victoria in one country and the overthrow of the Bourbons by the Orleanists in another, when crowns were falling from the heads of injudicious rulers as we have seen them doing in our own days, and when what appeared at the time as a catastrophic upheaval shook the powers of half the thrones of Europe.

E. BERESFORD CHANCELLOR.

MEMORIES OF 1914—1918

VI. Fighting on the Ancre

Among the earliest honours borne on the colours of the Dorset Regiment is that of Plassey. The part which they played in that battle is commemorated in their proud title *Primus in Indis* and in a splendid tribute by Macaulay in his Essay on Clive. Among the latest honours of the regiment is a small village on the River Ancre, by name Thiepval. This honour was bought at a far greater price, yet the name has already become unfamiliar except to those who fought in the grim ruins of the village and the fields and orchards surrounding them These two battles illustrate in some measure the difference between the old warfare and the new, and the later battle must be held partly responsible for the loss of prestige which war, once so magnificent, so dramatic, so effective a means of settling difficult issues, has suffered in the minds of men.

The Battle of Plassey, as described in the majestic prose of Macaulay, has a high dramatic value. We see Clive's dauntless spirit, for the first and for the last time, shrinking from the responsibility of taking a decision ; his hours of weakness , his final determination to put everything to the hazard ; the battle array of Surajah Dowlah—40,000 infantry, 15,000 cavalry, 50 pieces of ordnance with their white oxen and elephants , the attenuated line of the British forces, 3000 strong, the men of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment conspicuous among them ; the onset of disciplined valour on a confused and dispirited multitude ; the victory by which, with a loss of 22 soldiers killed and 50 wounded, the genius of one man subdued an empire larger and more populous than Great Britain

In the Battle of Thiepval the disciplined valour of the Thirty-Ninth Regiment was not less conspicuous, yet even the magic art of Macaulay could hardly give it a dramatic value. The Battle of Plassey lasted a few hours, and a full description of it occupies one of Macaulay's shorter paragraphs. The Battle of Thiepval may be said to have begun in April, when my regiment first came into the line fronting the village and engaged in the

minor hostilities and the digging and carrying fatigues wh were the costly prelude to the attack, and to have ended July 14, when the regiment was at last withdrawn. During th time there was constant fighting, most conspicuously on July when the British Army advanced to the assault on a front exten ing from Gommecourt to the Somme. But there was little th was dramatic in the assault of the divisions astride the Ancr The fortress villages of Serre, Beaumont-Hamel, Thiepval, an Ovillers were impregnable to frontal attack; their machine-gur mowed down the attacking infantry as with a scythe. Th Dorset Regiment, moving forward from the banks of the Ancr in support of the Highlanders assaulting Leipzig Redoubt came under the fire of massed machine-guns before ever the reached our own front line at the edge of Authuille Wood. A small part of the German front line was captured and held by the few survivors of two Highland regiments, the Border Regiment and the Dorsets, but this represented the furthest limit of the advance. The splendid exhilaration which accompanies the forward sweep of successful advance over open country after months of trench warfare underground was not the lot of the attacking divisions on the first day of the Somme. The lot of many, if not most, regiments was similar to that of the Dorset Regiment, massacred by the fire of machine-guns in Authuille Wood before ever the advance was begun. Dramatic value can hardly be found in the annihilation of the flower of an English county by a death which came whining and screaming through the trees, dealt by an enemy whom no one could see.

But July 1 was one day only in the three months during which the regiment served before Thiepval, and there were many days and nights of fighting more costly than the Battle of Plassey during that time. A detailed record of those months would be intolerable in the constant reiteration of attack and counter-attack, day and night bombardment, and unceasing labour, with the dead and wounded passing ever across the foreground, sometimes in a trickle, sometimes in a flood. In the memories of those who took part one day is confused with another, and but a few incidents remain clear, incidents often of a purely personal significance and of no import to the military historian. I have set these down as they come to my memory and in no order of time or place.

I see a sunlit village, with a long street thronged by men of many regiments. It was the late afternoon, and the Dorset Regiment was on parade. The familiar orders were given, and, headed by the drums and fifes, the regiment marched out of the village towards the east and swung along the country roads. All round were the visible signs of impending battle. The roads

were thronged with transport which delayed us. We passed through the battery lines of our massed artillery; behind convenient ridges the guns were almost wheel to wheel. The chalk pits, so common a feature of these uplands, were crowded with picketed horses. Evening came, and the broad fields of Picardy, now almost ripe for harvest, were emblazoned by the setting sun with an unforgettable splendour. The evening was in harmony with the thoughts of many of us, for whom this could not but be the last march. Twilight drew on, and when we halted behind a rise on the new road from Bouzincourt to Martinsart it was night. The trees which marked the summit of the ridge to the east were silhouetted against the sky by the light of the flashes from many guns and the flickering star-shells which rose high above 'No-Man's Land' from the uneasy lines. The march of my regiment towards a battle which all expected to be the greatest in history filled my mind with a certain exultation, dispelling for the time any doubt or thought of fear.

But soon we became immersed in the interminable and vexatious delays which commonly prevail in times of stress when troops and supplies for several miles of trenches have to pass over a bridge subject to shell fire, and a causeway across marshes fit only for pedestrian and mule traffic and subject to constant flooding. When a battle is pending the confusion may be serious, as the noise of transport on a still night is audible many miles away, and an active enemy will maintain a harassing fire on cross-roads, bridges, and other places which are likely to be thickly populated. My platoon was the last of the regiment, and derived the full benefit of all the blocks in the traffic. Our transport, making, as it seemed to me, a din which could not fail to be heard by every gunner in the German army, caught us up, and I expressed to the transport officer my sincere hope that the retribution which the hideous noise made by his wagons richly deserved would fall on the real criminals and not on my innocent platoon

We moved slowly on through a wooded valley, lined on each side by little streets of faintly illuminated canvas huts in which a pioneer battalion was quartered. The row of dim lights in the darkness of the surrounding trees conferred something of beauty on the scene, and spoke of that rest and freedom from care which we were leaving farther behind us with every stride. We crossed the line of the old narrow-gauge railway and came to the barricade outside Aveluy. We answered a challenge by a sentry who stood on guard in its shadow, then turned to the north and passed through ghostly and barren country into the gloom of Aveluy Wood. Below and to the east was the main railway line from Arras to Paris, which here ran through a cutting: no train

had passed this way since 1914, and the lines were overgro with weeds. A bridge led over the cutting to the marshes of t Ancre, but the bridge and the narrow approaches to it w choked by a jumble of every sort of transport, and so dense packed with men that movement in any direction was impossib In the tumult of rumour and recrimination which came fro the struggling and impenetrable mass one sure fact at leng emerged. The causeway across the marshes, known as Blac horse Bridge, was broken, and the ingoing and outgoing relie of two divisions, with their transport, were presenting to tl German artillery and machine-guns the finest of targets if tl chance glare of a bursting shell should reveal their preser plight.

Such reflections offered little comfort as we stood above th bridge unable to move forward or backward. A machine-gu opened fire on the far side of the marshes. At last there wa some sign of movement; an order was passed back that ever man was to wade the marshes as best he could. In a little whil I found myself surrounded by men invisible below their waists, seeking with indifferent success to keep their feet in the marsh. At length after an eventful struggle I reached the far bank, and, having made a few remarks on the advantages of entering the line in a thoroughly soaked condition, I fell quietly asleep in a neighbouring dug-out, to wake some hours later dry and well content.

From Blackhorse Bridge the way to the south lay along the bank of the river towards Aveluy. Passing this way I found a battery in action in a green meadow leading down to the Ancre. I felt a certain envy of the gunners; they looked so clean and free from care, and they lived in quarters so much better than those of the infantry Across the river was a small château reputed to have been a shooting-box in happier days. Shooting on the Ancre had of late assumed a different character, and the duck enjoyed a happy immunity, broken only by the occasional depredations of the more leisured gunners. Crucifix Corner lay ahead girdled by tall trees, but I turned aside to enter Authuille Wood. Not yet had the gun fire seriously thinned the trees nor deprived them of their foliage, and the wood was cool and green, in welcome contrast to the sweltering fields and roads, deep in chalk dust, which represented the usual scenery of this countryside. Cool and green on that day were no doubt also those other woods of Mametz, Trônes and Delville, and High Wood, where within a month the horror of modern warfare was to reach its dreadful climax The wood of Authuille held its presage of things to be, for it was thronged with fatigue parties busily engaged on completing bridges, gun positions and ammunition

dumps. On the eastern edge I came to our front line. Concealed emplacements held guns which were destined to fire over open sights at Leipzig Redoubt when the time came. For the present they were silent.

I came to a bridge over a defile which our plan of attack required us to cross, and examined it with interest. Its span was less than ten yards. A few days later the bridge, marked with unerring accuracy by the German machine-gunners, was heaped with our dead and wounded so as to be almost impassable ; and a platoon forty-eight strong on one side emerged with a strength of twelve. But on this summer afternoon I could cross it without apprehension, and from a convenient machine-gun emplacement could survey the Leipzig Redoubt and the long valley up which our advance was planned to sweep. At its far end I saw Mouquet Farm, our objective, the roof sparkling in the sunlight, to all appearance unfortified and at peace. Not for one moment did the thought cross my mind that this wood and the open stretch of 'No-Man's Land' before me would be carpeted with our dead and wounded, and the trench line less than a quarter of a mile away be the farthest limit of our advance.

My reconnaissance completed, I moved away from the emplacements and into the wood ; a moment later the rush and roar of shells resounded through the trees. The German gunners were alert, but the trees gave concealment, and I was able to stroll quietly down an old drive and to enjoy the lights and shadows of this sunlit wood

I crossed again the shell-scarred meadow bordering the Ancre and turned aside to the gunners whose lot I had envied as I went up the line. I had no occasion to envy it now The gun emplacement was a shambles; the gun would never fire again.

It was the late afternoon The officers of the regiment were assembled in a dug-out looking out over the Ancre at Blackhorse Bridge. Plans for the attack were gone over in detail by the adjutant; duties were allotted. Everything was businesslike and matter-of-fact. I have known orders for a field day in England to be given in a more portentous manner. The proceedings were marked by no high seriousness, and occasionally degenerated into hilarity when a duty of unusual difficulty or danger was allotted. This reached its climax when a young officer received instructions that his duty was to convey a Bangalore torpedo up to and beyond Mouquet Farm, to place it under the wire of the German third line, and, having exploded it, to consolidate beyond this somewhat advanced position Even our high hopes on the eve of battle did not enable us to visualise quite

so remarkable a feat of arms, and no one was more amused tl the young officer who had been honoured by this duty. F‹ subalterns were allotted a duty to them more distasteful, remain in regimental reserve. One of them, confused and c tressed beyond measure by this unexpected blow, raised voice in protest. The adjutant, ignoring a breach of discipli caused by such great provocation, hurriedly passed on to t next order. The subaltern sat unheeding and inconsolable, wi bowed head.

In the best account so far written of the blocking of Zeebrug the author of *By Sea and Land* describes how he came to ta part in an engagement described as 'something very pink,' ar how, as he left the Admiralty and walked round St. James Park, his heart was in his boots. He then left for Chathan inspected *Vindictive*, and found in the company assembled thei 'an atmosphere inimical to anxiety.' That happy phrase mos adequately expresses the moral of the Dorset Regiment, an indeed of the British Army, in June of 1916; and while it i well that we should remember the material horror and carnag of the Somme, it is not well that we should forget that many men there found their manhood, there first knew the triumph o the spirit over fear and fatigue, there enjoyed a comradeship which was in itself a sufficient recompense for all things for feited.

The dug-outs sheltering under the high bank of the Ancre at Blackhorse Bridge were the headquarters of the battalion acting as brigade reserve in the sector from Thiepval to Authuille Wood. I have therefore many memories of days and nights spent under this high bank, looking out over the broad marshes of the Ancre and the great trees of the wood beyond. Here we constantly paraded in preparation for the relief of trenches and for the incessant fatigues which, as the day of battle drew nearer, became onerous in the extreme. Under the bank the regiment paraded on the fateful morning of July 1, when the thunder of our barrage was such that orders could not be heard. On that occasion the regiment moved to the south to Authuille Wood, but generally our route was to the north through the village of Authuille and up the communication trenches leading to Thiepval.

I remember many summer evenings when after watching the sun set over the marshes, tingeing them with fire and shedding on all Nature the gift of rest and peace, I turned to the north up the path to Thiepval, where through the night the star-shells rose and fell and the sound of gun and rifle fire echoing without end through the trees spoke of the unresting vigilance of warring men.

One night remains vividly in my mind, though it was without incident and similar to many others. I was detailed for a fatigue, but the shell fire was so heavy that I had some hope that it might be cancelled. The arrangements were, however, in the hands of a subaltern of the Royal Engineers, who, obedient to the traditions of his corps, regarded shell fire as a thing which might exist but of which he had no official knowledge. We accordingly set out, and as we happened to have only a sergeant with us, we neglected the communication trenches and made across open ground for a spinney which lay near our destination. The moon had risen, and the spinney stood out dark against the moonlit sky, with the great mass of Thiepval Wood rising in dark and menacing gloom beyond, except when a heavy shell bursting on Gordon Castle, in the centre of the wood, conveyed an illusion of a wood on fire. The wind had risen, and when for a moment the echo of gun fire ceased in the wood the trees moaned in the wind as if men were crying out in pain. We picked our way through disused trenches and shell holes towards the spinney. Near us the great flares rose and fell between the opposing lines. The calm radiance of the moon healed the gaping scars of day, but threw over all an atmosphere illusive and unreal. Man seemed very puny, his life very fugitive. The moon had shed its light on these woods and fields above the Ancre long before man had come into the world. It would do so long after he had gone. What cared eternal forces for man, his hopes and his fears ?

We reached the spinney safely, and made our way towards the front line. Then, as I had anticipated, we reaped our reward for neglecting the beaten path of the communication trench. There was a tumult of vivid flashes and explosions. I flung myself down. Silence ensued, broken by the voice of the sergeant asking the sapper if he was hurt Although the shells had burst all round us, we had providentially escaped, and we passed on to Johnstone's Post and found our working party. As soon as we arrived there was a rushing sound like the sudden uprising of a storm, and some light shells passed just over us and exploded in a trench beyond. Through the night the shells came at frequent intervals, but always just overshot their mark The men worked on unheeding, and at last the order came to return home. A little while later I had seen the last of my men disappear into a cellar in the ruins of Authuille, and thrusting aside the blanket which was the door of my dug-out, found my company commander still awake, with a tale of heavy shelling throughout the night. When morning came we found blissfully reposing on the frail roof of the dug-out a heavy shell which had fortunately proved to be of defective design.

The near approach of the battle redoubled the calls on t infantry for fatigue parties, and in the last days we knew lit rest. In the line the incessant shell fire and unrelenting vigilar deprived us of rest by day or night; in support we were co stantly called out on working parties. At Blackhorse Bridge v paraded at 8 in the morning for day working parties, returnii in the late afternoon. At 8 in the evening we went out agai returning at dawn. Officers and men grew desperately tire and the prospect of attack which could not but terminate in period of rest became more than ever alluring. There we times when the constant deprivation of sleep drove men almo out of their mind. Their speech became incoherent and the movements mechanical Once after five nights of continuou duty, with only a few hours of rest during the day, I foun myself discussing with a sergeant the arrangements which proposed to make for the execution of my sergeant-major, a man for whom I had the highest regard. To keep one's eyelids from descending in such circumstances of fatigue was among the most painful of experiences. Fortunately even fatigue knows a 'second wind,' for it was not till four days later that I sank happily on to the wire bed of a dug-out and removed my boots for the first time in nine days.

Yet one man found considerable satisfaction in this life. He was an officer in a pioneer battalion and by rights should have lived in a comfortable encampment in a wood behind the lines. He had, however, at one time contrived to secure a dug-out in the vicinity of the front line, and some mysterious duties. There he remained in a state of great happiness, sending notes, we were informed, to his colonel protesting against the suggestion that he might be relieved I visited him one day with my company commander, and, knowing him to be a religious man, decided that he must be a descendant of one of those sturdy followers of Cromwell, who went to war chanting 'a holy and a cheerful note.'

Such was the incomparable tedium and weariness of the fatigues that the intermittent fighting came rather as a relief. Crawling one morning down the shallowest of trenches I reached at last a shell hole in which the night before an advanced post had been established The shell hole was deep and was occupied by a lance-corporal and three men. Movement of any sort was out of the question; to reveal that the shell hole was tenanted could not but bring destruction on all. A day of complete leisure was therefore before them, and rarely have I seen men so contented. Before leaving I observed to the lance-corporal in an undertone that the position which he held was one of great danger, and wholly isolated, to which he replied in the Dorset

dialect that he would be all right so long as he did not lose his pipe. I crawled away well satisfied to belong to a county whose ancient motto is 'Who's Afeard?'

To be confined with another man in a shell hole gives rise to many ludicrous happenings; inevitably the conversation turns on the chances of 'a better 'ole.' I remember another occasion at night, when my company commander, Kestell Cornish, and I were peacefully occupying a shell hole which had fortunately presented itself at the moment when a German machine-gunner had got our direct line. The stream of bullets raged without ceasing over the shell hole with the sound of whiplashes. Suddenly two Highlanders fell on top of us, and proceeded to engage each other in a conversation, apparently of a humorous character, but virtually unintelligible. We took advantage of a momentary respite to leave the two Highlanders, still amusing each other immensely. I observed on occasion that tranquillity made the Highlanders dour and morose, while action produced in them an invincible gaiety. I remember being driven nearly wild on a somewhat hazardous working party in advance of our lines, when silence was of vital importance, by the continuous clinking of spades and exchanges of pawky humour, which the Highlanders appeared to regard as inseparable from the digging of an advanced trench under fire

There was grim and confused fighting one night before Thiepval. The Ulster Division, who were on our left, had planned a small operation, preceded by a barrage. A little before our barrage was due to commence a whirlwind bombardment opened on our line, gradually concentrating on the company next the Ulstermen. Our trenches and outpost positions were levelled. Many of our men were killed and wounded, while others were buried in the *débris* All four companies were in the front line, and the battalion in support was too far away to come into action in time. There was some confusion, as is inevitable when arrangements for attack have hurriedly to be adjusted to defence An hour after the commencement of the barrage the Germans attacked in force. They were driven off except at one point where our trenches had ceased to exist; here there was hand-to-hand fighting in which the company commander and a corporal, though seriously wounded, contrived to take part, supporting each other back to back

Meanwhile the barrage was raging on battalion headquarters at Johnstone's Post and the communication trenches, denying any chance of effective support. Orderly after orderly was sent out, but every man was killed or wounded before he had gone a dozen yards. The sergeant-major went out to collect what men he could find and entered a dug-out. There were

they fought and endured, where many of their friends [illegible] for ever. But the time must come when the travellers are seen no more, and only the forest of graves above the Ancre will remain to tell the tale of that island race whose sons once were lords of these woods and fields.

C. O. G. Douie.


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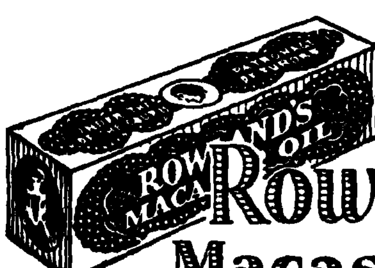
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THE SAFEGUARDING OF BRITISH INDUSTRY

The question of the safeguarding of industry is rapidly becoming of outstanding importance. It may well be the main issue at the next election. The picture of thousands of out-of-work steel workers, hungrily watching hundreds of thousands of tons of steel unloading at our docks, is more than pathetic—it is ludicrous. One feels that it is a reflection upon our intelligence and that there must be a way out in some direction or other.

The solution of the problem presented ought not to depend upon the chances of elections where people cast their votes for a thousand and one reasons wholly unconnected with what is supposed to be the issue before the country. It is at least advisable that the policy of safeguarding should be put, if possible, upon a basis which would command the approval and support of all reasonable people, to whatever political party they belong. I believe that this can be done. I believe that there is a basis indisputably sound economically upon which safeguarding can rest and do nothing but good.

What is the problem, or rather what are the problems, involved? Free Traders would, I think, state them thus: We have a population of about 47,000,000 people. We have to import two-thirds of the food necessary to feed it. We have also to import huge quantities of raw material—cotton, wool, timber, rubber and I know not what. All these things we must have, and they have to be paid for. They can only be paid for by services rendered, by the interest on British capital invested abroad, and by the export of commodities produced here. Apart from coal, in substance our exports consist of manufactured goods. But the world will only take them from us if it suits it to do so—that is, so long as we can sell as cheaply as other people. We can only sell cheaply if we can buy cheaply. In this way we arrive at a basic principle. Industry must be free to buy its raw material in the cheapest market—our shipbuilders must, for example, be able to buy their steel plates in the Continental market. Further, industry must be able to get labour as economically as possible. Anything which tends to raise the cost of living will tend to raise wages. Down to this point the argument seems unassailable, although it may be pointed out that an increase in the rate of wages does not necessarily and in all circumstances involve an increase in the cost of labour; but it continues: All duties are bad because they tend to reduce available supplies, and, therefore, to raise prices and increase the cost of production.

This proposition is treated by Free Traders as a truism. It is strenuously denied by the ardent Safeguarder. It is not accepted by others who, like myself, think that it is not necessarily true and that it requires testing by the experience of experiment. Still this remains—nothing must be done to increase the cost of industrial production.

Now let me begin again and state the problem from another point of view.

Our population is, for this little island, enormous. If all the peoples of the world were put into the United States of America that country would not be so densely populated as are England and Wales. Our problem is to find employment for these crowded millions and, with employment, contentment and happiness. To succeed we must encourage and preserve every industry open to us. Economically the employment of our people is essential. The more people employed upon productive work the greater the wealth produced, the greater the purchasing power of the home market. I well remember a Manchester manufacturer of blouses telling me how much it meant to him when an order for a battleship was placed on the Tyne. Few realise the effect of a cotton industry on half-time upon the makers of boots and clothes and the sellers of food.

It is perfectly obvious that the free importation of goods which can be made here is harmful to the industries engaged upon the production of such goods. It reduces the demand for the home-made article and therefore produces unemployment in the industries concerned. It prevents the natural expansion of industry, to which we look for the absorption of our ever-growing population. Reduction of production increases the cost of production, rendering it more and more difficult to maintain our export trade.

It is not denied by advocates of free imports that particular industries are prejudiced by the competition necessarily involved. They admit that employment is affected in the particular industries concerned, but that, they say, is immaterial, because it does not reduce the total employment in the country. The argument is put in two ways.

First, let us see how it was put by Adam Smith :

> Though a great number of people should, by thus restoring the freedom of trade, be thrown out of their ordinary employment, it would by no means follow that they would thereby be deprived of employment The capital which employed them in a particular manufacture before will still remain in the country to employ an equal number of people in some other way The capital of the country remaining the same, the demand for labour will be the same, though it may be exerted in different places and for different occupations

The theory as propounded by Adam Smith rests upon the assumption that capital does not leave its country of origin, that if one industry is knocked out by competition the capital involved in that industry necessarily stays there and necessarily finds other employment for those thrown out of work. This was perhaps true in the days of Adam Smith. There was no Stock Exchange. It was a thing unthought of to invest one's money in foreign securities or foreign enterprises. British capital stayed here because it could go nowhere else. As Mr. Douglas Graham puts it, the country had a ' capital-tight frontier.' But, as everyone knows, it is now as easy to invest in foreign countries as it is to invest here. There is no frontier for capital, and if an industry is knocked out no one can say truly that the capital employed in that particular industry will still remain in this country and employ labour in some other way. British capital is engaged on a non-stop flight abroad, and yet Adam Smith based his case for Free Trade upon the impossibility of any such thing.

The other way in which the Free Trader puts the argument that free imports do not reduce the total employment in the country may perhaps be stated thus. Imports are paid for by exports, and therefore an equivalent amount of labour is required to make the goods wherewith to pay for the imports as would

have been required to make the goods imported. How often have I heard this argument in the House of Commons! Yet it is thoroughly misleading. To begin with, the statement that imports are paid for by exports needs qualification. Further, the argument is clearly intended to imply that, while imported goods are paid for by other goods produced here, if the imported goods were made here instead of being imported, they would not be paid for by goods produced here—an implication which is wholly untrue. Let me try and justify these criticisms. I have said that it is not strictly true that imports are paid for by exports. Of course, if they are paid for at all, they are paid for by goods—at any rate in so far as not paid for by interest on capital or by services. For the purpose of testing how far it is true that imports are paid for by exports we must regard the world as divided into two parts, our own country forming one part and the rest of the world the other. If it is true that imports are paid for by exports, it must equally be true that exports are paid for by imports, yet we have exported, and the rest of the world has imported from us, commodities to the value of thousands of millions which have never been paid for at all. The purchase price is represented by foreign investments, some of which—for example, our Russian and Turkish investments—have proved of little value. Theoretically, we could go on for years importing what we want without the necessity of exporting anything, using these investments, as we did in the war, to pay the bill. It is a fallacy to think that we can watch complacently increasing imports in the belief that someone in this country is then and there making or producing something to pay for them which would not otherwise have been made. Do not we know from the experience of the last few years that an increase in imports can be accompanied by a decrease in exports?

Still more is it important to realise that it is wholly wrong to suppose that goods made here are not paid for in precisely the same way as imported goods are paid for, if paid for at all—namely, by other goods. There is not the slightest doubt that the great bulk of people professing to be Free Traders are firmly convinced that if Englishwomen bought English worsteds instead of French worsteds there would be a corresponding fall in exports, and that a corresponding amount of goods made by people in England in other industries would cease to be made. To begin with, there is no ground for supposing that there would be any fall in exports. As we have seen, there is no necessary correspondence between imports and exports. If there were, there would be no such thing as a balance of trade one way or the other. It would far more probably mean that the balance of trade would be more in our favour. But suppose our exports did

fall to a corresponding extent, what of it? Worsteds made here have got to be paid for by other commodities in just the same way as imported worsteds are paid for. It is not the fact that if English worsteds were bought by women instead of French worsteds there would be any diminution of production in other industries. The price has always to be paid, and paid in the same way—namely, by the making of other commodities. If I make and sell boots, the money I get for the boots is merely the means of enabling me to exchange the boots I make for the food and clothes I want for myself and my family. A., a bootmaker, sells a pair of boots to B., a hatmaker, for 1*l*. B. sells a hat to C., a tailor, for 1*l*. C. sells a coat to A. for 1*l*. A. has exchanged the boots he made for a coat. B. has exchanged his hat for boots, and so on.

It makes no difference whatever to the way in which the exchange is carried out that C. happens to be living and carrying on his business in France, but French labour has been paid for the making of the coat instead of British labour.

I submit this proposition as an economic truism: the making here of goods hitherto imported, quality and price being equal, adds to employment here precisely the amount of employment necessary to produce the goods in question, and the amount of labour involved in paying for them remains precisely the same. In consequence of the duty on tyres several foreign manufacturers are building factories here. The making here of American and Italian tyres hitherto imported will involve the employment of labour here. To a corresponding extent the home market for other commodities will be enlarged. The tyres, through the medium of the salaries and wages paid for their manufacture, and through the profits earned, will be exchanged for other commodities produced in this country. It follows that the making here of goods hitherto imported, quality and price being equal, is all gain from the point of view of employment.

How are we to hold the scales fairly? On the one hand, we must do nothing to increase the cost of production in our industries, nothing to handicap them in their ability to pay for the food and raw materials which we must have. On the other hand, it is essential, if we are to find employment for our people, to prevent the importing of goods which can be manufactured here. When considering the matter in connexion with goods which are the raw material of no industry, and which do not affect the cost of living, or affect it to such a slight extent as to be negligible, there is no great difficulty, and so far the experiments in safeguarding have been almost entirely confined to products of that kind. The results have been entirely satisfactory. Imports have been checked, employment here has been increased, and prices

have not gone up. Imports of safeguarded manufactures were less in 1927 than in 1925 by over 28 per cent., while imports of non-safeguarded manufactures were greater by over 11 per cent. On the other hand, exports of safeguarded manufactures were greater by 11 per cent., while exports of non-safeguarded manufactures were less by 9 per cent. To take one particular example, imports of safeguarded stockings, silk and artificial silk, were less by 49 per cent., while imports of non-safeguarded stockings, cotton and woollen, increased by 100 per cent.; on the other hand, exports of safeguarded stockings increased by 38 per cent., while exports of non-safeguarded stockings decreased by 20 per cent. Statistics as to the increase of employment in British labour are available only in certain industries. They show considerable increases in the number at work in such industries in June 1927 as compared with June 1925. The industries are those concerned with the construction and repair of motor vehicles, etc., silk and artificial silk, lace and musical instruments. Except in the price of some real silk goods, due to the fact that there is a duty on raw silk, there has been no increase in price; in many cases there has been a fall. On the top of all this the estimated revenue during the current year from the various safeguarding duties is about 11,000,000*l*., which means that, so far as our competitors have succeeded in retaining trade, they have done so by cutting their prices.

It is when we have to consider safeguarding in connexion with something which is used in productive industry, like steel, that the problem becomes acute. In such a case I suggest this proposition: if an industry can prove that if it has the home market secured to it it will be able to supply the demand and supply it at the competitive foreign price, it is for the good of the country that it should be safeguarded. Everyone knows to what a great extent the cost of production depends on output. Suppose the cost of labour and material for some article is 10*l*., and in full production the maker adds 100 per cent. for overheads, making his price 20*l*., it is clear that if he is on half-time he has to add approximately 200 per cent. for overheads, inasmuch as he has but half the production over which to distribute them, and his price therefore becomes 30*l*. If the steel manufacturers, secure of the home market, could supply steel plates to shipbuilders at the Continental market price, why should not the manufacturers of steel plates be safeguarded? Hitherto it would probably have been impossible for many industries to prove any such thing, because of the tremendous burden of rates and freights, but once relieved of the bulk of the burden of rates, and, in some industries, to some extent of excessive freights, it ought to be possible for many industries to satisfy this requirement.

The present procedure has been thoroughly disappointing, not only to ardent safeguarders, but to persons like myself, who want to see safeguarding tested by actual experiment on a greater scale. It has led to the quite needless failure of many applications. An industry applying to be safeguarded has to prove to the satisfaction of a tribunal that the competition from which it is suffering is 'abnormal' and 'unfair.' Further, it has to prove that no other industry will be materially affected by the granting of the application. The tribunal consists of three persons selected by the Board of Trade, persons usually wholly untrained to judicial functions, to the weighing of evidence and to the putting aside of personal views. Doubtless they have done their best, and it is not altogether their fault that the results have been so meagre. Two of the questions, those directed to the normality and fairness of the competition, have proved in practice very difficult to answer, and days and days have been spent upon the task. They are hopelessly vague. There has been no uniformity of construction; indeed, how could there be? But in truth these two questions are wholly irrelevant and unnecessary. If the object of safeguarding is to relieve unemployment, and an efficient industry can show that it is suffering from foreign competition and consequent unemployment, what does it matter whether that competition is fair or unfair, or whether it is abnormal or not abnormal? The unemployment is there just the same. I contend that these questions ought to be eliminated altogether. There would then remain the one material question, whether the protecting of the applying industry will have an adverse effect upon any other industry. I would recast that question. I would state it in plain words: Will the applying industry be able to supply the demand of the home market, and supply it at the competitive foreign market price, if it has the home market secured to it? If this question is answered in the affirmative and the safeguarding application is granted, it should be a condition of the grant that the obligation of supplying at the foreign market price is performed. This is the condition upon which the manufacturer of margarine is protected in the Irish Free State. The question of the safeguarding of food products is ruled out by the fact that the home industry cannot supply the demand, and obviously, therefore, the cost of living would be raised by duties.

I have already, I hope, shown that industry as a whole will not be adversely affected by the mere fact of goods which have hitherto been imported being made here. It may be that there will be an adverse effect upon those engaged in shipping and upon importing merchants, but it is productive industry which demands the first consideration. I submit that the whole question ought to depend upon whether the safeguarding applied for will cause

any other industry to pay more for its raw material. Every producing industry is entitled to buy its raw material in the cheapest market; unless it can do this its power to compete is obviously impaired. If the result of safeguarding one industry is to tend to cripple another industry, the unemployment in the one is merely shifted to the other. Everyone is impressed with the necessity of doing something for the steel industry. The derating legislation will do something, and perhaps make it possible to do more. At any rate, I can think of no basis, other than that which I have indicated, upon which an industry producing a raw material like steel can be safeguarded. If that basis is a possible one, the policy of safeguarding will gain many friends and have but few enemies. The tribunal to decide the question suggested should be a judicial tribunal. I would like to see a tribunal of three, one a lawyer with the status of a judge, one an accountant, and one a business man of wide experience of productive industry. Such a tribunal would closely resemble the Indian Tariff Committee, which has been a pronounced success. I am inclined to think that it would be better for the decision to rest ultimately with the judicial member of the Committee. He, of course, would be guided very largely by the opinion of his fellow-members, but such a practice would avoid the two to one decision, which is never very satisfactory.

The object of this article is to plead for a better understanding of the problems involved in the policy of safeguarding, for the simplification of the procedure and for a basis of the policy which would reconcile conflicting views, and make it possible to extend considerably its application.

CYRIL ATKINSON.

CAMBRIDGE AND COMMERCE

JUST over a year ago there died in Christ's College, Cambridge a Master who perhaps more than anyone in English academic circles had heralded the new era in the relation of the universities with the world of affairs. The contributions of Sir Arthur Shipley to scientific research were not of marked distinction, and it was known to be a private regret that election as a Fellow of the Royal Society came somewhat late in his career. But in bringing the practical issues of science within the reach of the public his best writings equalled those of any biologist of his generation. His *Minor Horrors of War*, published early in 1915, so clearly described the insects and pests then prevalent among the troops that it passed quickly through several editions and was soon followed by another book on the subject.

This unusual gift for widening the appeal of science reflected the almost prophetic zeal with which Shipley early set himself to break down the barriers that had hitherto confined the influence of the universities to their traditional spheres of training for the professions, for teaching and the Church. Shortly before his death, writing on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Cambridge University Appointments Board which he was instrumental in founding, Sir Arthur described the blank wall that seemed at one time to confront the undergraduates in their choice of a career and how in his early days as a don he was ever anxious to help them. Another and important clue to the passion with which he pursued this problem was that in the 'eighties—to use his own words—he had 'already acquired the Transatlantic habit,' and had seen at first hand how many enlightened business men in America were beginning to invite the co-operation of the universities in practical affairs. Typical of the British schemes that Sir Arthur initiated later was the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture in Trinidad, in which to the end he maintained an active interest.

From the experience of nearly half a century of such co-operation in America it is now possible to estimate how far the university system there has been influenced by contact with industry. The corresponding development in England has been slow, but the question is now receiving increased attention, as, for example,

in Lord Eustace Percy's new investigations into the provision of technical schools. The value of such training to industry cannot be over-estimated, yet its extension in the English universities may constitute a grave danger to the cultural studies which it has hitherto been their traditional heritage to guard. The admirable practice of undergraduates getting experience of agricultural and engineering technique during the summer vacation—an American practice now spreading to England—is something quite distinct from the intrusion of such subjects into the general curriculum of the universities. In the United States this latter tendency has been very marked in recent years, as I observed from experience as an undergraduate at Princeton University, where I spent a year before proceeding in orthodox manner to Cambridge. How far the situation is bound up with the American university methods, and its bearing on the English university at the present time, may be indicated by a study of the respective organisations. Some of the details advanced may not at first sight appear to be relevant, but even the smallest cog contributes to the product of a machine.

This approach to the problem will suggest, briefly, that America lacks a proper appreciation of the *art* of living, and that conversely we in England have yet to recognise the need for getting our lives into practical perspective—an equally important factor in the *science* of living.

Incidentally, while in most ways America is a young country, some of the universities belong to the old tradition, and Harvard, for example, was established before any English universities excepting Oxford and Cambridge. So for analogy our comparison may be between an Elizabethan courthouse and a Georgian mansion, and not, as is sometimes supposed, between a mediæval castle and one of those modern 'bungaloid' growths to which Dean Inge in particular appears to take such exception.

The chief characteristic of an American university is the absence of constituent colleges, and the undergraduates are divided by seniority instead, each year forming a unit for organisation purposes. At Princeton there are 2000 students, and as four years are required for a degree, each year—or 'class,' as they term it—forms a group of about 500 students. All the courses of instruction are therefore graded into four standards suited to consecutive years.

Two obvious results of this arrangement are the absence of the college tutors and hence the placing of emphasis on lectures, which are almost always compulsory in America. Owing to the size of the units—the 'classes'—it is impractical to tutor each student individually, apart from the fact that the university cannot afford to pay an army of tutors who have no other function.

In England the numerous college posts of bursar, dean, and so forth, supplement the available salaries and provide a means of employing tutors and supervisors who do not necessarily also hold a university appointment. Princeton admittedly is a pioneer among American universities in introducing a tutorial system, but even there it does not compare in completeness with our Cambridge college methods.

The American freshman is obliged in any subject to take the first-year course, which is a further handicap to brilliance. The well-prepared undergraduate in England can work with third-year men if his standard is sufficiently advanced ; in America—except, I think, at Harvard—he must go through the regular machine. Originality is therefore discouraged, and early in his university career the undergraduate finds himself becoming standardised. Furthermore, the examination comes to be regarded as the chief test of ability, and the emphasis is placed on passing examinations rather than on studying for the sake of study. This weakness is encouraged by the absence of external examiners, for as the professors themselves usually set the papers, these tend to become a test in the lecture syllabus rather than in the subject as a whole.

Deliberately I put these academic criticisms first, because they are necessary if the counterbalancing advantages are to be seen in perspective. And from a commercial point of view the weight of these advantages is surprising.

The same prevalence of uniformity is found in American university athletics, and it was more than merely a clever film caption when Harold Lloyd described an American university as a football stadium with a college attached! At Princeton athletics are compulsory among the freshmen, and a reverent enthusiasm for football and baseball is required of every undergraduate. Here, it seems to me, is another example of the uniform outlook which is forced on the young American, and because it is a standardised product his zeal for athletics takes a form which is foreign to English conceptions. The American is induced to beat the other side at all costs, and in so doing loses much of the joy of playing for the sake of the game. In other words, his result-producing, standardised system shows a lack of the art of living, of taking an æsthetic pleasure in a game as a game, apart from the outcome in terms of the score. I had an unexpected example of this attitude only a few weeks ago at Lord's when an American guest of mine—I need hardly say, to the embarrassment of a smaller member of one of the schools with me—said to him in parting before the match was over, 'Well, I am not yet quite clear whether you are Eton or Harrow, but, whichever it is, I hope your side *beats*.'

[illegible] all that the English indifferen[t] [illegible] with equal misgiving, as su[ch] [illegible] ; but to derive pleasure from re[c] [illegible] making it a struggle as serio[us] [illegible] as a mediæval duel! Of course I am tal[king in] general terms and am not unmindful of many exception[s].

The organisation and compulsion of the American [under]graduate possibly had its origin in the common prac[tice of] matriculating at seventeen. Certainly a fourth year's res[idence] is required for a degree in America instead of our three[, and] the disciplining of freshmen compares with the supervisio[n of] English schools. Whatever its beginning, [the] senior year at American universities has been [a] compulsory element in American universities has been [the] subject of heated debate, yet, curiously enough, its academ[ic] discussion has overlooked its secondary, but important, functio[n] in relation to training for commerce. The question hinges on whether it is better to require a compulsory standard of the great mass of students, or, as in England, to cater primarily for the few brilliant men, and to let the majority work out their own academic salvation.

I venture to assert that the American method has everything to commend it—the method, let me emphasise, as distinct from the subjects studied. The brilliant man is likely to succeed anyway, and by coercing the mass of students in their studies you may bring out the man who is inherently talented, but by nature merely lazy. In the first two years at the university the sudden freedom from the discipline of school often produces a strong reaction. I hesitate to introduce personal examples in this discussion, but there is no greater danger than generalisation alone. An early school report dubbed me slow to learn, and a subject which in senior years proved very difficult was German. I was not lazy, but I should certainly have given up the subject at Princeton had it not been compulsory. The result of a year's further work there, however, was that quite suddenly I got over the initial stage, developed even an enthusiasm, and came to talk German at least well enough to make myself understood on the Continent.

But whatever the value of the compulsory method from a technical point of view, a further and more important result is the habit of doing irksome work which it inspires. The benefit later in junior positions, whether professionally or in business, cannot be over-estimated. I am sure that many university men in England with excellent qualifications fail to succeed only for want of this working stamina. A few days ago the editor of a leading London newspaper said to me that for this reason alone he had no use for university men in business.

...her hand, whether the subjects taught at the ...iversities are good is a very different question, and ...ion more fundamental. The provision of technical ... not so general as is sometimes supposed, but many ...urses would only be found in England at the purely ...school. As illustrating this tendency in America Sir ...ipley once met a young lady student who intended to ...nt Greek History and Shakespeare with lessons in ...y and pottery. ' It is only fair to add,' Sir Arthur said ...haracteristic humour, ' that such a course is unusual.' ...ven among my own few friends is a Harvard student who ...w reading Medicine, having tried his hand already at every...g from Romantic literature to the study of stained glass. ...re again an explanation may be found, for, as a critic once ...marked, even a university course in the scientific management of a hotel has its advantages for those who may have to spend much of their lives at the mercy of hotel managers!

The purely material outlook that may arise in the absence of humanising studies makes practical efficiency the paramount consideration. The example may seem at first sight irrelevant, but probably the increase in divorce in America is a symptom—it reflects, at least, a want of the art of living, of being able to adapt one's outlook to circumstances and showing consideration for the whims and wishes of others The American tends to do everything in such a matter-of-fact, deadly serious way, when a little more recreation and ability to amuse himself, even to laugh at himself, would work a wonderful change in his outlook on life.

The purely practical function of many university courses also accounts for a shortage of candidates for public life. Though there are many more disinterested politicians and professional men in America than is sometimes supposed, the country does lack the supply which the more cultural, and I think more valuable, type of studies at the English university provides.

I may perhaps remark in parenthesis—lest the false impression be given that the American universities are not mainly concerned with cultural studies—that the new novel of a young graduate of Yale has been described as perhaps the most outstanding achievement in recent literature. I refer, of course, to Thornton Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey*. In Mr Arnold Bennett's opinion 'the writing has not been surpassed in the present epoch.'

As regards the advent of technical training in England, I cannot do better than refer to a correspondence appearing in *The Times* in recent weeks. Dr. James Bowie, of the Manchester College of Technology, started the discussion in a letter advocating technical training, interspersed with actual experience in business,

as the desirable course. He suggested that the English univers ties should take the situation—to use his words—'by the fore lock,' and initiate at once more facilities for technical training, and he quoted in his favour the Balfour Committee's Report on this tendency in America. The approach to Dr. Bowie's proposal must necessarily differ in the universities of such industrial towns as Manchester and Leeds, where many technical classes are already provided, but to replace the more cultural studies of the older universities by technical training would seem to show a lack of perspective, if not an actual error.

To recognise that the matter turns on what is the function of a university does not detract from its importance to industry. Indeed, it will surely be a sad day for industry itself when cultural studies are given second place. Technical ability is always wanted, but what appear to be even more necessary to-day are breadth of mind and a sense of proportion. These factors may often be acquired through other channels, but are certainly forthcoming from the period for disinterested study and reflection which the years at our English universities provide. A knowledge of business principles may usually be obtained afterwards if a methodical approach to study has been acquired in even small measure at the universities, yet if the business sense is altogether lacking no amount of special training will inculcate it.

Then has the English university nothing to learn from America? If you resent the intrusion of technical training, what contribution have Oxford and Cambridge to make to industry and its many problems?

Most emphatically we have much to learn, but just as the American's lesson concerns the intangible art of living, so our problem is chiefly a psychological one. I suggest that our older universities as they stand can do more to change the face of our industrial life than by all the vocational and technical training that could possibly be added to their existing curriculum Briefly, they have got to recognise the moral service rendered by business and industry and, instead of secretly fostering the traditional contempt for commerce, to take the lead in encouraging the spirit of service.

No doubt the behaviour of many of the people with money has something to do with the position, but it is surely pathetic that vast numbers of highly worthy business men should be working under a cloud and with the feeling that, as they are despised in academic circles, their calling is really perhaps something of which to be ashamed. You have the situation well illustrated by the relative fashions in business and university circles when you travel every morning and evening in a railway

arriage of friends who get out at the same station, yet not one in three has the faintest notion of the trade of the other two. Each of us feels that perhaps our calling is not quite respectable. In academic circles, on the other hand, I notice no effort to hide one's status, and, much as I dislike to call attention to it, even a Master of Commerce to-day may cause considerable flutterings among a gathering of mere Bachelors.

The modesty of business is a worthy characteristic, and cultural matters rightly are given first place, but I suggest with a full sense of reverence that Cambridge has got to abandon once and for all the God *versus* Mammon attitude. The enlightened professional man has hitherto joined hands with the academic, while the wretched business man was regarded with prayerful commiseration. His charity—which incidentally included much towards the cost of running the universities—has been often regarded merely as conscience money. As a result, even the business man has tended to share this view and devote his spare time to good works, so it can hardly be wondered at if the university man has not devoted to his business all that zeal and enthusiasm with which, for instance, he would have approached the teaching profession or the Bar. He has, in fact, lacked the conscious justification for his existence which is essential to a full life, and this, I suggest, in the science of living is as much a serious defect as the American's lack of the art of living.

A few months ago Dr. Stewart Paton, of Yale University, contributed to the American *Forum* an article which he titled 'Education for Sanity.' In this Dr. Paton urged the need for the American to learn to sit still and enjoy his own company—an important aspect of the art of living—and he also stressed the point I have been making, that our business and commercial occupations, rightly viewed, should be satisfying to our sense of service. On this point Dr. Paton writes that 'a person who has to lecture to keep up his own enthusiasm, to reform other people in order to save his own mind or soul, to attend committee meetings merely to satisfy the neurotic craving to be of some use in the world, is practically engaged in the manufacture of explosives and may easily become a menace to public health and sane ways of living.' I join him in asking support in academic circles for the proposition that business men *are* justifying their existence and rendering in industry a service which is anything but worthy of contempt. Those of us who are in business need all the moral support which the universities can give, a factor which at the American university is already established.

It cannot be too widely known that the word 'service' in America is not a mere slogan, as is often supposed. Indeed, the association of all forms of business with service is there an

instinctive element in the national psychology. I remember t[h]e wife of a Princeton professor telling me that her son had jus[t] secured a job in a soap factory. Possibly she herself had secre[t] regrets that he was not following in his father's footsteps, but at least the son had got the matter in right perspective when he explained to her in all seriousness that 'he was going to clean up the world.'

How deeply ingrained is this conception of service is well illustrated by the practice of students earning their expenses while resident at the university. If business were regarded with the least contempt, this would reveal itself among undergraduates, whose motives the world over—whatever the outlook of their seniors—are certainly stamped with integrity. Princeton is often classed as being rather select among American universities, yet 25 per cent.—or 500 out of the 2000 undergraduates—are earning part of their expenses by work of one kind or another. They serve as clerks in the local banks, assistants in bookshops, and run newspaper agencies under the supervision of a University Bureau of Student Employment. Many of these men could not afford a university education but for this supplement to their means; others by earning can give themselves just those little adjuncts which make all the difference between pinching and plenty. Altogether over 40,000*l*. was earned last year by Princeton undergraduates. All the waiting at table in the university dining-halls is done by students, who are able to earn their entire board by serving a certain number of tables per week, and a good bonus for anything above this minimum. They put on their white aprons and carry trays at one meal and sit with their friends at the next; and such is the general recognition of service that those who take on such work do not suffer in social status thereby. The whole scheme is run on a sound financial basis; it is in no sense a charity, and there is a complete absence of condescension towards these men. Personally I found it the most usual thing to be seated at a table with one's best friend as waiter, and naturally to have a lively conversation with him. Everyone, in fact, may work for his living without prejudice in America.

It is, of course, arguable that it is undesirable for students to have to work at all and that scholarships are a better solution; that is an incidental problem which I shall not discuss. The point I want to make is that there is no contempt for business in American university circles, an attitude which we in England would do well to copy.

In the matter of practical organisation, we cannot introduce the American compulsory methods, even if it were desirable, because, for one thing, the tutorial supervision we enjoy makes

them largely unnecessary. Yet in the interests of the growing numbers of university men going into business we might well meet them half-way by requiring stricter discipline as regards their studies, at least in freshman year. Anything which will lessen the difficulty afterwards in settling down to hard and uncongenial work is worthy of serious consideration. As to the most suitable studies, here again I will venture repetition—that the university should avoid providing special training, which is the function of the technical school, and that the business man in embryo should take philosophical courses rather than those of a so-called practical nature.

Personally I hope Oxford and Cambridge at least will always continue to provide, as hitherto, for the Church, the academic world and the professions, which certainly have first claim on the cultural facilities of the universities Let us learn from the position in America to avoid at all costs the purely technical studies, but in so doing we must be quite clear that we are not influenced by any secret contempt for practical commercial pursuits.

To look at the matter purely from the academic view, the adoption of this new attitude is essential. Once business men feel they are understood and that their service is a worthy one, they will endow and encourage the development of the universities. I know this appears a low basis of approach, but after all someone has got to pay for education, and you cannot reasonably expect business men to help those by whom they are despised. English benefactors are coming again to the fore, as in the case of the generous gifts of Sir Edward Brotherton, the chemical manufacturer, to the University of Leeds, and of the Wills family to Bristol. But in America, at Princeton in particular, every graduate regularly subscribes to his university, and funds are seldom lacking for adequate remuneration of the faculty, for new buildings and libraries, and all the other provisions essential to a healthy and progressive university. The suggestion is sometimes made that in consequence American university 'presidents'—as they term their chancellors—are merely pawns in the hands of finance. Undoubtedly its hold over some institutions is oppressive, but having met President Lowell, of Harvard, as well as Dr. Hibben, of Princeton, I have no hesitation in dismissing such criticism as applied to the important universities.

The number of universities which have sprung up in the United States during recent years is quite remarkable, and there are altogether, big and small, about 650. Of course, some of these institutions are not universities at all according to English standards. I remember how Sir Arthur Shipley used to relate that he was duly impressed when travelling in the Middle West

to discover that one of his train companions was a 'co president.' Further inquiry revealed that the faculty at pres consisted of this dignitary and his wife, though they hoped, was remarked optimistically, to add to their number quite shortly Despite the varying standards of the universities, 'the first essenti is to get the structure up,' as Mr. John St. Loe Strachey onc remarked; 'later there will be plenty of time to furnish anc garnish that structure.' The facilities for doing so are certainly not lacking, for the States provide annually 30,000,000*l.* out of their taxes towards the upkeep of the State universities, which number more than 100, while private endowments are said to total over 100,000,000*l.* The agricultural State of Iowa alone has as many university institutions as there are in England, though its population is but 2,000,000. On the average throughout the United States there are four university students to every one in England, making allowance for relative populations. The demand for university education is increasing so rapidly that some of the larger universities have been obliged to limit their numbers and raise accordingly the standards required for admission. Personally I found the entrance examinations for Princeton rather more exacting than for Cambridge, and certainly as hard as those for the University of London, where I also matriculated.

The proper relations of culture and commerce are of equal importance to England and to America, and the question only remains how best the universities in both countries can benefit mutually from their respective experiences. Obviously by each country studying the literature of the other much may be done, and there is evidence that this tendency is increasing. For most of us this mutual reading is probably the only practical method, but I believe the exchange of students between America and England to be probably the most valuable means of increasing co-operation in education and in everything else that matters between the English-speaking peoples. The students of to-day are the men of affairs to-morrow, and sympathy and friendship formed at the university are of permanent influence.

How far the impending change is due to exchange of ideas is as yet problematical, but there is already tangible evidence that a return to the prevalence of cultural studies is beginning in America. Certainly typical was the prominence given in Princeton to an article by Canon Raven, of Liverpool, on the risk of over-specialisation in American universities at the present time and the need for an ultimate vision, while the recent pronouncements and addresses of their most distinguished academic leaders—for example, of President Hibben, of Princeton—have urged the study of philosophy to counteract mere materialism. In the same way, Cambridge is making increasing headway with

is distinct problem, and I should like in a last reference to the late Sir Arthur Shipley, whose friendship is a privileged and warm memory, to write again of the work of the University Appointments Board. It has, of course, introduced many graduates to colonial administration, such as the Sudan political service, but it is interesting to note that the board's method is to find them suitable positions afterwards rather than to recommend or organise vocational training during the years at the university. The same distinction marks Sir Arthur Shipley's other nursling, the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture, which is usually open only to those who have already graduated elsewhere.

In mentioning the existing schemes for student exchange, I would first urge the need for aiding private travel, and for the mutual recognition by British and American universities of study and residence. At present, short of graduation, no credit is given in England for work done privately across the water, and very few students can afford the extra year and expense which travel otherwise involves. A plan is already in operation for American students visiting our universities, and their own system involves so many compulsory attendances that a similar scheme to suit Cambridge ought not to present great difficulty.

As regards official arrangements, the work of the Rhodes Trust has lately been supplemented by the Davison scholarships, and another important provision is the Commonwealth Fund of New York, which sends English graduate students to American universities. Cambridge is represented in the scheme by Sir Hugh Anderson, Master of Gonville and Caius, I am proud to say my own college, while of a similar movement among schoolboys—the Brooks-Bright Foundation—the American director, Mr. John Fanshawe, is a Princeton man ; General Sir John Headlam is the British chairman. This movement enjoys the active assistance of Sir Alan Anderson, the well-known shipowner, and I am sure the Master of Caius would permit my remarking on the happy connexion of university and business with a mutual cause which he and his brother afford.

The British Committee of the Commonwealth Fund is distinguished by the chairmanship of the Prince of Wales, who has shown that no one could be more alive to the value of university intercourse with America or more keen for its success. The active interest of His Royal Highness in this work is of the greatest significance, and, as in so many matters of the first importance, we cannot do better than follow his lead.

For in culture and commerce alike the English and American universities must equally guard with fervour the ancient truth that 'Where there is no vision the people perishes.'

JOHN A. BENN.

ROTARY

THIS is an age of 'movements,' most of which are still-born, and many predestined to early failure What, then, is this 'Rotary' that it lays claim to more than an ephemeral vogue, and substantiates such claim by a record of continuous progress during its twenty-three years of existence?

When Paul Harris, a comparatively unknown Chicago lawyer, evolved in 1905 the idea of periodical meetings with a few of his business acquaintances, to be held in rotation (whence germinated the title 'Rotary') at their various offices or places of business, he can hardly have foreseen that little more than a quarter of a century later Rotary International would have spread over forty-four countries, with nearly 3000 clubs and 150,000 members. During this summer he paid a long-awaited visit to the Rotary Club of London, and among the 500 Rotarians who assembled to greet him were delegates from Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, China, and almost every country in Europe. Furthermore, Rotary is proud to number in its ranks the Kings of Belgium and of Italy, the Lord Mayor of London, and many of the foremost business and professional men in the world.

Confined to the United States of America for the first six years of its existence, Rotary spread to the United Kingdom in 1911, Dublin being the first town to start a club, followed in the same year by London. To-day the Rotary International Association for Great Britain and Ireland, more generally known as R.I.B.I., numbers nearly 300 clubs, of which Greater London alone is responsible for forty-four. The rest of the world began to follow suit: clubs were opened at Havana in 1916 and at Montevideo in 1918. In 1919 the movement spread to Manila, Shanghai, Panama city, Calcutta, and Buenos Aires. Madrid and Tokio were inaugurated the following year, while 1921 brought seven more countries in; sixteen others joined by 1927, and this year has seen a notable entrant in Germany, where the movement is spreading with particular rapidity. There are 114 clubs on the continent of Europe to-day, and their number is being added to practically monthly

It is certain that Rotary is a movement which is extremely difficult of definition: it is pre-eminently an ethical movement, and this very fact renders anything in the way of a succinct explanation of its aims and objects no easy task. Briefly it may be said that Rotary is a philosophy of everyday life, undertaking to inspire men to realise fully their individual capacity for patriotic citizenship in their nation, to deal honestly and ethically with their employees, their customers, and their business or professional associates, and individually, as well as through their association in Rotary clubs, to do their utmost to bring about understanding, good-will and international peace through a world-fellowship of business and professional men united in the ideal of Service. 'Service above Self' is, in fact, the slogan of Rotary, its twin companion being 'He profits most who serves best.' These two simple phrases, translated into half a hundred tongues, stand for Rotary's tenets the world over.

But Rotary should not be regarded merely as a state of mind: he who 'serves' is expected also to act. A Rotarian is expected, throughout his daily tasks and social contacts, to use his utmost effort to reconcile the obligation to serve others with the desire to profit for himself. Based, therefore, on the practical ethical principle that 'He profits most who serves best,' his philosophy of life calls for the consideration of service before self.

A Rotary club is a group of representative business or professional men who, without secret vow, dogma or creed, have accepted the Rotary philosophy of service as the true basis of success and happiness in business, professional, or community life. Each member, as an individual, tries to translate this theory into practice in his business and everyday life, and also to stimulate its acceptance, both as a theory and in practice, by all non-Rotarians as well as by all Rotarians.

Membership of a Rotary club is very strictly limited to one representative only of each distinct line of business or profession in the community unit, the intention being that each business or profession shall have one *representative* and *active* exponent in the club, and that the club shall have, through its members, one direct and responsible avenue of approach to all those engaged in the various businesses and professions existing in the community.

Great store is set by regular attendance at club meetings, which are held weekly, usually at luncheon time; failure to attend on four consecutive occasions without a reasonable excuse is liable to entail expulsion from the movement. Attendance at other clubs is allowed, in certain circumstances, to make up for attendances lost by a member at his own club. The reason for this insistence on regular attendance is laid down in the

fourth object. The objects of Rotary are six in number. To encourage and foster

1. The ideal of service as the basis of all worthy enterprise.
2. High ethical standards in businesses and professions.
3. The application of the ideal of service by every Rotarian to his personal, business, and community life.
4. The development of acquaintance as an opportunity for service.
5. The recognition of the worthiness of all useful occupation, and the dignifying by each Rotarian of his occupation as an opportunity to serve society.
6. The advancement of understanding, good-will, and international peace through a world-fellowship of business and professional men united in the Rotary ideal of service.

In conjunction with the foregoing, there exists a Rotary code of ethics, to which every Rotarian will be required to subscribe. This is too long to quote *in extenso*, but the prelude thereto is of interest:

> My business standards shall have in them a note of sympathy for our common humanity My business dealings, ambitions and relations shall always cause me to take into consideration my highest duties as a member of society. In every position in business life, in every responsibility that comes before me, my chief thought shall be to fill that responsibility and discharge that duty, so, when I have ended each of them, I shall have lifted the level of human ideals and achievements a little higher than I found it.

The last clause of this code runs:

> Finally, believing in the universality of the Golden Rule—All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them—we contend that Society best holds together when equal opportunity is accorded all men in the natural resources of this planet

This last as well as the sixth object is interesting in view of what will follow later in this article regarding the possibilities of Rotary as an international panacea.

Wherein lies the secret of Rotary's popularity, of its almost unprecedentedly rapid spread all over the civilised world? One of its greatest assets is that it is the first great ideal in history that has shocked no faith, offended no taste, aroused no greed. Its wonderful appeal ignores frontiers and takes no count of colour, creed, or race. Its great beauty is that, unlike many other movements, associations and sects, it puts its aims and objects, its creed and *raison d'être*, there in front of you, for you to look at and judge. There is nothing secret in Rotary, no dark and mystic rites, nothing that is not well able to stand the fiercest noonday glare. It can never come into conflict with the forces of law and order, since it stands for these things; it will never

founder on the rocks of politics or religious controversy, since it takes no heed of these things, which may not even be discussed at its table.

Like all other great movements, Rotary has, and will have, its detractors. But all the Babbitts ever imagined by Mr. Lewis will not succeed in bringing ridicule on the movement; in fact, Mr. Lewis has recently gone into somewhat laboured explanations of his former remarks about Rotary, and goes so far, in a recent article, as to say: '. . . I assert that the growth of Rotary in Great Britain, where it already has hundreds of chapters, is more important for world tranquillity than all the campaigns of the reformers put together.'

However, whatever charges, real or imaginary, may be laid at Rotary's door, self-seeking and self-interest can hardly figure in the list. If ever there were an altruistic movement, it is surely that of Rotary. Proof of this is often afforded by the question which is too frequently put to a Rotarian: 'What do you get out of it?' When the answer comes that 'Nothing is got out of it,' it is manifestly disbelieved Yet there is 'nothing in' Rotary except that satisfaction with self (*not* self-satisfaction) which can only be gained by a proper interpretation of its great slogan 'Service above Self'

The chief reproach levelled at Rotary is, of course, to the effect that it is, in point of fact, nothing but a glorified luncheon club, a convenient stamping ground for the herd of 'hot-air merchants.' To say that there is no truth whatever in this reproach would be to blink the facts, yet it is rather the fact that there is an ever-present danger of a degeneration of this sort than that such a degeneration already exists.

It is obvious that Rotary, since it draws its members solely from the business and professional classes, actively engaged in their trade or calling, is not in a position to make too great a demand on their time. In nearly every case the only possible meeting time, in great or small cities, is the luncheon hour—that is to say, for the transaction of the more pressing club business; this does not obviate the fact that the average Rotarian devotes a great deal of his time to the movement, apart from the official meetings, in individual service, such as serving on committees and work in furtherance of community, vocational, and international service. It is an undoubted fact that these brief weekly meetings should be supplemented, wherever possible, by evening gatherings of the whole club, when there would be more leisure to discuss matters of general interest and initiate new schemes for service. This is unfortunately practically impossible of realisation where the London club, or indeed that of any great metropolis, is concerned, since the members' private domiciles

are evidently so widely scattered that an evening *réunion*, at anything like regular intervals, is not feasible. There is, however, no reason why this scheme should not be more widely adopted in provincial and country centres.

Many of the detractors of Rotary insist that it is doing nothing of practical value; therefore it may be as well to give a brief outline of the activities of the average club. It will be obvious that the size of the club will to a large extent determine the extent of its activities: one would naturally not expect so full a programme from a Rotary club in a provincial town of 15,000 inhabitants as from the Rotary Club of London, with its 280 members drawn from the City and Westminster.

A quotation may be usefully made here from a pamphlet entitled *What is Rotary?* issued by the Education Committee of the Rotary Club of London:

> Rotary recognizes and impresses upon Rotarians and others the worthiness and dignity of every useful and legitimate occupation as an opportunity to serve society. The Rotarian, who avails himself fully of this knowledge and opportunity, must be a good citizen, and so achieve in himself one of Rotary's objects. While a Rotary club seeks chiefly to train its members so that each may become an exemplar and exponent of the Rotary principle of Service, it frequently comes into touch with possibilities for wider and collective service in the civic, charitable and other circles in which its members move It is no part of a Rotary club's purpose to take over anyone else's job, but, if the cause be deemed good and free from sectarian religion and party politics, the club, seeking neither publicity nor credit for itself, can co-operate with existing agencies, if any, in propaganda, and in any other way, to advance the matter or to achieve the desired end Thus the Rotary movement is officially supporting the objects of the League of Nations Union, and in the fullness of time it will doubtless be justified in claiming a tangible contribution to the great objects of the League of Nations itself. In all its activities a Rotary club acts best and is most successful as a propagandist, by speech, influence, and example.

In order to provide itself with the necessary machinery for co-operation 'with existing agencies,' the average Rotary club forms, in addition to those concerned with its internal working (fraternal, house, publicity, etc.), committees for dealing with community service, vocational service, and international service. The latter has of late taken a preponderating place in the activities of the London club, and this naturally follows from its geographical position; this does not mean that community and vocational activities have been lost sight of.

Community service embraces a number of forms of service, such as prison visitation, boys' work, Boy Scout movement, Big Brother movement, hospital visiting and entertainments, Christmas teas for poor children, and many others. In every case

advantage is taken of existing institutions, as far as possible, in order to economise effort and remain true to the guiding principles of Rotary as outlined in the extract quoted above.

Vocational service devolves from the fifth object—the recognition of the worthiness of all useful occupations, and the dignifying by each Rotarian of his occupation as an opportunity to serve society. The machinery for dealing with this branch of Rotary's activities is not yet so highly developed as in the case of community service, but a number of interesting schemes are now being studied, among which may be cited the Vocational Exchange of Young People (this touches on the sixth object as well), the Round Table movement, and the encouragement and fostering of high ethical standards in business and professions.

Taking the last first, it is obvious that, if the business world does not regulate its own practices, the Government will step in and enact regulations for it. This can be avoided by each business taking action, in concert with its association, to set its affairs in order. This points to the wisdom of the adoption of written standards of correct practice by each business or profession.

But it is also clear that a mere code will not, of itself, suffice to make a trade or profession ethical. It is only from experience of working together in an association that a proper ethical system may be evolved. Rotary realised that an effective code would be an instrument at once educational and disciplinary, and that, to be effective in both senses, it should be definitely based on the ethics developed by the craft itself. A code being merely a concrete expression of such ethics, it must grow with the industry's own progress.

The Rotary code of ethics was adopted at the San Francisco Convention of 1915, and, while it contains a very plain definition of ethical objects, is more in the nature of a statement of principles, or of the beliefs of Rotary, than of a directive code. Thus, while its statements should not necessarily be incorporated in any draft code proposed for adoption by national, provincial, or local trade or professional associations, it is of great assistance in that it gives a clear conception of the purposes aimed at and the fundamental principles underlying many rules of conduct. In other words, Rotary International seeks to encourage and foster high ethical standards in two ways—first, in the individual Rotarian, in order that he may exemplify high ethical standards in his own business ; and secondly, in the business or professional world, through the individual Rotarian's active leadership or support of others in inspiring high ethical standards.

The Vocational Exchange of Young People is a new idea, which was originally mooted in Switzerland, and is now engaging

the attention of many Rotary clubs. This is a scheme for the interchange of the sons of Rotarians or of their friends and business associates between different countries for the purposes of business or professional training. This, again, is a point which merges into the sixth object (International Service), and it is obvious that, if certain minor disadvantages inherent to the scheme can be overcome, very valuable results must accrue from such exchange.

The Round Table movement, recently started at Norwich, has already spread to other provincial towns and will shortly be inaugurated in London. This is, to all intents and purposes, a sort of junior but completely independent Rotary movement for young business and professional men who have not yet reached the age at which entry into Rotary itself is indicated. For the moment Rotary is asked merely for its blessing and empowered to hold a watching brief over the progress of the newly-launched movement. Obviously, it can be of the greatest help in the formation of new 'tables' through its knowledge of the most suitable material in any given centre.

It has been necessary to indulge in this rather lengthy preamble before coming to the real point of this article: 'Is Rotary an international panacea?' For without a fair general idea of the growth and origin of the movement, of its aims and objects, and of what it is already doing in different fields, it is difficult to form a true conception of its possibilities when applied to the widest sphere.

It has been seen that, as far as distribution goes, Rotary is sufficiently widely diffused to be in a position to exercise a considerable influence over international opinion, and this influence is naturally increased by the nature of Rotary's membership. After all, it is to the combined good-will of business and professional men the world over that we must look for future peace rather than to any action by any individual Government, or any concerted steps taken by any group of Governments, since these latter are naturally powerless to achieve any lasting result if they have not got the proper backing.

It has been said that to-day, of Rotary's six objects, the last—that dealing with the advancement of understanding, good-will, and international peace—is forcing its way more and more into the forefront, and that this should be so is not only highly gratifying, but also easily intelligible. The ideas of Rotary, when successfully applied to a community or a nation, cannot but react in a favourable way upon the manner in which that community or nation views its external relations.

But Rotary's great claim to be considered a panacea for the world's troubles to-day rests on an extremely sound basis. In

bringing together in national and international harmony coteries of business and professional men, it is uniting in a common bond of understanding just those classes without whose whole-hearted co-operation any attempt at bringing about real international understanding is foredoomed to failure.

The more the world marches on, and the further civilisation progresses, the more surely do trade and industry bulk in the scheme of things: just as their right interpretation is the surest guarantee of peace, so their distortion and corruption by sharp practices and individual greed of gain are the inevitable precursors of war and strife. At the back of all wars and disturbances since the dawn of history have been personal and national ends, but only 'national' in the sense of a national lust for spoil; and each succeeding decade brings, with its growing expansion of commercial interests, a corresponding risk of an Armageddon engineered by trusts and combines.

Any move for peace, then, which does not possess the power to harness these sources of evil effectively is not only certain to fail, but also unworthy of even the most cursory attention. A nation, or a group of nations, may be actuated by the most sincere motives in empowering their Government or Governments to press the cause of international understanding, but unless they back their Government's *démarches* by preliminary spade-work, their wishes are not very likely to be translated into actuality. Before international opinion can be properly prepared for the reception of the peace ideal it is of cardinal importance to prepare national opinion through community opinion.

Such preparation of community and national opinion is work which cannot possibly be undertaken by any organisation or association which can in any conceivable manner be suspected of 'having an axe to grind.' Great campaigns have been and can be organised by the Press; but these have been and will of necessity be mainly of a purely national or imperial character, since for them to be in a position successfully to tackle international problems the Press of all countries would require to see eye to eye, or at least to be willing to make an attempt so to do. This desirable state of affairs may exist in time, but it shows no signs of happening in the reasonably near future.

To prepare national opinion in every country for the introduction of an era of real international good-will and fellowship is therefore beyond the realm of practical politics, save for a body which is represented in every country, and is in every country thoroughly representative of the real thoughts and aims of the citizen with a stake in his country and in the world.

Allusion has already been made to the fact that the Rotary movement is officially supporting the objects of the League of

Nations Union, and that, in the fullness of time, it will no doubt be justified in claiming a tangible contribution to the great objects of the League of Nations itself. That time has, in the opinion of the majority of Rotarians, arrived. 'It is no part of a Rotary club's purpose to take over anyone else's job'; nor, of course, is there the slightest wish or intention to usurp the functions of the League of Nations, or of any other similar body: it is rather that the work of the League of Nations and the objects of the Kellogg Pact can be seconded in a more practical manner by Rotary International than by any other modern organisation. Rotary seeks no credit for itself in any of its aims or objects—to do so would be to run directly counter to its self-imposed slogan; but it would be false to itself were it to spare any endeavour in a cause in which it is so pre-eminently fitted to act. 'In all its activities a Rotary club acts best and is most successful as a propagandist, by speech, influence, and example.' Multiply 'club' by 3000, and you have Rotary International, operating in forty-four countries the world over; and you have the most powerful, the most disinterested, and the most representative propaganda that can well be imagined. Rotary's *rôle* in preparing a favourable international atmosphere for the Kellogg Pact can hardly be over-estimated. Among all the bids ever made to unite West and East, to bring the two great English-speaking nations to a complete and lasting understanding, and then to blend this happy union in harmony with the rest of the world, that made by Rotary International is the most sincere as well as the most practical.

Without in any sense neglecting its other aims and objects, it is of paramount importance at the present time that Rotary's sixth object should hold pride of place. More especially can Rotary be of the utmost service in preparing the ground in all countries for the universal acceptation of the Kellogg Pact. The attitude of the United States towards the League of Nations is still imperfectly understood by a great majority of Europeans: it is hardly realised that the peculiar nature of the Constitution of the United States practically puts their recognition, or rather membership, of the League out of court. There is, of course, no danger that the United States will support a nation which breaks the Covenant of the League, but a better understanding of their attitude in the matter, and the consequent necessity for seeing the Kellogg Pact through, form a problem which Rotary is peculiarly well fitted to tackle. Just as Rotary is officially lending its support to the work of the League of Nations Union, so it must regard it as a pressing duty to broadcast a proper interpretation of the spirit underlying the Kellogg Pact.

The millennium must be nearer at hand once a considerable

proportion of the population of every country is united by a common philosophy of life—the creed of 'service,' provided that that proportion consists of men fully representative of the trades and professions of their country; the men, in other words, with a real stake in the progress and welfare, not only of their own land, but of international comity and civilisation. The hold of Rotary is naturally stronger in its birthplace than in other parts of the world, but its progress outside the United States has become so rapid that a few years will probably nearly level American and non-American membership. When Rotary is able to point to a membership in every country equal, on comparative population, to that which it now numbers in the United States, the problem of universal peace will be nearer solution.

Rotary can do and is doing work of inestimable value for the future of civilisation, and is bringing to the task an energy and a many-sided experience such as can be boasted by no other international organisation. Should it fail in its highest aim, it will leave no successor able to carry on the great task. It will not fail, provided it steers clear of the two great dangers which ever dog the footsteps of such a movement—over-organisation and undue secretiveness.

In alluding to undue secretiveness, it is not in any way intended to urge that it is Rotary's business to shout its merits and accomplishments from the house-tops On the other hand, it has been pointed out that there is nothing secret in Rotary; there is consequently no valid reason for an undue fear of publicity. If a movement is worth while—and Rotary most certainly is—then it is only right that the man in the street should have some general idea of what it is, for what it stands, and whither it is tending. The question 'What is Rotary?' remains only too often unanswered.

WALTER FOX-STRANGWAYS.

UNEMPLOYMENT AND EXAMINATIONS

As I write these words two scenes come before me: The one in which there is a goodly panelled room crowded with parents and happy children all in their best attire. The children are unfeignedly happy because the long summer holidays are beginning: the parents are happy too, but in a more resigned way; they think of the bustle and the noise, the crowded house, the unfilled hours, and wonder do they really want the children at home for so long, and perhaps write to *The Times* about the length of school holidays. And if for some it is the end of school life, the last day of the last term, and the boy or girl is leaving laden with prizes and perhaps other academic honours, for a time at any rate there is no flaw in the happiness, and no speck of cloud on the horizon; the parents listen with pride to what is being said about the honours gained by the school during the past year, glad that their son or daughter has contributed to them. The day is full of joy in the immediate present. In the other scene the years have passed, prizes have again and again been distributed with the same laudatory speeches, the same congratulations, the same expressions of goodwill: nothing has changed in the drama itself, only some of the actors are different—for some of the old pupils are writing to their former head master or mistress: 'Why did you persuade me to go to college? Now I can get nothing to do.'

This is not an imaginary letter, but an actual fact; of course there are many exceptions to it, but many more of whom it is absolutely true. Not long ago a headmaster of my acquaintance had 150 applicants for a very ordinary mastership which he wished to fill. Therein lies food for thought.

In the past summer there have been all over the country hundreds of such breaking-up days, hundreds of speeches, in which so many scholarships have been mentioned, so many successes in certificate examinations, so many passes in locals. I look at the sheet of a daily paper with a large circulation and find crowds of advertisements such as these: 'successes include London matric. and school certificate examinations,' 'preparation for inter arts and science,' 'the Oxford and Cambridge

locals,' 'university entrance scholarship examinations.' I turn to another page and find hundreds of urgent appeals for cooks, parlourmaids, gardeners, chauffeurs, practically none for clerks or secretaries or typists. It is as though on the one sheet there is a cry for bread, and on the other a stone is offered; but which is the stone and which the bread? This perhaps is an unexpected question; but at a time when there is an ever-growing list of unemployed strange questions must be asked, for there must be much searching of heart.

The headmaster of Blundell's School said lately that we were obsessed with examinations; we acclaim success in them as if they were evidence of real power or of final triumph, and they are no indication whatever of the fitting preparation of boys or girls for what may be their allotted work in life. They are nothing more than the start, and as is well known in a race, especially in a long race, to which the course of human life has often been compared, it is not those who get off the mark first who are sure to have the most staying power.

The syllabus of our secondary schools is arranged with a view to the pupils of fifteen to sixteen years of age passing the first school examination of some university. The inspectors of the Board of Education look carefully into the tabulated results of this examination as an indication of the value of the literary, linguistic and scientific work of the schools: nor are they a bad test; indeed, what other test could there be as long as education is measured by the ability to reproduce knowledge, to write correct answers to printed questions? There must be some such measurable standard if the vast sums of public money annually voted are in any way to be controlled; mere impressions of fallible inspectors are not enough. Thus every year, in all, many hundreds of pupils pass the first school examination in Latin and French and English and mathematics and science—a formidable list. Schools are rightly pleased with the efficiency of their teaching when a large percentage of their pupils are successful; their work is commended, they have taught well, they have offered in the candidates sent up for examination academically correct knowledge: so far so good, and they enter upon another year's work with an incentive to do even better. And on the contrary, when success is not great, schools are depressed; there is a searching for reasons, possibly teachers are dismissed, and every effort is made to produce better results. Instruction is regarded of primary importance and usurps the place of education.

And in this striving of all schools to get more and more of their pupils through a test examination, they are following along the lines of democratic ideals, working on the assumption that all human beings are equal—a theoretic assumption which is

altogether falsified by actual conditions. Experience everywhere shows a deep inequality among men; it shows this not only in classes, social and industrial, but in individuals in every aspect of human life, in the willingness to work or in the desire to be idle, in the power to love or in the readiness to hate, in strength of character or in weakness, in the ability to command or in the promptness to obey. Yet all this, which is the inexorable law of human life, is forgotten when there is in the horizon the advent of the first school examination and schools are making more and more efforts to be successful in it.

The many pupils who in increasing numbers show an adequate knowledge of Latin and French, mathematics and science are thrown upon the world where there are not enough niches for them, with their training, to fill. Perforce they become idle and discontented, restless and despondent. They have wares to offer that are not wanted. They swell the tragic ranks of the unemployed. It is not their own fault, but the fault of the system which puts instruction before education and has not had time to emphasise the spiritual truth that honourable work is the allotted life of man, and as such there is dignity in the well doing of it whatever it is. If this fundamental lesson could be learnt, some of the humbler *rôles* in life, which after all are essential to the carrying on of civilisation, would be viewed from a different standpoint from what they are at present; they would assume an attraction and a satisfaction not often nowadays associated with them; they would be done willingly and cheerfully, regarded, not as an oppression, but as the fulfilling of a vocation. The constraint to their well doing would come from within rather than from without. Is this a counsel of perfection? Then what is the State spending 100,000,000*l.* a year for but to keep alive counsels of perfection and to elevate the whole conception of life, its purpose, its possibilities and its duties? As things are it is training thousands of children in a way that must eventually throw them on the scrap-heap—already there are over a million unemployed and unemployable, and the number is growing monthly—and they are there because examinable knowledge has been forced upon them in a way which bears no relation either to its intrinsic value or to its value to them as individuals. They are not as forcefully and impressively taught what is more valuable, to find satisfaction in fulfilling the tasks essential to the health, the comfort, the cleanliness of ordinary routine life. Many thousands of the unemployed could be absorbed in the honourable work of domestic service of one kind or another; but it is too humble and too *infra dig.* Perhaps, indeed, there still lingers round it an idea which is completely antiquated and belongs to a past and buried age—the idea of slavery; but the tight

reins held in Victorian times are no longer either possible or desired. If labour has learnt, so has the employer: each knows, for the smooth working of the wheels of life, co-operation is necessary, just as it is between all capital and labour. It is the recognition of this principle that removes from the fulfilling of duty any feeling of either superiority or inferiority.

In taking up an attitude of contempt for domestic service there is often foolishly much glorification in what is called modern independence, but which threatens to be a complete negation of all independence; it is rather a slavish subservience to ideas promulgated by those who are crying out for the moon, and who fail to see that equalities in life are contrary to the conditions of human existence and would be intolerable if they could be obtained. If all material and social inequalities were abolished there would remain the inequality of mind, which would at once bring them back. There might be some sense in scorning work of a routine and humble kind if all people were capable of flying into regions of high thought or culture, or we might pardon the slavish obedience to the ideas of others if we were sure that these despots were noble, and had themselves great gifts of spiritual insight. But this is contrary to the facts of experience, and if we take life as it really is we know that there is an enormous waste in educational effort; the schools are working on the assumption that all children are intellectually gifted. Teachers know this is a false assumption.

There are those who strongly advocate the raising of the school-leaving age: it is difficult to understand why. Already many teachers realise that hundreds of children are kept at school too long as it is; they have acquired all the knowledge the present stage of their mental development allows them to absorb. Contact with the realities of life is now the best teacher for them. There are those who can gain knowledge only from experience and find in it that stimulus which book learning and classroom work do not provide; and while an attempt is being made to increase the number of advanced courses in the secondary schools we do not find an equally strong desire to liberate those children who have already been kept in school too long: if the increasing of the one is necessary for the sake of those who are clever in book work, the freeing of the other is no less necessary for the sake of those who are not. We theorise and theorise about education, we go from stage to stage, we pile science upon science, language upon language, literature upon literature, and have travelled far beyond the three R's for which universal education was first started, and forget all about the just respect and consideration which is due to what is so falsely called stupidity. The democracy of sentiment carries us away from the democracy

of common sense, and those who will not or cannot assimilate t *kind of educational food offered them are not necessarily stup*

Meanwhile we have the tragic appeal of 1,300,000 unemploy —for it is a most tragic appeal—that is making itself felt in tl national life. The condition of the people—morally, mentall physically—declines when they are unemployed; they becon discontented and disaffected from sheer *ennui*. The Prin Minister asks employers (who need not necessarily be employe of great numbers) to help, and there is much work waiting fo those who will not take it: the problem is rather to fit the worke to the job, and so to save those who are fortunate enough to b thus fitted from having to pay more and more to keep from starva tion those who are not.

What is the remedy? Is there any? Have we not drifted so far along the road which leads to unemployment that it is difficult to turn back? It may be so, but there are one or two things worthy of suggestion, though probably any suggestion which would lead to the shortening of the educational horizon is almost certainly, in the present state of opinion, doomed to failure; or perhaps in a more optimistic mood it is better to say it can be compared to a tiny snowflake, for from the accumulation of such snowflakes the avalanche is formed.

(1) I would put it to those responsible not to make such a parade of examination successes; such success very often means little more than that at the beginning of life another prize has been given to those already gifted. If a boy or a girl gains in open competition a scholarship at Oxford or Cambridge, what is it but that the teaching has guided correctly up to a point a pupil to whom brains have been given? It is much easier to teach a clever child than a so-called dull child. Why advertise this so much? The school has just done what it is there to do. The advertisement is very likely to put false ideas into the minds of both the successful and the unsuccessful—to elate unduly the one, to depress unduly the other. Sir Walter Scott was at school 'an idle imp,' and would probably have failed in the school certificate examination. The ablest man I have ever known failed in the Sandhurst examination—ablest because he has risen to such high position in the State. But my point is that success or failure in examinations one way or the other to the great majority of candidates is worth very little: what really matters is that a school shall train its pupils to fill some niche in the world; the mere passing of examinations is no indication of this, any more than failure is the reverse. To apply the words of Browning, 'Success is naught, endeavour's all.'

The great epic of all school life, *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, puts the whole matter in a truer light. In telling the story of Dr.

Arnold's influence—an influence which has had an incredible, perhaps an immeasurable, effect for good upon our national life—it tells us his pupils loved him, reverenced him, were grateful to him, not because he taught them to pass examinations (scarcely ever mentioned), but because he taught them to follow high ideals of work, of effort, and of conduct; to have courage and to have faith. And so do many old boys of other schools than Rugby think of their own great masters—of the lessons learnt from them, 'work to be done, work to be done in face of difficulties, work to be done in faith in God.' Perhaps the greatest tribute I ever heard paid to any master was that by a boy who, when asked to do some low and dishonourable thing, said, 'No, I cannot—my master would not like it.'

(2) Very many children after they have been taught the three R's—to read, to write, and to do sums (this is the birthright of all) —ought to have more opportunity of developing what is really their bent, the practical side of everyday life. Motors have come to stay, the development of machinery is certain: the earlier learning of the art of driving, and of the working of engines, would tend to the diminution of accidents. Indeed, it may well be asked, Wherein is a smattering in various languages and in science of more value than an equal knowledge of agriculture, the cult of fruit and vegetables, the habits of flowers, and of trees, of birds and wild creatures, of the teeming life to be found in every country lane? And to many pupils wherein is the making of triangles to certain data of greater educational value than the making of joints? The training of the hand and the eyes has hitherto not met with the encouragement that is merited. Things in a book are not necessarily of more importance in early life than things not in it.

If schools are really to give their pupils a training to fit them for life, after they have taught the three R's they must turn more readily to what really is and away from what may be, and devote the latter years of their pupils' school life in very many cases to a different curriculum from what has hitherto been followed. Success in a more or less literary examination is not of so much value as doing and making.

There must be 'hewers of wood and drawers of water,' to use a wide and comprehensive term; they are of vital necessity for the mere continuation of bodily existence. Our present teaching attaches a sense of inferiority to those who serve in this way. Far better would it be to teach that in good work well done and unselfishly rendered lies one of the chief joys of life, and that there is to be found in it one of the highest of human blessings, alike to him that gives and to him that receives.

C. H. P. MAYO.

THE TRADES UNION CONGRESS, 1928

THE Sixtieth Annual Conference of the Trades Union Congress opened under the presidency of Mr. Ben Turner at Swansea on September 3.

The President commenced his address by deprecating the organised misrepresentation and distortion of the aims and actions of the General Council in respect to the part they had taken in accepting the invitation of Lord Melchett and his colleagues to meet a group of employers in conference. He maintained that discussion would bring both sides face to face with the hard realities of the present economic situation, and might yield useful results by showing how far, and upon what terms, co-operation was possible in a common endeavour to improve the efficiency of industry and to raise the workers' standard of life: the Council was not out to bolster up a false system, but was 'imbued with the ideal of doing its best to prevent people from being poor and dying from hunger during the transition period from individual Capitalism to Collectivism and Socialism.'

It remains clear from the proceedings of the 1927 Congress, and from the opening address of the President and the general tenor of the speeches at this Congress, that the ultimate objective of the Trades Union Movement is to capture the control of the industries of the country as going concerns for the trade unions, under the capital ownership of the State. This is a far more alluring prospect than that presented by Moscow Communism, which has destroyed industries by confiscating the capital and exterminating the brains which made them profitable, and rules the trade unions and the workers with a rod of iron, and does not even leave them a soul which they can call their own.

Mr. Turner alluded in scathing terms to the 'tragic situation in the Notts coalfields,' where an independent union has been co-operating with the coalowners; he felt it 'necessary to warn some of the coalowners of that county that their attitude is laying up a legacy of bitterness which they, as well as the public generally, will have cause to regret.' He then went on to the problem of unemployment, but could offer no better solution than to distribute the work available, so that 'what work there was should be

spread out among the people who could do it. Thus the burden of unemployment would be eased by readjustment.' A more futile proposal could scarcely be imagined; it is simply the discredited doctrine of 'ca' canny' in another guise: more men are to be employed, but all are to work short time, thus ensuring 'a more gentle and less nerve-racking life than at present obtained.' Mr. Turner did not appear to realise that his prescription for the cure of unemployment must necessarily kill the industry to which it was applied, and leave the patients literally 'dying of starvation,' or, of course, alternatively becoming State pensioners on the dole.

Unemployment is a symptom of an unhealthy economic condition, and it is useless to apply quack remedies to alleviate symptoms while the causes which produce them remain undetected, unacknowledged, and unremedied. The remedy cannot be found in the redistribution of work (the volume of which would inevitably shrink in direct proportion to the extent of the application of the remedy), but only in the application of the most modern methods to every branch of industrial activity. The Government's Rating Act is one of the most promising contributions to the solution of the problem, co-operation between Capital and Labour is another, the Safeguarding of Industries Act is another; and there are many others which in the aggregate would help to turn the scale in favour of our declining export trade, and sooner or later cause the dread spectre of unemployment to vanish from our midst. It is a matter for deep regret that the President of the Congress should have dealt with this great national question in such jejune fashion, and the conviction is forced upon one that the high hopes which he inspired at the Congress of 1927 were in fact founded on too slender foundations. His cure for unemployment, however, did not rest on only one fallacy: he had a further proposal, namely, 'to utilise the State's resources in order to employ on the land men who could use the mattock and the shovel. There was also need for a big slice of immediate land nationalisation and colonisation in this country . . . it was better to till our own land than to send men as waifs and strays [*sic*] to the outposts of the Empire, where they must fight Nature in more brutal fashion.'

It is more than disappointing to find a man like Mr. Ben Turner, who is so generally liked and respected, recommending that the 'State's resources' should be used to create an uneconomic industry which must inevitably depend upon continuous subsidies for its existence. He speaks lightly of the 'State's resources' as one who has not mastered the merest elements of finance and economics. Does he not realise that these 'resources' consist of the income derived from direct and indirect taxation, and that

the most direct road to prosperity lies in the reduction of t crippling burdens under which industry is suffering, while t road to ruin lies in the augmentation of these burdens—in oth words, in making fresh demands on the 'State's resources'? N content with this, he takes advantage of the tragic position the unemployed to push the Socialist nostrum of Land Nationalis tion, and concludes by a gross misrepresentation of the Empi settlement policy which is being so carefully considered by th Home and Dominion Governments and carried into effect b several responsible voluntary agencies, the principal obstacle i the way of success being the attitude of 'Labour' as determine by its responsible leaders.

In discussing war and the Pact in renunciation of war, th President said that the Trades Union Congress had long declare for arbitration in international quarrels; he forgot to mention that the trade unions had never adopted this policy in domestic quarrels. He thought it 'was a pity that the Russian proposals [for complete disarmament] had not received more attention.' Is the President so blind as not to perceive that the Russian proposals at Geneva were made with the object of reducing every civilised State to a condition of defencelessness in order that civil war organised by Moscow should have a free hand?

Mr. Herbert Smith, President of the Miners' Federation, made an appropriate speech thanking the President for his address, and spoke in no uncertain tone in appreciation of the action of the Council in consenting to meet the employers in conference.

The motion to expel the National Union of Seamen (60,000 members) from affiliation to and membership of the Trades Union Congress was carried unanimously. This action was due to the support given by Mr. Havelock Wilson and his union to the Notts Miners' Independent Union. Constitutional sympathisers, however, will always remember with admiration and gratitude the gallant and successful fight which Mr. Havelock Wilson put up against the unauthorised seamen's strike engineered by the Minority Movement.

Mr. Bromley, M.P., on behalf of the General Council, moved the adoption of a new Standing Order empowering the General Council, in similar circumstances to those created by the National Union of Seamen, to summon an offending union before it without waiting until a complaint had been made by an affiliated union, and asked for power to suspend such a union, if necessary, until the next Annual Congress.

Mr. J. Jones, M.P., in seconding this resolution, asked the General Council to carry out this policy consistently. He said that there were delegates at the Congress that day who were not carrying out its policy (he was referring to Communist and

Iinority Movement men); they were there under false pretences, nd should be excluded.

Mr. Tomkins (Furnishing Trades Association) opposed the esolution. His union had protested against the Mond conferences, nd he evidently realised that the weapon used against the Seanen's Union and sharpened by Mr. Jones' resolution might be ound to have a double edge. The resolution was carried.

On the second day of Congress the Labour College in London, hich is maintained by the South Wales Miners' Federation and he National Union of Railwaymen, came in for consideration, n the suggestion from the South Wales Miners' Federation that he Congress should take it over, which was contained in the Report of the General Council. The only item of general interest n this connexion was brought forward by Mr. T. E. Naylor, I.P., who pointed out that a condition of the proposed arrangeient was an understanding that the General Council should coninue the present theoretical teaching in economics and historical cience upon the Marxian basis. Mr. Mainwaring (South Wales Iiners) laid emphasis on the need for preserving independent orking-class education. Mr. Herbert Smith and Mr. W. P. Richardson, representing the Miners' Federation, disputed Mr. Iainwaring's right to speak, as he was not representative of the 'ederation.

Mr. F. Beard (Workers' Union) said that the financial question nust be settled first, and the question of Marxianism could be ettled later. The General Council made no recommendation, nd the delegates decided to refer the subject back for further onsideration. The incident is interesting inasmuch as it appears o show that there is a tendency in certain quarters to question he orthodoxy of Karl Marx's philosophy.

Mr. Brownlie's resolution recommending a campaign of the rganisation of young workers to the unions elicited from Mr. 'anner (also Amalgamated Engineering Union) the ungracious emark that sports clubs and other diversions were provided by ig factories and establishments as inducements to keep young orkers away from the trade unions. The resolution was carried.

Mr. Brownlie then moved on behalf of the Amalgamated ngineering Union a resolution declaring that

> ae intensification of international competition and the amalgamation of mployers' interests and combines makes it essential for the working class o be organised in a more powerful form of trade union organisation than t present.

'he resolution further deprecated sporadic amalgamations as ikely to cause added confusion, and the General Council was nvited to appoint a reorganisation commission to review the

situation in the principal industries. The resolution was seco by Mr. Tanner and carried by a large majority. This resolu clearly points to the formation of the one big union which touched upon by the President in his opening address.

The stage was now set for the real drama of the meetin A decision of the General Council that persons associated wi the National Minority Movement may not in future attend th Annual Conference of Trades Councils was questioned by M Elsbury (Tailors and Garment Workers), who moved that th decision should not be adopted but referred back; his motio was seconded by Mr. Rowland (House and Ship Painters), o the plea that the General Council was pursuing a heresy hunt, an that it was a disgrace that men like Tom Mann and Harry Pollit should be barred, while alliances were being advised with Lor Londonderry and Lord Melchett. Congress declined to refe back the decision. Thereupon Mr. Gill (Railway Clerks' Association) moved:

> That this Congress, believing that the best interests of the workers can only be served by solidarity and unity of purpose, policy and action, instructs the General Council to institute an inquiry into the proceedings and methods of disruptive elements within the trade union movement (whether such elements manifest themselves among the unions or within the General Council itself), and to submit a report, with recommendations, to the affiliated organisations.

Mr. G. Macdonald seconded the motion on behalf of the Miners' Federation, 'than whom no one knew more about the disruptive elements nor had paid a bigger price for their activities.'

Mr. Tomkins (Furnishing Trade, and frankly Communist) opposed the motion. He asked: 'What do you mean by disruptive elements?' A delegate promptly replied, amid general laughter: '*You* ought to know.'

Mr. Thomas, M.P., speaking in favour of the motion, said that one could hardly blame men for not joining a union when they were told by people sitting on the General Council, by general secretaries, and by paid organisers of the Minority Movement, 'Don't believe what the leaders say: they have already sold you, and they can't be trusted.' Mr. Thomas added that the person responsible for this lie, after being told to his face that it was a lie and having admitted that it was, actually allowed a second issue of the lying statement to be published.

Mr. Leslie (Shop Assistants' Union) exposed the fact that a minority movement had been started in his union, and that the secretary of the group was a paid official of the Communist Party; the Communist factory turned on resolutions which in due course appeared on the agenda, but the members were prepared and turned them down. Alluding to the papers run by Communists,

Ir. Leslie paid the Capitalist Press a handsome compliment by aying: 'God knows, I think the Capitalist Press are paragons of irtue compared with the Communist Press.'

Mr. Herbert Smith said that those who brought charges of raud against trade union leaders would be prepared for an nvestigation. The miners would either be loyal to the movement r they would leave it. There were 250,000 too many miners. he Minority Movement was a cause of non-unionism. It held ts conferences, and a week later they heard 'his master's voice' n their own union conferences. In another country those who id not fall into line were sent to Siberia. Mr. Smith concluded telling speech by asking Congress to adopt the resolution in rder that it might be a starting point for the unions to pull hemselves together and reorganise. The conclusion of his peech was received with cheers and cries of 'Vote,' and the esolution was carried enthusiastically by acclamation, the deleates of the furnishing trade alone shouting 'No.'

On the third day of Congress the artificial silk industry laimed attention at the beginning of the morning sitting.

Mr. H. A. Hind (Workers' Union) moved that Congress hould press for the establishment of a Home Office committee investigate the causes of illnesses to which the workers in rtificial silk factories are liable, and should demand the extension f the Workmen's Compensation Acts to cover these workers illy. Mr. Hind made out a good case for inquiry, though it as difficult at present to get medical evidence to show that such oubles as partial blindness, gastritis, chest and bronchial comlaints, actually arose from the occupation of the workers in this articular industry.

There is always a danger of excessive benevolent interference similar cases being unfairly exploited by those who *might* and many cases *would* have suffered from the illnesses mentioned hether they had been working in a silk factory, or in any other dustry, or not working at all.

The resolution was carried without dissent.

Mr. Shaw (National Union of Textile Workers) moved a irther resolution welcoming the rapid extension of the artificial lk industry, but expressing alarm at 'the flotation of companies ith inflated capital, which we believe will tend to create indusial unrest, depress wages, and create irregular working hours.' le also reiterated the demand for an inquiry (which was formuted in Mr. Hind's resolution) into the processes of manufacture relation to disease, and the recommendation that the workers ould be fully covered by the extension of the Workmen's Comensation Act.

As regards the flotation of companies with inflated capital,

there is no doubt that Mr. Shaw put his finger on the spot in pointing out the danger to the community. Finance uses industry as the raw material which it manipulates for the manufacture of great fortunes, upsetting the economic equilibrium of society and creating social and industrial unrest, and, by inflation of the capital of industrial concerns in the interests of speculative finance as opposed to the true interests of industry, causes prices of the products of industry to rise to the detriment of the consumer, and endangers the stability of industry itself by causing violent fluctuations in the demand for labour. The whole community has suffered from this canker in the economic system, and especially during the war and in the period immediately succeeding it; but so far it has passed the wit of man to devise a remedy for the disease. Mr. Shaw merely drew attention to the disorder, but, perhaps wisely, did not attempt to prescribe a remedy. The conditions produced by these financial methods provide a big stick for the proletariat to attack Capital with, but Mr. Shaw is to be congratulated on not allowing himself on this occasion to weaken his case by proposing the quack remedy of Nationalisation.

The motion was seconded by Mr. Knight (General Workers) and carried.

Congress then received the fraternal delegates from other countries and other organisations, among whom were Mr. M. F. Greene (American Federation of Labour) and Mr. Bush (from the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress) and Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P. (from the Labour Party). Mr. Henderson considered that the time had arrived for the institution of a Grand Council in which the representatives of the Co-operative Movement should sit with the Trades Union General Council and the Labour Party, forming a sort of Labour Cabinet. This Grand Council would not decide policy, but would be instrumental in 'framing a common understanding for the application of policies decided by official courts and exchanging information as to respective programmes.' He was thinking especially of those problems which would arise when Labour has to face the responsibilities of government, and doubtless the thorny question of adjusting the differences between the Co-operative Societies and Socialist municipal trading was uppermost in his mind. There can be no doubt that Mr. Henderson's Grand Council would be of immense service to the political Labour Party in power, though it is not clear that it will ever be of the smallest benefit to the Co-operative Movement, but the Socialists will never be happy until they have got the Co-operative Movement into their net.[1]

On Thursday, September 6, the great debate took place to

[1] See 'The Capture of the Co-operative Movement,' by Brig.-Gen. F. G. Stone, C.M.G., in the September 1927 number of this Review.

discuss the report of the General Council on industrial relations and organisation, and the conference with Lord Melchett and the other employers associated with him. Disappointment has been expressed at the manner in which Mr. Turner handled this great question in his opening address to Congress. There was nothing disappointing about the debate on the motion of Mr. Citrine that the Report on the Industrial Conference be adopted, which attained a level of lucid exposition, logical argument, and expert criticism worthy of the great issues at stake in the vast programme of constructive work which the Report sketches out.

Mr. Citrine made an able defence of the action of the Council in assuming responsibility for accepting the invitation of a group of employers to meet them in conference. It is not necessary to allude further to this point, which after all was merely a domestic issue, beyond stating that Mr. Citrine completely justified the action taken. He then alluded to the address of Mr. Hicks, who was President last year,[1] in which he recognised that the workers were demanding a voice in the control and administration of industry, and that some participation in that control and administration was an essential preliminary if the workers were to be equipped for complete control.

Mr. Citrine concluded an admirable speech, which will be studied with profit in every trade union lodge throughout the country and the Empire, by saying :

> It was desirable to avoid extravagance of optimism or of pessimism as to what would happen. In his considered opinion, the employers whom the General Council had met would have great difficulty in getting the findings of the Conference accepted by the employers' associations, on the ground that too much had been conceded to the unions. The Conference was neither a short way of bringing about the millennium nor a means of enslaving the working class. It was a logical step in the development of trade unionism. They were in line with the world development of trade unionism. World trade unionism stood for a voice in the control of industry. But they could not wait for the breakdown of Capitalism before they talked about control. If control were their object, the way that the General Council was taking was the way to bring it about. To meet employers prepared to discuss anything and desirous of coming to an agreement was the wise and the courageous course. (Cheers.)

Mr. Brownlie (Amalgamated Engineering Union) moved an amendment to the resolution to the effect that no definite decision should be determined by the Congress, but that the whole question be referred to the executives of the unions concerned for consideration, and that in the meantime the joint discussions remain in abeyance. This was an obvious manœuvre to side-

[1] See 'The Trades Union Congress, 1927,' in the October 1927 number of his Review.

track the main issue. He accused the General Council of exceeding its powers in entering into conversations with the employers, and said that he did not place the same interpretation as did Mr. Citrine on the speech of the President at the Edinburgh Congress. Mr. Brownlie argued his case with great ability and fairness, but scarcely carried conviction to the minds of the large majority of delegates, who understood perhaps better than Mr. Brownlie what the general feeling of the workers really was. Mr. Swales, of the same union, followed on much the same lines in seconding the amendment. Touching on Mr. Hicks' address at Edinburgh which has already been mentioned and quoted, he said that he had yet to learn that a chairman's speech committed the Congress to all its contents.

Mr. George Hicks (Building Trade Workers' Union) supported the amendment and explained that the portion of his Edinburgh address which had been quoted was meant to apply to 'national negotiations with a national body, such as the Federation of British Industries or the Confederation of Employers.' He made a good point when he said that

> During and after the war the ownership of mill and factory, mine and workshop had left the individual employer, and to-day was controlled by the people who held the purse-strings, represented by the banks. When trade union representatives met the employers, therefore, they were meeting not the substance, but the shadow, and decisions could not be reached as they were reached before the war, because the real power to make decisions on the employers' side had been transferred to others. It was necessary for the trade union movement to consider these facts, and that was why he had advocated the need of national negotiations with the employers. He stood by that to-day.

But when he went on to discuss rationalisation of industry with considerable acumen under the different conditions of Capitalism and of Nationalisation, he came to the fallacious conclusion that, although there would admittedly be a cheapening in the cost of production and a slight increase in individual wages, the total wage bill would be less, and there would be a reduced *personnel;* the position of the workers in general would therefore grow worse, and there would be more unemployed. This argument, of Marxian flavour, is on a par with Mr. Ben Turner's cure for unemployment, namely, to distribute the available work—as if it were a fixed quantity—over the whole number of the unemployed. Both Mr. Turner and Mr. Hicks fail to realise that better organisation, better machinery and every worker giving his best all tend to produce more work for everybody, greater enterprise, and expansion of industry.

Mr. Clynes, M.P., in an excellent, straightforward speech, brushed aside 'the flimsy, pointless, technical arguments' of the

preceding speakers. He said that the Municipal and General Workers' Union at a conference of workmen's delegates—not officials—had unanimously decided to give whole-hearted support to the General Council's policy. There was not, he said, one thing in the Report to which they could take exception; some speakers had found fault with rationalisation, but whether they had discussions with employers or not, there would be rationalisation; it was a natural and inevitable, if sometimes cruel, feature of the system itself. It was the business of employers, as of trade union leaders, to make their organisation more efficient. Displacement was often cruel, but in these discussions the employers had agreed that safeguards were necessary to ensure that the workers did not suffer.

Mr. Cook surprised Congress by a recantation which seemed to cancel his many personal attacks on members of the Council and benevolently declared his belief that all were as anxious as he was to do their best for the members of the unions, and that they had been doing. His speech was somewhat involved and subjected to interruption from an audience whose patience and tolerance were being severely strained When the torrent of his eloquence came to an end without eliciting any proposal of more constructive value than to 'build their policy round the needs of the workers,' he left the hall and fainted in the corridor.

Mr. Herbert Smith (President of the Miners' Federation) referred in sarcastic terms to Mr. Cook's recent conversion and the discord which he had sown in the Miners' Federation. He said that he came to Congress to tell them what the decision of the Miners' Federation was, not his own or Cook's decision: 'The miners' decision is that the General Council did right in accepting that invitation [the invitation of the associated employers and Lord Melchett], and they find no fault with them so far as they have gone.'

Mr. Tomkins (Furnishing Trades Association), supporting the amendment, remarked sarcastically that, after hearing Mr. Clynes, he understood the tendency towards Liberalism in the Labour Party.

Mr. Thomas, M.P., opposing the amendment, exposed Mr. Cook's insincerity in plain terms, and said that Mr. Hicks had shared the responsibility of the General Council for the conversations until the time when Lord Melchett had made his Fascist speech; even then he offered to continue them if the individuals on the employers' side would continue them in another capacity. Mr. Thomas was in favour of conferring with the employers, and said he would never subscribe to the contemptible admission that the employers were cleverer than themselves. 'I never go into a conference believing that the other people are cleverer than I

am,' he said, amid cheers and laughter, 'for the simple reason that I have proved the reverse.' He said it would be observed that in this date the opponents of the resolution dared not come to the rostrum and repeat what they had said outside.

Mr. Ernest Bevin (Transport and General Workers) wound up the debate in a first-rate speech. He welcomed rationalisation as far preferable to a slow process of squeezing the small employer into bankruptcy by great combines. He spoke of positive benefits to members of his union following directly upon the findings of the Industrial Conference. He looked forward to the day when the Trades Union Congress would be less occupied with grievances than with larger questions concerning the progress and development of industry. The termination of Mr. Bevin's masterly survey of industry in a brief but brilliant speech was greeted with loud cheers from the obviously sympathetic audience.

Then by a majority of nearly six to one Congress decided to pursue a policy of co-operation and conciliation in industry, a policy which it is believed the rank and file have always been more ready to adopt than their leaders, a policy which bears the promise of incalculable benefit to the workers, to industry and to the whole country. But, in order that this promise may bear fruit, it is essential that employers as a whole shall appoint a council with full powers to confer with the Trades Union Council. It is possible to visualise a future in which the co-operation between Capital and Labour may be so complete that they will march together to the conquest of new industrial fields without misgivings of great enterprises being wrecked by strikes or lock-outs; and ultimately that prosperity may be so visibly assured under this partnership, in which each is giving of his best, that even in the 'transition stage' the Socialist goal of Nationalisation may recede further and further until all desire to reach its arid shore shall have been expelled by the energising stimulus of private enterprise in which the worker bears his part and shares the rewards of success.

On Friday, September 7, Mr. Archie Henderson (Transport and General Workers) moved a resolution of great importance in connexion with the many abuses and shortcomings of the transport services: he pointed out clearly the lines on which reform is required and urged that the Ministry of Transport should become responsible for the regulation and control of the transport of the country. The resolution was ably seconded by Mr. Condon (of the same union), who drew attention to the scandal of granting licences for driving without requiring any qualification of physical and mental fitness or even an elementary knowledge of driving on the part of the licensee. He might have

suggested that no licence should be granted to motor cyclists or owner-drivers of cars without the production of a third party insurance policy. The resolution was carried.

A valuable resolution in connexion with housing and slum areas was proposed by Mr. Poulton, who accepted an important addendum by Mr. Browne (Insurance Workers) calling for facilities to put into operation section 107 of the National Health Insurance Act of 1924, which makes owners of insanitary premises responsible for any prevalence of excessive sickness which is directly attributable to their neglect. The resolution was carried.

The dramatic incident of the day was reached when Mr. Brownlie moved a resolution to summon a world conference of unions affiliated to both Internationals (*i.e.*, the Second, or Amsterdam, and the Third, or Red International, of Moscow), and asked the Council to work for the reconstruction of the Anglo-Russian Joint Advisory Council. The cynical effrontery of this proposal raised an animated discussion, in which the Communist elements were not only floored by argument and logic, but crushed by ridicule. The resolution was rejected by a majority of nearly six to one.

Resolutions advocating the nationalisation of the engineering industry with workers' control and the ownership and control by the State of the generation, transmission and distribution of electricity were agreed to practically without discussion.

After a few other questions had been disposed of, the Congress went into private session to consider plans for the development of its publications, and particularly of the *Daily Herald*, for which Congress has assumed direct responsibility. A scheme involving a very large capital expenditure was approved; the details remain to be considered.

The notable achievements of the sixtieth Congress will render it the most memorable in the history of the movement. It is only three years ago that Congress was dominated by Bolshevist and extremist elements and M. Tomsky was welcomed with servile adulation. Since then the General Strike has been an object-lesson which will not soon be forgotten, and the disastrous effects of the coal strike are with us to-day in the greatest tragedy of unemployment from which the mining industry has ever suffered. Without moralising too greatly on a change of heart, let us confine ourselves to welcoming a change in the direction of constructive policy and action. Instead of barren platitudes and resolutions destructive of the social and economic order, we have before us three outstanding decisions to guide the future procedure of the General Council.

The first and the greatest is the granting of the necessary authority to the General Council to join with the two great

organisations of employers in setting up a permanent machin[ery] of co-operation.

The second is the instruction given to the General Council [to] inquire into the operations and methods of disruptive element[s] which, whether they manifest themselves amongst the unions o[r] within the General Council itself, are to be unmasked and measures taken against them.

The third is the emphatic decision that Congress must have no relations whatever with the Russian trade unions, which are a breeding-ground of disruptive elements that can no longer be tolerated.

There is also reassuring evidence that the leaders of the unions are thinking not only constructively, but also independently, on industrial questions, and are less under the influence of the political Labour Party, with its I.L.P. programmes and Socialist nostrums. This tendency is clearly unwelcome to Mr. Henderson, but there can be no doubt that the more the Trades Union Congress thinks for itself, the more attention its conclusions will comman[d] not only from the Labour Party, but from all parties aspiring [to] lead the political destinies of our country.

F. G. STONE.

AFFAIRS ABROAD

Human nature being what it is, sentimentalists are distressed that the signature of the Kellogg Pact has not obviously (by no means the same thing as 'obviously has not') changed the face of the world, while the cynics, so often mistaken for realists, suggest that everything is exactly as it was before, that the Holy Alliance of 1815, the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1818, and the Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907 all referred in even more glowing terms to the blessings of peace. Before trying to put the Pact in its place it might have been wiser to wait until the United States Senate had approved it, but patience, as all other good qualities, is rarer in political than in private life, and there fortunately seems no reason to believe that the rumours which have poisoned the atmosphere ever since Sir Austen Chamberlain referred casually in the House of Commons to the existence of an Anglo-French naval understanding will prevent ratification by the Senate of the Paris Pact. Therefore some comment on it may be admissible.

In the first place, quite apart from Germany and Russia, which might appear to have most directly benefited from the ceremony of August 27, the Kellogg Pact, or rather the slow growth of American collaboration with Europe of which the Pact is the evidence, has already had a profound effect on international relations. Of this the League of Nations Assembly, in September, has given interesting illustrations. Some time ago certain newspapers devoted much more attention to the House of Commons during the two days when a cormorant perched on its roof than they had done for months previously. In the same way the news of at least one important political event in Geneva was crowded out of the papers by telegrams announcing the visit to the League Secretariat of two girls without stockings. Of this one ought not to complain, since, for some odd reason, bare legs are 'news,' while treaties, unless they be either secret or signed with special gold pens amid much pomp and circumstance, are not. Thus it comes about that the Council's reply to Costa Rica about the Monroe Doctrine attracted less attention than it deserved.

Costa Rica has already left the League, but recently she was

invited by the Council to return to it. In reply to this invitation she asked what was the meaning of Article 21 of the League Covenant, which declares that regional agreements such as the Monroe Doctrine are not incompatible with membership of the League. A question such as this would be awkward at any time, but it was doubly awkward at a moment when relations between Washington and Geneva were more cordial than they had ever been. A reply which upheld the more recent North American interpretations of the Monroe Doctrine would have kept the delegates of the Argentine Republic and Costa Rica away from Geneva, and it might even have led to further South American resignations or abstentions from the League. On the other hand, support for the South American States in their resistance to Washington would have destroyed the present harmonious relations between the United States and the League, and have seriously damaged those between the United States and Europe. Very wisely the members of the Council turned up the files of the proceedings of the Peace Conference, and, with the help of speeches made there, they have been able to point out to Costa Rica that while Article 21 of the Covenant does not give agreements such as the Monroe Doctrine 'a sanction or validity which they did not previously possess,' Article 20 abrogates all engagements which are inconsistent with the terms of the Covenant. 'It neither weakens nor limits any of the safeguards provided in the Covenant.' In this way the Council has steered skilfully between Scylla and Charybdis, with the rather unexpected result that it has succeeded in pleasing both North and South America, and Costa Rica will probably return to the fold.

This reply to Costa Rica may be a small thing in itself, but it has to be remembered that the reference in the Covenant to the Monroe Doctrine has all along greatly influenced the policies of the South American Republics in their dealings with the League. In the same way, the election, by Council and Assembly, of Charles Evans Hughes to the vacant seat on the bench of judges of the Permanent Court of International Justice may not be sensational, but it should have a happy effect in the United States. The retiring judge, John Bassett Moore, was also an American, but Mr. Hughes, as former Secretary of State and chief delegate to the recent Pan-American Conference, enjoys a prestige which few other men in his country can rival. That he should have been offered, and that he should be prepared to accept, this post is welcome news, and it might quite possibly lead to a re-examination in Washington of the reservations which have hitherto kept America out of the Permanent Court. The Kellogg Pact will call for some agreement on the procedure for the settlement of legal and political disputes, and it is only reasonable to suppose

that, for the former category, no better tribunal than the existing Court could be devised. One can imagine no other machinery for the election of judges—the problem which has wrecked previous efforts to establish a world court of international justice.

These two instances of increasing cordiality between the United States and the League are not, of course, directly attributable to the existence of the Kellogg Pact. It might more truthfully be said that the Kellogg Pact is the logical outcome of the steady co-operation which has been growing up, almost unnoticed, between the State Department and the League Council. When the League first came into being Washington did not even reply to communications from Geneva, and the Administration, according to an unusually well-informed pamphlet I have before me, 'sought to prevent American private citizens from co-operating individually.' Gradually the Rockefeller Foundation and similar organisations interested themselves in the humanitarian and social work of the League, and, beginning with the little-known Committee on Anthrax, the Government developed the habit of sending observers or delegates to committees in Geneva. In 1927 the United States took an important part in every conference called by the League excepting the central gatherings of Assembly and Council. That is to say, she was represented at such important meetings as the World Economic Conference, the Conference on Communications and Transit, and the Conference on Import ıd Export Prohibitions and Restrictions. Still more, she decided ı take part in the work of the Preparatory Commission for the isarmament Conference, which, though technical in appearance, as nearly political as any League work very well could be. Last ear Mr. John D. Rockefeller, jun., gave 400,000*l*. to the League r a new library, and roughly 200,000*l*. have come from American urces to help the League's health work. One-third of the total venue on the sale of official League publications is obtained in ıe United States.

These few figures should serve to show that the Kellogg Pact both less important and more important than is generally alised—less important because it marks no very drastic change f policy, but more important because the very fact that no change necessary proves that the American man-in-the-street has rgotten that active distrust of Europe and the League which llowed the unhappy days of the Peace Conference. Until the residential elections have taken place it is obviously impossible o foresee how far the President will be prepared to go and how ar the Senate will be prepared to follow him. As far as Europe concerned, the effects of the Kellogg Pact are, perhaps, easier o judge. It was suggested above that to a superficial observer ermany and Russia might appear to be the principal gainers

from the ceremony of August 27. As the first nation to accept, and to accept without reserve, the American proposals, Germany has naturally won much sympathy in the United States, especially among the unthinking multitudes who failed to realise how much easier it was for Germany than for any other country to support a proposal which should logically lead to a general reduction of armaments. But German jurists have gained in another, though less important, respect. They find in the Pact most valuable confirmation of their thesis that reparations are unjust. The Kellogg Pact is important, they point out, because, for the first time in history, it makes 'private' war illegal. In that case Germany's declaration of war was no crime, and she is called upon to pay reparations not because she started the war, but because she lost it. It may be surmised that during the next few months legal experts on either side of the Rhine will argue this point with some bitterness, but without any important political consequences. It will play no part in the negotiations for the evacuation of the Rhineland, which will be debated on commercial grounds—the more commercial the better, since business and passion do not go well together, and international politics must inevitably be ruled more and more by economic considerations.

There is one more point about Germany that calls for comment. It is interesting to remember that when the Bryan Treaties were under discussion before the war Germany refused to bind herself to submit every dispute to arbitration procedure before resorting to war. This refusal, of course, was due to the General Staff, which held that the element of surprise was invaluable in attack. Consequently the war against France was, from the point of view of international law, no crime, but the General Staff, in its determination to surprise somebody somewhere, deliberately committed the crime of invading Belgium, with the humiliating result of the Versailles Peace Treaty. It is quite true that the Kellogg Pact provides for no sanctions, but even in 1914, when international consciences were much more sluggish than they are now, the invasion of Belgium led to disaster for Germany, and, with that example in mind, the less we worry Mr. Kellogg about sanctions for the time being the better.

As for Russia, her signature of the Kellogg Pact probably brings her recognition by the United States a little nearer, and it may be useful to certain leaders in Moscow for propaganda purposes, since it is obviously illogical for two countries, Great Britain and Soviet Russia, to sign a treaty which rules out war for all time and yet to have no diplomatic relations the one with the other. But from the wider point of view Russia's signature may be useful. The general reservation about wars of self-defence might allow her to attack Poland, or any other neighbouring country,

if she felt inclined to do so: frontier incidents can always be made to look like measures of self-defence, and not acts of aggression. Such an attack is highly improbable, because Russia's military organisation is so much better on paper than in reality, but, should it be attempted, there is far greater probability now than there was before she was invited to sign the Paris agreement that she would find herself faced with this anti-Russian block which does not now exist, but which Sir Austen Chamberlain, according to her newspapers, is so anxious to bring into being. The same consideration applies to Italy. It has so often been alleged that Signor Mussolini could only keep Fascism young and strong, could only find outlets for the surplus population of Italy, by a foreign war, and commentators have drawn attention to the fact that the Italian Press has been more sceptical than any other about the Kellogg Pact. But Signor Mussolini is a realist, and, having signed this treaty, it is much more certain than ever before that he will not attempt a war of aggression, but that he draws a healthy distinction between words and deeds. Neither the decision of Ahmed Zogu to make himself King of Albania, presumably with Mussolini's support, nor the refusal of the Italian Government to collaborate with the Governments of Great Britain and France in urging Bulgaria to disband the Macedonian revolutionary organisation, will lessen the friction between Italy and Jugoslavia. But for a hundred Englishmen who a year or two ago talked of an Adriatic war it would be difficult now to find twenty. The percentage of Jugoslavs would, of course, be much higher, but those most closely concerned are not always the best judges.

It was inevitable that during the month of September the most important international events should take place in Geneva. Thus, even as far as China is concerned, the failure of the Chinese appeal for re-election to the League Council is probably much more important than the discussions which have been going on between the Japanese Government and Chang Hsueh-liang, the ruler of Manchuria, or those between Chiang Kai-shek and the other would-be leaders of the Kuomintang Party in Nanking. It is almost a tragedy that the Rules of Procedure adopted in 1926 in the hope of keeping Brazil and Spain in the League after their demand for permanent seats on the Council had failed, should have led to this rebuff to China, when, for the first time, cordial relations with Geneva have become important. Two years ago China was elected to a temporary seat on the Council, and the British delegation, which showed no enthusiasm for this election, was widely accused of hostility to the Chinese. During these two years the Chinese representative has probably had as little idea as the other members of the Council whom he

represented. Gradually the Nationalist Party has come to realise that the League might be very useful to it. Re-election to the Council would have brought welcome prestige, and much administrative work China is still too inexperienced to undertake unaided might be achieved with the League's help. But the rules of election to the Council have it that a member whose period has expired is not re-eligible for a period of three years unless as an exceptional measure it obtains a vote of two-thirds of the Assembly for the maintenance of its seat at the Council table. This privilege of re-eligibility was granted two years ago to Poland (to compensate for her failure to obtain a permanent seat), and this year to Spain (since something must be done to celebrate the return of the prodigal son); but it was refused last year to Belgium, although that country was then represented by M. Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, whose presence in the Council, it was thought, would prevent the Great Powers from controlling that body to the detriment of the smaller members of the League. A democratic *régime* is not infallible, and in the present case the devotion felt for the democratic principle of giving every little country a fair chance has lost China her seat: in other words, while the Chinese representative sat on the Council he represented nobody; now that for the first time since the war he might fairly claim to represent a population of some 400 million, he is driven into outer darkness for at least three years. It is to be feared that the Chinese in Nanking will not understand the complicated motives which led to the rejection of their demand to be re-elected to the Council and will feel that the League is not following their efforts to restore order with sympathy and a real desire to help. Such a belief would be quite wrong, if only because in Europe there are no more economic worlds to conquer, and any co-operation in the financial or economic reconstruction of China would be very useful to the League.

I suggested last month that the three danger spots in the world were China, and particularly Manchuria; Eastern Europe, and particularly Lithuania; and the Balkans, and particularly Albania. There has been some improvement in the relations between the Japanese and Chinese, but the possibility of friction between the Japanese and the Russians in that area, of course, remains, and there have been Mongol insurrections which bode no good to anybody. In Eastern Europe there is no drastic change. M. Valdemaras has once again told at the Council table the long and sorry history of Polish-Lithuanian relations since the occupation of Vilna by General Zeligowski in 1920, and M. Zaleski, the Polish Prime Minister, has replied with a brevity which inevitably wins favour among the occupants of the crowded glass-room in Geneva—a room, by the way, which has been more

than doubled in size since last June owing to the fact that the foundation-stone of new and more spacious League buildings has not yet been laid. But there has been a development which may prove important. As far back as last December, when Marshal Pilsudski and M. Valdemaras agreed to begin direct negotiations for the destruction of the Chinese wall along their common frontier, the Council offered the assistance of its technical experts. Neither side has yet availed itself of this offer, despite the assistance intermediaries might be able to give in bringing about agreement. But the Council does not propose to let things slide. Should direct negotiations fail, it may, as guardian of the general peace of Europe, order an inquiry to be made by experts 'into the difficulties which, in consequence of the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, injure the rights of third parties.' This direct threat of intervention in a dispute which undoubtedly endangers European peace is not likely to remain without effect.

In the Balkans such changes as there have been have hardly been for the better. The Nettuno Conventions have been ratified by the Skupstina in Belgrade, in the absence, of course, of all Croat deputies, and M. Raditch's death has not led to those disorders which some people feared. So far, so good. But the change in Albania from a republic to a monarchy has naturally been construed in Belgrade as yet a further step by the Italians to strengthen their foothold on the east of the Adriatic. And the well-meant Franco-British attempt to strengthen the hand of the Bulgarian Government in dealing with its Komitadjis has possibly done more harm than good, since it has led to the resignation of the Bulgarian Government and quite probably may lead to a cessation of the dispute between the supporters of M. Mihailof, the present leader of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation, and the supporters of the late General Protoguerof, its former leader. In the days when Macedonia had still to be freed from the Turk, the Macedonian organisation—Slav, but not exclusively Bulgarian, in character—won the sympathy of Liberals throughout Europe. It is very difficult for an outsider to judge how much the Bulgarian elements now in the Jugoslav portion of Macedonia rejoice in the continued existence of this organisation, which aims ostensibly at uniting them with Bulgaria. Propagandists on either side make impartiality almost impossible. But one thing is clear: Bulgaria, impoverished by a war and by the subsequent influx of refugees from Greece, needs to live at peace with her neighbours, and particularly with Jugoslavia.

Every time the Government of Sofia shows signs of friendliness towards the Government of Belgrade the Macedonian revolutionary organisation arranges some political murder which undoes the good that had been done and increases the foreign

complications of the small Bulgarian nation. The only Prim *Minister who ever made a vigorous attempt to disband* th *organisation, M. Stambuliski, was assassinated by its orders*, and none of his successors has dared to take radical steps, since he could not be sure that even some of his colleagues in the Cabinet had not taken the secret oath of 'death or liberty.' Bulgarians in Macedonia may still have cause for complaint, but the activities of the Macedonian revolutionary organisation will certainly never lessen these causes, and in the meantime they prevent any general improvement in the Balkan situation. A year or two ago people talked hopefully of a Balkan Locarno. There can be no hope of a Balkan Locarno while a body of misguided patriots, ready to accept moral or material support from any Government which would like to fish in troubled waters, is able to carry on its campaign of assassination. Brigands are bad enough, but political brigands in our present-day Europe are intolerable.

But, despite the lack of any definite change in the Balkans, the political horizon would seem now to be unusually clear. Statesmen are fond of declaring that they are not always free. 'There are often forces of public opinion or propaganda,' declared M. Briand in the League Assembly on September 10, 'which hamper their action. Then, when they desire to carry out their obligations, such forces of public opinion are strongly entrenched in tradition and in the minds of a wide section of the people' In his subsequent paragraphs, the French Foreign Minister went on to prove that the German danger still existed, however well intentioned the German Government might be. Fortunately, the influence of public opinion may be good as well as bad, and it would not be astonishing were experience to show that the people place much more faith in the Kellogg Pact than their leaders yet realise. Lord Northcliffe, I believe, used to say that repetition is the soul of journalism. Perhaps politicians have so often said that they want peace that the people have taken them more seriously than they dare take themselves, and will give them peace. M. Briand went on to complain of the outcry which followed the announcement of the Anglo-French naval agreement. 'We were immediately told,' he said, 'that if France and Great Britain were agreeing, they must be agreeing against somebody. Nobody suggested that they were agreeing, perhaps, to help something.' But surely this outcry is healthy? It was not the existence of the agreement which frightened people, but the fact that its details were not made known. When President Wilson spoke in favour of 'open covenants openly arrived at' he showed an understanding of mass psychology which most of his fellow-delegates in Paris never realised he possessed.

VERNON BARTLETT.

THE INCREASING VALUE OF SUNLIGHT

The widespread development of health consciousness is one of the most notable products of this century, and of all forms of healing the appreciation of the therapeutic value of sunlight is the most important. In another decade smoke pollution of the atmosphere, and crowded, insanitary slum dwellings, will be tolerated no longer, and much valuable work is now being accomplished in the propagation of sunlight knowledge.

When under the direction of a competent clinician, ultra-violet light, either natural or produced artificially, is productive of remarkably beneficent results to health, and in consequence it has been widely acclaimed as the panacea for all disease and fully exploited by commercialised medicine. Speaking before the British Medical Association at the recent meeting in Cardiff, Professor W. E. Dixon said: 'The radiations from ultra-violet lamps which emit rays of shorter wavelength than those found in the solar spectrum are as foreign, when applied through the skin to the body, as to be comparable with the administration of a poisonous drug.' This striking indictment follows the researches of Professor Leonard Hill, F.R.S., who has proved conclusively that excessive irradiation may produce 'a fall in bactericidal power, fatigue and general malaise.'

This tendency to overestimate the value of ultra-violet light has done incalculable harm to the more widespread application of this method of maintaining health, and many recent researches have been totally disregarded, due entirely to the elements of suspicion and distrust aroused by the exposure of the dangers of excessive irradiation. Because of this, the education of young children and adolescents in sunlight knowledge is of great importance. By recognising and using this means of promoting individual and collective efficiency the standard of national health will undoubtedly be raised, and the near future will see the eradication of many of the diseases which afflict the present age, as well as the elimination of those conditions of life which degrade modern civilisation. Adult education is notoriously difficult, and far more permanent results will be obtained by introducing sunlight into schools and factories employing youth-

ful labour, so that the coming generation may be accustomed early to its value and intolerant of the slums, the blackened skies, and the infected foods which are condoned by the present age.

Sunlight cannot cure all diseases, for, like X-rays and diet, it is a specialised form of healing suitable to certain cases only, but it can assist very materially in the promotion of better health on a general scale. Just how valuable a bountiful supply of sunlight would be in the densely populated areas of any of the great industrial cities of Britain is revealed very strikingly by Dr. Justina Wilson, physician in charge of the Light and Electrical Department at St. Mary's Hospital, London, who says:

> The patients who throng the out-patient's departments of large hospitals are, with few exceptions, suffering from sun starvation. Their general condition, physical and mental, is depressed from disease, from the fierce struggle for existence, fought amid depressing surroundings, crowded and insanitary dwellings, often insufficient food, deficient in vitamins, lack of air and water. Their bloodless, harsh, dry skin bears the marks of all this. They need the hyperæmic and nutritional stimulus of light to increase their resistance to disease and to counteract the effects of insanitary conditions and unsuitable clothing.

It is by the education of children in the value of sunlight that conditions such as these will be abolished.

The therapeutic effects of irradiations with ultra-violet light artificially created are noteworthy. The directors of the Sherwood Colliery, Mansfield, gave a lead to the country when an experimental pit-head sunlight clinic was established about two years ago, and the records of progress fully justify the tests, for the miner, by reason of his work, which deprives him of a large amount of natural sunlight, is most calculated to benefit by artificial means. At Sherwood fifty boys were irradiated daily for a period of three months and then compared with a control group of fifty boys of similar age who were not treated. During the test the boys' usual dietary was unchanged, and was also deficient in vitamins. An average increase in weight of 4 lb. 6·28 oz. was shown by the irradiated boys compared with 2 lb. 10·24 oz. of the others, while in height the irradiated averaged an increase of ·762 inch, and the controls showed only ·5 inch. It is stated also that the boys showed a marked air of brightness and cheerfulness compared with the others, and declared that their appetites were improved and work seemed easier.

This is an initial experiment which must not be overestimated, but it surely follows that, apart from the physical advantages gained, the boys who have recognised for themselves the good which sunlight can do will be eager to assist in the improvement of working conditions so that sunshine, natural or artificial, is

available for all by whom it is required, instead of being dependent on the generosity of an enlightened directorate. Hospitals have apparatus to give such treatment to the sick, but what is wanted even more is adequate sunshine for those who are well.

A recent report of the Medical Research Council states: 'The acetone-blue gauge shows that, on the average, two-thirds of the ultra-violet rays are cut off by smoke and dust pollution of the atmosphere in the city of London.' In addition to this, the widespread use of window-glass impermeable to ultra-violet rays effectively screens the remainder from all buildings not fully exposed, and the amount of benefit received from natural sunlight is reduced to the absolute minimum. The invention of vitaglass, and the development of this and other window-glass substitutes on a commercial scale, has already been proved of extraordinary value in promoting good health and maintaining it at the highest standard of efficiency. Vitaglass is a true glass, and is indistinguishable in appearance from ordinary window-glass, yet it can transmit as much as 80 per cent. of the essential rays of the sun. Some other materials are not true glasses, and are designed more especially for use in greenhouses, solaria, and other places where visibility is not essential. These are usually made from a cellulose-acetate compound reinforced with a fine mesh of galvanised wire, though naturally the process varies with each individual product. Some idea of the scale on which these glasses are now being used is gained from the fact that a train fully freighted with vitaglass leaves St. Helens, where this material is made, every day.

The experiments of the Royal Zoological Society of London in maintaining the health of animals by means of the sun's ultra-violet light transmitted through vitaglass first aroused public interest in this valuable material, and the highly successful results obtained have been followed by the widespread adoption of similar methods in schools and children's hospitals and factories. What is of benefit to young animals is surely equally effective when applied to young children. This conclusion has been fully demonstrated in practice, and one of the most interesting tests made recently took place at the Greets Green Infants' School, West Bromwich. The Black Country is notorious for polluted skies and consequent ill-health, and vitaglass is especially valuable when used under such appallingly bad conditions.

Thirty-eight pairs of children were taught in a room glazed with vitaglass for a period of six months, and were then compared with a control group of similarly aged children who were behind ordinary glass for a similar time. The average attendance of the vitaglass class was 91·1, and of the other 83·3, showing an increased attendance of 7·8 per cent. In one month, however,

the sunshine class had a difference of 17·2 in its favour, while in twelve months two of the children, a boy and a girl, had gained 5¼ lb. and 6 lb. in weight and 2⅝ inches and 3 inches in height respectively. The headmistress of the school, Miss Fisher, says: 'The children whom the ultra-violet rays reached certainly increased in activity and displayed more joy in physical effort.'

The effect of sunlight on the mentality of a child is most marked, and Miss Fisher's observations are in full agreement with the researches of Dr. F. Howard Humphris. All careful clinicians with sufficient experience in the treatment of diseases of children by actinotherapy have noted that the effect on the mentality of children is marvellous. Their very nature seems to change. Irritability flies away and is replaced by happiness and bright, good nature. In a recent lecture Dr. Humphris stated. 'I venture to submit that it is no longer a theory but a fact that sunshine, natural or artificial, has a very beneficial action on the psychology of the child.'

When children are irradiated with ultra-violet light artificially produced they should not be made to sit still round the lamp for half an hour, as is the practice in some institutions where the full effects of irradiation are only understood incompletely. For some time now Dr. Stella Churchill, one of the foremost authorities in the country on child health, has advocated that instead they should dance around and endeavour to imitate the effects of dancing in the sunlight by the seashore. Where vitaglass is used, however, this does not apply in the same way.

Germany is very advanced in the provision of open-air schools, and the remarkable development of the children's physique is one of the wonders of the post-war era. In 1919 Dr. Kurt Huldschinsky, of Berlin, discovered that rickets was definitely curable by ultra-violet light, and under his directions children's clinics to treat this disease have been established all over the country, while open-air schools controlled by competent clinicians are numerous.

An interesting experiment, similar to that at West Bromwich, but on a larger scale, is taking place in Holland at the moment in which vitaglass is being used. A new school on the outskirts of Utrecht has had four of its eight classrooms glazed with this British glass and the others with ordinary glass. There are fifty children in each room, varying in age from six to thirteen years, and, in order to be quite impartial, Dr. R. E. Wieringa, the school medical officer, refuses to be told which are the vitaglass rooms. In six months' time a comparison will be made the results of which will be of great interest for these groups of 200 children; each is considerably greater than any yet examined in this country.

The increasing publicity given to the value of sunlight has had several other effects which will also tend to promote better health. The more noteworthy of these is smoke abatement schemes, and it is interesting to know that those firms who are foremost in providing hygienic conditions for their employees recognise most clearly the value of clear skies, and have in many cases adopted suitable measures to limit the smoke from their stacks. Of British cities, Oldham, the centre of the Lancashire cotton industry, is one of the most enlightened, and there the electricity committee are striving to give practical form to a dream of a smokeless Oldham. Within three miles of the town-hall there are over 300 cotton mills and workshops with giant stacks pouring volumes of black smoke into the sky, and by the erection of a new electricity station energy is to be provided to run all these mills by electricity and purge the city's atmosphere. Already between fifty and sixty large mills and workshops are smokeless, and it is hoped by the present scheme, which doubles the capacity of the existing generating plant, to persuade others to follow. The movement is gradual, but none the less certain, for prior to the depression in the cotton trade the electricity department in Oldham was increasing its mill load by about 6000 kilowatts a year. The industrial cities of Lancashire have long been considered to be amongst the dirtiest in the country, but the purification of the skies is imminent, which will quickly be followed by the disappearance of the pale, wan, sun-starved faces which are characteristic of this part of the country. According to the latest Ministry of Health statistics, Newcastle has the distinction of having the blackest skies in Britain. Such firms as Rowntree, Cadbury, Lever, and others are synonymous for prosperous industry combined with ideal working conditions. Many smaller firms are now adopting schemes to improve and safeguard the health of their workers, following upon these fine examples, and organisations such as the National Institute of Industrial Psychology and the Industrial Welfare Society are eagerly engaged in aiding the work with specialised information. Sunlight has been recognised as of vital importance to industrial health, and consequently has played a very prominent part in recent developments.

The early closing of shops and offices is another sign of progress in the propagation of sunlight knowledge. Mr. Harry Smith, chief of the Legal Department of the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, more generally known as the Shop Assistants' Union, says:

Intelligent employers are beginning to see that when their employees can get out into the open air after a hard day's work, and play a game of tennis or cricket or football, or swim, or even take a peaceful stroll, their

efficiency the following morning is greatly increased, and the value of sunlight to the man and woman behind the counter is inestimable. During the summer months at least one large office in Aldwych is opened at half past eight in the morning and closed at half-past four in the afternoon, and this is an example which is being followed by several other companies next year.

The value of vitaglass for office and factory windows has been widely recognised, and in most new buildings it is being installed. Amongst many office and factory works recently erected, the new wing of Bush House, which is rapidly nearing completion, has been fitted throughout with vitaglass, which augurs well for the health of the future employees.

Another advantage of vitaglass, hitherto unsuspected, has recently been demonstrated in America, where this material is used extensively. A disadvantage inseparable from sky-scraping buildings is their unprotected exposure to the winds, that blow occasionally with very great force. It is interesting, therefore, to know that in a heavy gale in New York a few months ago 250,000 dollars' worth of glass was blown out of the windows of the tallest buildings; yet those which were fitted with vitaglass survived the storm. In one building the whole of the upper storey windows were blown out except those on the eighteenth floor fitted with vitaglass, which were more exposed to the gale than any others in the 'block.' It is surely a highly discriminating type of glass that can transmit the essential rays from the sun and yet withstand the gales of winter!

In public health work the uses of ultra-violet light may be broadly classified into three groups: the prevention and cure of rickets, malnutrition, and debility in infants. The solid foundation of health, much more than the cure of this or that particular disease, is the real aim of the modern public health movement, and in the present condition of civilised life great assistance towards the realisation of this aim can, in practice, be obtained by the skilled use of sunlight, natural or artificial. Clinics and welfare centres where light treatment can be obtained have been installed in towns, cities, and villages throughout the country, but still the development of sunlight education is of paramount importance.

One outstanding result of the Sherwood Colliery experiment is that, now the value of light baths have been demonstrated, both men and boys are eager to obtain treatment, and the clinic installed at Mansfield is working to capacity. This scheme is under the auspices of the New Health Society, and much propaganda is being done toward the improvement of diet, so that the physical results of irradiation will be even more noteworthy.

In Switzerland, by the shores of the Lake of Thun, there is a series of limestone caverns very similar to those found in the beautiful Hope valley in Derbyshire. Since the advent of the tourist the primal darkness of these caverns has been enlightened by electric lamps. Beneath the small area of illumination is to be found the only form of plant life in the caves—a minute lichen—scarcely more than a green stain on the bare face of the rock. The simple phenomenon is significant, and its significance is as old as creation, yet only of recent years have we begun to see, however dimly, the vital relationship between light and life.

Medicine has now shown with remarkable clarity how light can cure disease and build up healthy and efficient bodies. Science has applied light to innumerable technical processes, varying from the irradiation of bread to the detection of counterfeit banknotes and the testing of drugs. In the arts the ability to decipher palimpsests, erased thousands of years ago, has produced material hitherto unavailable, which is of very great value to historical research, and in almost every phase of life light is being applied.

The stimulation of sunlight artificially produced is needed to compensate for our industrial life, with its grimy towns and impure atmosphere, and wherever this method of promoting communal health has been adopted on a widespread scale the results are immediate and permanent. In the maintenance of personal health Dr. C. W. Saleeby affirms that ultra-violet light treatment in the home should become 'a customary means of hygiene like the water bath,' and it is toward the realisation of such conditions that modern light research is being directed. By full application of the value of sunlight blackened and slum dwellings will be eradicated, and national health will be maintained at that high standard where collective efficiency is reflected in national prosperity.

LEONARD V. DODDS.

ORIENTATION

FEW scientific problems present more difficulties than how animals find their way. At one time two schools of thought held very diverse views, for one maintained that the explanation was natural, whilst the other insisted that it was supernatural. Present-day acceptance of psychical philosophy as an exact science dismisses the idea of the supernatural, but does not decrease the antagonism between the champions of a mechanistic world and those who see in unsolved problems forces or laws governed by something as yet beyond our comprehension, but not beyond the reach of future scientific discovery.

Professor Etienne Rabaud, of the University of Paris, in his recent contribution to the International Library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific Method,[1] assaults with no uncertain voice the speculative school. His book, however much we may differ from some of his conclusions, is so full of scientifically argued deductions that it deserves careful consideration by all who are interested in animal psychology. Perhaps his own words will best explain his point of view, with the necessary allowance that the book is a translation; there is always a danger that a translator may have selected a word or words which in emphasis if not actual meaning differ from that originally intended.

> The hypothesis of an inner sense, as well as that of a special sensibility, escapes all direct research. On the other hand, the ordinary senses, well known to man, are immediately available. The most simple and sure procedure is, then, to organize our research on the assumption that these senses play a part. When the analysis is terminated with regard to them, we shall see whether they furnish the solution of the problem, or whether our investigations must be turned in another direction. By elimination we shall perhaps arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. Thus understood, the inquiry re-enters the domain of the biologist; it belongs appropriately and almost exclusively there.

This paragraph follows his two hypotheses—the first, an inner sense, 'an internal supra-sensory faculty which would render it

[1] *How Animals Find Their Way About. A Study of Distant Orientation and Place Recognition.* (Kegan Paul, etc.: London, 1928.)

apable of a veritable divination,' and the second, the use of ordinary sense organs, sensory memory, visual, olfactory, tactile, auditory or muscular. Or—and this is important—the animal utilizes a special sensibility permitting it to perceive elements of the environment imperceptible to man, such as electric or magnetic waves.'

In considering orientation in the animal world, excluding man, though, as I hope to show, he cannot be entirely excluded, we are constantly faced with the question, Can this or that line of behaviour be conscious or not? Huxley[2] declared that the movements of animals did not imply conscious volition, but did not deny that consciousness existed and played a part. Some of his followers, even to-day, insist upon reflex response to stimuli in every action of the lower animals, often forgetting, apparently, how reflex are many of our own actions. Vertebrates frequently behave in so eccentric or abnormal a manner that we are forced to conclude that their actions are not purely mechanical but are regulated by conscious effort, demanding something very like thought. The behaviour of invertebrates, especially of social insects, is so regulated by laws which work for the good of the community rather than the individual that, unless we credit the individual with an anthropomorphic self-sacrificing morality, we cannot feel certain of any action of a mind.

Professor Rabaud is too good a scientist to deny the existence of forces or powers which he cannot explain, but he sums up by asserting that memory plays an important, probably a preponderant, *rôle* in orientation.

> Whether one envisages a mollusc, an insect, a mammal, or man himself, one really perceives no essential difference among them in this respect. Whether it wishes or not, the animal is directly influenced by the outside world, it registers the images of surrounding objects, and these images assume for it various relations, . . . but nothing authorizes the assumption that to the ordinary senses are added others in more immediate relation with this process. . . . It is thus for all the animals. Whether one proceeds by direct experimental analysis, or by elimination, one is constantly led to cues registered by the ordinary sense-organs, with this simple reserve, that the homologous organs do not predominate equally in all cases.

So far as memory and the registration of cues is concerned most of us will agree, but the final paragraph seems to leave a loophole for much difference of opinion:

> The problem is certainly not exhausted. Many points remain obscure, which demand a fresh effort at analysis by means of a particularly rigorous method of research. The essential thing is to put aside all preconceived

[2] Rabaud quotes *L'Ecrivisse, Introduction à l'Etude de la Zoologie* (Paris, 1896); but compare *Methods and Results*, 1893.

ideas, and to affirm nothing which does not rest on a positive proof. . . In renouncing all hasty interpretation and every unfounded hypothe we leave the field free for research, and preserve the possibility of arrivi at a solution.

If we emphasise the word 'affirm' we shall agree; but does n the rest demand that we must close eyes and ears to any spec lative theory ?—which surely would limit the realm of researc We cannot find solution without speculating upon the explanati of an action. If we find the animal acting in a manner whi apparently has no connexion with ordinary senses—eyes, audito or olfactory organs, or tactile sense—are we to cease to wond why and how it acts, or conclude that it is not acting in t manner we imagine we have observed? To put it in anoth and simpler way—has the animal some sense of direction, orientation, which is not possessed by civilised, specialised ma or has it no such gift? Must we wipe out the possibility of th as yet unproven faculty because we cannot demonstrate i existence? It is a preconceived idea, preconceived by some the leading psychologists and biologists, but because it is pr conceived it is not necessarily without foundation. This deman for renunciation does not seem quite consistent with th alternative explanation suggested for the second hypothesis– the perception of as yet unknown electric or magnetic waves.

Most of Professor Rabaud's researches have been on th orientation or homing of insects, colonial or social species whic have a communistic home, or the solitary species which construc and stock a nest for their offspring. The social Hymenopter have their base—the nest or colony—whence the workers emerg to seek food for themselves and for those which are forced to remain in the nest, either the larvæ or the imagines which have internal duties to perform. The outward journey is for the purpose of foraging, and until some source of supply is discovered may mean exploratory wanderings in any direction, but it is of the greatest advantage to the community that when food has been discovered the return should be speedy. Consequently in all ordinary cases we note that a more or less direct course is taken by the successful forager between the find and the nest, and that no time is lost in following the deviations of the outward trail. This is the 'bee-line.' A bee or wasp conveyed in such a manner that it cannot trace its way, and released within a certain distance, often considerable, of the hive or nest, follows without hesitation this bee-line home. Taken beyond the certain distance and released, it is at fault, and may be lost or return only after long delay. The natural inference, the one upheld by the Professor, and indeed by all who have made a study of flying Hymenoptera, is that within a certain area the insect has

earnt its way about, become familiar with its surroundings, nd can, without hesitation, follow cues which guide it to the est. It need not see its goal; it may not follow a straight line hould an obstacle intervene, but it knows its way back.

Numerous experiments with hive bees, by moving the hive rom its usual position, even only for a short distance, prove that t is the site rather than the hive itself which is registered by the ee. Fabre and Bethe believed that the insects, wasps as well s bees, possessed a sense of direction independent of sensory ues, but Professor Rabaud affirms that 'their experiments arry no element of proof.' His condemnation is mainly founded n the experiments with solitary bees and wasps by Fabre and vith hive bees by Bethe, conveyed to a distance from their base nd released, and he combats the idea of a sense of direction ecause a proportion only—less than 50 per cent.—returned from listances varying from four to nine kilometres. Yet we may vonder if solitary bees or wasps normally wander in search of ood over an area of from two to six miles from the nests they re stocking, and in one case seven out of fifteen, transported by complicated route for about five and a half miles, returned afely. Even if the eight failed, was not Fabre justified in ttributing some directional sense to the seven? All animals are variable, and it is unlikely that the sense of direction, if it exists, is equally developed in all individuals, and most improbable that it is infallible.

Rather reluctantly he credits one experiment of Lubbock's as showing some indication of a sense of direction. Honey was placed in a room with two windows, the one nearest to a wasps' nest closed, the one remote open. A wasp discovered the honey, entering through the open window, and having loaded itself, flew off towards the nest, bumping against the closed pane. Captured and conveyed outside, it returned and again made straight for the nest, and this effort to travel straight was repeated five times. The wasp finally found its way out through the open window The Professor considers that there are two weak points about the experiment—first, the fact that we have no information about the relative amount of light entering the different windows, and secondly, which he says 'contradicts absolutely the conclusions of Lubbock,' that it discovered the exit. But does it? Wasps are stupid, or apparently stupid, when they enter a room, for they will beat up and down a closed pane and refuse to attempt an exit through the open one by which they entered. After watching them repeatedly I have come to the conclusion that they object to face the incoming current of air, but that in time, after exploring all the draughtless transparency in the hope of finding a more comfortable exit, they brave the inconvenience

and depart. This behaviour has in it something suggestive of thought.

Something rather like preconceived idea is suggested by Professor Rabaud's statement that insects when leaving the nest fly backwards and move away slowly with the eyes fixed on the nest or hive, by which method, he argues, they register a mental visual image of the surroundings. Personally I doubt if this is a regular habit, and if the flight round the hive with the eyes directed towards it has anything more in it than that the home—the hive or nest—has great attraction for the social insect. He is crediting the insect with intention, whether conscious or not, which is very human—a thoughtful habit of looking back to see what a place will look like when we return.

Romanes, Yung, and von Buttel-Reepen proved by simple experiments of moving hives and releasing bees in unfamiliar surroundings that these insects have to learn their way about, and thus support the theory that visual cues are employed; but because certain insects are largely dependent upon eyesight we should not refuse to credit evidence which points to a sense of direction even when it is apart from topographical knowledge.

Piéron [3] adds another possible clue, declaring that the memory of visible objects will not suffice, and suggests that the amount of muscular energy expended on the outward journey may register what he calls *kinæsthesis*, practically muscular memory. This Rabaud accepts as possible, notwithstanding the fact that the return journey is usually more direct. We miss any reference to the extraordinarily careful and patient observations of the Peckhams on American hymenoptera.[4] They watched an *Ammophila* hunting for caterpillars for about a quarter of an hour, lost sight of her, and then resighted her with spoil.

> She hurried along with the same motion as before, unembarrassed by the weight of her victim. For sixty feet she kept to open ground, passing between two rows of bushes, but at the end of this division of the garden, she plunged, very much to our dismay, into a field of standing corn. Here we had great difficulty in following her, since, far from keeping to her former orderly course, she zigzagged in a most bewildering fashion, although keeping a general direction of north-east. It seemed quite impossible that she could know where she was going.

She did not at once find the burrow or nest, but cast back and found clues, uncovered the hole and buried her caterpillar. But how does this confirm muscular memory, since she did not retrace the devious pathway she had taken in the hunt? It is only fair to state that the Peckhams, after releasing wasps in various places and observing the directions in which they left

[3] *Bull. Inst. gén. psych.*, 1906.

[4] *Wasps, Social and Solitary.* (Constable, 1905.)

their temporary prison, came to the conclusion that they 'have no sense of direction in the form of a mysterious additional sense, nor yet in the form of a power by which they keep a register of the turns and changes in a journey and are thus able to retrace their way.' They watched solitary wasps making a careful exploration, a survey of the ground round the nest, and again concluded that they are guided by memory of locality. When wasps released over the water appeared confused and utterly 'at sea,' but after a lapse of time returned safely, they argued that they cast about until they discovered memorised landmarks. That this explains the final overcoming of difficulties may be true, but after all it is more or less a guess; another guess might be that, though at first confused by their fresh surroundings, the sense of direction at last asserted its power and the wasps moved off in the right direction until they recovered the lost cues.

Different factors have to be considered with regard to terrestrial animals, even with Hymenoptera devoid of wings, uch as the ants. Ants have always been counted amongst the ıost advanced and intelligent insects in all their social behaviour; hey have been upheld as models for man from very early ays. The workers whose duties are hunting, food-providing or the community—the commissariat department of the ant orces—cover a large area and find their way home, apparently vithout much difficulty. Within a certain area of the nest re well-trodden roads, from the nest to the hunting ground, ormed by the padding of countless feet rather than by ngineering skill, like the forest tracks in Africa. Along these ighways the ants have no difficulty in seeing or smelling their vay. When a forager leaves the highway, and having secured oot, seeks to return, its difficulties are not unlike those of bee or vasp, but landmarks may be obscured, and she—for we are ntitled to give it the female sex—smells her way back along ıer own devious track. Once she regains a used track, she can peed for home.

An ant if taken from the path and later replaced turns in the lirection in which it was travelling before the interruption. Bethe maintained that the collective trail, rather than the ant, s polarised. Cornetz,[5] on the other hand, believes that the ant s endowed with a sense of general orientation, a 'pure direction,' vhich Rabaud explains as an acquired orientation. On this aculty Santschi's[6] experiments do more than throw light, for hey lead to a new and interesting conclusion. He used a nest vith two tracks, one running to the nest from west to east, the other from south-east to north-west. He removed from the

[5] *Les explorations et les voyages des Fourmis.* (Paris, 1914.)

[6] *Revue Suisse de Zool.*, 1911.

west to east track an ant which was on its way home, and placed it in the northerly diagonal well to the south-east of the nest. It continued its easterly course across the track until it hit the limit of the scent influence on the eastward edge of the trail; then it recoiled, swerved southward and again recoiled from the easterly edge, always striving to travel towards the east, but no longer in the direction of the nest. Here two things are evident—the desire to continue in a given or pure direction, and the fear of losing its way when its olfactory cues failed. The explanation offered is that the polarising is due to the ant's appreciation of the relative position of solar light.

When the ant is not following a beaten track or one blazed by the odour of its companions, but has wandered here and there in search of spoil, it does not return on its own scent, but heads off in a generally correct direction towards the nest. Cornetz showed that the outward track, however many exploratory turns and twists, even loops, may be traversed, is on the whole in a general direction; the outward journey shows orientation. Loot discovered the ant turns right about, makes for home, not necessarily even touching or crossing its outward pathway, but travelling roughly parallel to the outward track, but in the opposite direction. The ant has thus altered its pure direction, reversed its poles. When, however, it has arrived within a short distance of the nest, where visible cues might be expected to help it, it wanders, apparently confused, and this Cornetz suggests is due to the abundance of olfactory cues left by the many ants that have wandered in and out. This general adherence to a definite direction, both outwards and inwards, suggests orientation apart from normal cues, and here the alteration of direction, the reversal of the route, may be explained as a cue, polarising or marching in a fixed direction relative to the light being the method by which the insect finds its way. This idea is refuted by Rabaud, because an ant which is carried to new, unexplored ground is invariably lost, unless after wandering it happens upon some clue. He does, however, admit the theory based on experiments by Lubbock and others that light, especially solar light, aids direction-finding and maintaining, and accepts it as an additional cue.

Granted that ants and probably flying insects are guided by light, and to a large extent by scent and sight, we have still another factor to take into consideration, a very important one, too, the 'personal equation' of the observer. One scientist may reject a possible theory because his experiments did not give *full* proof; another may jump to conclusions because one experiment succeeded, did what he wanted it to do. One may have preconceived ideas that cues alone explain the problem,

another that nothing will satisfy but an extra sense. There is as much variation in the mentality of scientists as in the apparent methods of orientation.

The ordinary observer of the busy and very industrious ant may well come to the conclusions of Mark Twain: 'I admit his industry, of course; he is the hardest working creature in the world—when anybody is looking—but his leather-headedness is the point I make against him. He goes out foraging, he makes a capture, and then what does he do? Go home? No; he goes anywhere but home. He doesn't know where home is. His home may be only three feet away; no matter, he can't find it.' Then he describes how the ant climbs over every pebble in its way, laboriously dragging the load, how it hauls it to the top of a weed, drops or climbs down again, meets a companion, and each seizes opposite ends and pulls, and finally the useless burden is discarded and the ants go off to seek something even more difficult to handle 'It is strange beyond comprehension that so manifest a humbug as the ant has been able to fool so many nations and keep it up so many ages without being found out.' I must confess that superficial observation of an ant colony does encourage a belief in confusion and wasted energy, and this is increased if in any way we interfere with the normal course of events. An obliterated track, destruction of part of the nest, or reversal of any ordinary order of the ant's performances causes alarm which looks like unreasoned panic. In a society where every individual has its own special duties to perform this confusion may not be mere imagination; each ant is a pawn in a great communistic organisation, and, so far as we can see, if it is suddenly called upon to act in an unaccustomed manner, to toil in an altered environment, it loses all its automatic co-ordination with its companions. This inability to deviate from an instinctive and reflex order of events may explain why some of the experiments fail to produce expected results and give the impression of an absence of sense of direction which may exist in normal circumstances. And even the ant which is working by itself in unfamiliar surroundings may be so confused that its lack of precision tempts us to agree with Mark Twain's satirical conclusion.

Furthermore, some of the experiments to investigate whether scent or sight were guiding cues were conducted by methods which surely cannot be satisfactory; antennæ were amputated or blindness secured by varnishing the eyes. Conclusions from mutilation, a method of investigation rather favoured by some of the French biologists, cannot be sound in every case; at the best they give little more than negative results. The various organs of any highly specialised animal are co-ordinated; inter-

ference with one may paralyse or dislocate the action of others. The 'holistic' performance of the organism, as General Smuts has demonstrated, may be disorganised and rendered futile by the mutilation of one part.

Possibly Professor Rabaud has not studied the work of another painstaking and genuine seeker after truth, or perhaps he has no belief in his conclusions; at any rate, he does not refer to the investigations and experiments of Major R. W. G. Hingston amongst the Indian and other Asiatic ants.[7] The Major, after proving to his own satisfaction, and to that of everyone else who follows his experiments, that ants do track one another by scent, declares his belief in something more:

> But in the ordinary business of their daily lives the ants possess another guide. They are influenced by some wonderful sense of direction which is quite inexplicable to us. And this is a powerful force, many times superior to scent. For, when direction and scent are placed in opposition, then direction easily wins. In addition the ants have a memory of places—a kind of topographical sense Although confused in the interval by innumerable deviations, yet they still retain the memory of places which they visited days before.

Granted that ants and some other insects are susceptible to light and receive direction from the position of the sun, whether visible to us or not, does this prove that their senses are similar to ours, and that we can judge by the effect upon us through our senses the effect upon them through theirs? So far as orientation is concerned our powers are degenerate, rudimental in the Darwinian sense, 'that a former progenitor possessed the parts in question in a perfect state, and that under changed habits of life they became greatly reduced.' In our everyday life we no longer require a sense of direction.

Professor Rabaud's experiences with caterpillars (immature insects) and with scorpions led him to the conclusion that, so far as direction was concerned, they were polarised but were uninfluenced by light. 'We have to do with a process which seems very widespread, and which corresponds very probably to the registration of a cue imposing a certain direction on the animal, whether or not this direction leads back to the point of departure.' His observations and experiments on the larvæ of a goat-moth and fox-moths satisfied him that they possessed an urge to go in a fixed direction, but that when he managed to puzzle and deflect that direction they still continued in a straight line on the new course. Many times I have tried similar tricks with larvæ of garden-tigers and ermine-moths. All these caterpillars when full-fed and ready to seek sites in which to pupate

[7] *A Naturalist in Himalaya* (Witherby, 1920); *A Naturalist in Hindustan* (1923).

are urged by a natural law to depart to a certain distance from the food-plant on or in which their feeding days were spent. Thus overcrowding is avoided and distribution assisted. The species is advantaged when the brood, before it reaches the reproductory stage, is scattered far and wide from the original and probably depleted source of supply. To gain the maximum advantage the travelling caterpillars must radiate from the point of departure; there is no special point of the compass to be aimed at, but the straight undeviating path will lead them farthest from the now useless 'home' of their early days in the shortest space of time. Thus the caterpillar whose direction is deflected artificially or by an obstacle corrects its angle and continues in its former direction. If its position is reversed and its head turned towards the point of departure it turns right about before going on, but if it is moved to a new spot and there reversed it again turns about but travels straight in a fresh direction. This is not path-finding, but blind obedience to a law which demands a sense of direction.

Orientation in other invertebrates gets rather scant attention in this book, yet the subject is incomplete unless we consider various types of organisms Termites, the blind workers, like blind and nocturnal ants, are guided in their pathways by a 'blackish trail' which is an olfactory cue; if this is interrupted ' e insects are disorientated. For those which travel along rk and walled-in roads the author's reasoning is sound; but iat about the swarm, the distribution of the winged termites? ijor Hingston shows that these sexually perfect and eyed embers of the community take a definite direction in their ptial flight, though on first emerging they seem confused and inder aimlessly, lost in the entanglement of trees and jungle. But their instinct is to ascend. Soon they clear the trees, and en it is obvious that all the termites are pursuing the same edestined course. . . . It is difficult not to believe that all e guided by some special sense to move in a common line.'

This, doubtless, is comparable with the straight line travel of e caterpillar, for the termites undoubtedly need to get far from eir nest where everything edible has been consumed. Major ingston gives a clue to the value of the straight line movement his description of the Indian dung-rolling beetles, *Gymnopleuri*, ich he affirms 'possess some sense of direction.' Whatever at direction is, they refuse to be turned aside, all moving in a raight line away from the dung when they have gathered a llet. Other scavengers, attracted by the same food, are ready rob any successful roller, and the beetle must get its ball as ickly as possible away from the danger zone where brigands arm. Without ability to keep in a straight line the beetle

would wander to and fro, deflected by obstacles, and would be robbed before it reached a safe spot in which to complete its task and bury its spoil. The Major's attempts to deflect the course failed; even Lubbock's light experiments, which puzzled ants, had no effect. 'The beetles were neither dazzled nor confused; they just took no notice and kept straight on.'

Although this orientation is not exactly finding the way, and certainly is not homing, in these and other insects a distinct sense of direction, almost certainly instinctive and guided by no clues, is most noticeable. Especially is this the case with some of the Lepidoptera and Odonata. In several species the perfect insects migrate, seeking no home nor nest, but travelling in a very definite direction. The clouded yellow, Camberwell beauty, painted lady, and probably red admiral butterflies, the convolvulus hawk, gamma, and other moths, reach Britain from the east or south-east in spring, sometimes in very large numbers, to repopulate an area in which summer food abounds but in which they are unable to winter. They come westward, and the natural conclusion is that they follow the sun, but the dragon-fly *Libellula quadrimaculata*, a well-known migrant, though it has been observed travelling in this direction, often journeys from north-west to south-east. In some cases where observations have been recorded the insects travelled with the wind, but in others the wind was almost against them, on their right front. The largest movement of this species which came under my notice was in Anglesey, where the insects appeared from the Irish Sea and made across the island to the south-east. The same movement was noted at Llandudno and Aberdovey, and the direction was south or south-east.

Once more I quote from Major Hingston, for his observations are not limited to one family of insects:

How persistent, how incredible is this directive sense! In the desert I have watched the sacred scarab, and have seen a hundred of them, one after the other, all arrive from the same point, and having shaped their pellets, roll them back towards that point again. I have observed the harvesting ants of the Punjab, when engaged in their funereal duties, convey their dead in an unerring course that led them farther and farther from their home, and after having suitably disposed of the bodies strike back again undeviatingly to the nest. For hours I have watched the Himalayan hornets flow in a stream across the woods and fields and never depart from the adopted course. I have witnessed the emergence of the termites at the onset of the summer rains, and have remarked how the insects, after clearing the brushwood, all combine in a fluttering swarm and sail off towards the same point. Near the Euphrates I have marched for days through multitudes of locusts which invested the desert like a verdant sea, and I observed how the indomitable, directive instinct drove the vast army into the flooded river until millions were utterly destroyed.

I have watched the butterflies on the Himalayan snow-line flow for months up the mountain-side in a continuous, migrant stream. I have followed them in their ascent up a lofty range 17,000 feet in height, and there I have seen this all-powerful force drive them over the snowy altitudes where they must have perished in an icy waste.

Here we have no clues, no use of senses similar to ours. The insects are driven by a 'deep and fundamental instinct that binds them to this fixed course.' And many of them are driven to their death, for the benefit of the survivors, for the good of the species. When we visualise the apparently ruthless destruction, and the force which drives them to it and which they cannot combat, we realise that here is something far more mysterious than a sense of direction in the insects; it is a compelling sense of direction of Nature. Well may we turn to *In Memoriam*:

Are God and Nature then at strife,
That Nature lends such evil dreams?
So careful of the type she seems,
So careless of the single life.

And turning to the writings of another poet, Maurice Maeterlinck,[8] we find him too a puzzled philosopher: 'After all, we understand very little about the insect world, which is governed by senses and feelings that have hardly anything in common with our own.' Yes, and by something more powerful than sense—biological law which demands immense sacrifice of superfluous life in order to produce the fittest to survive.

Homing and path-finding amongst molluscs presents few difficulties beyond the phenomenon that so apparently unintelligent an animal can make use of clues for finding and remembering its way, for even a limpet shows something akin to memory when it returns to its stance. Stance it has—call it the nest if we like—a place on the rock rasped with its radula until it is made to fit all the inequalities of its shell, and to which it can cling with powerful muscular foot. From this it wanders, seeking food, feeling its way with tentacles or foot, noting or registering, apparently; when it returns it turns about like the ant, and retraces its wandering outward track. Other molluscs are briefly referred to by Professor Rabaud, and he might have included the terrestrial gasteropods, slugs and Helices, which leave behind a slime track easy to follow when the time arrives for return to the diurnal refuge or roost. In the same manner spiders, amongst the arachnids, blaze a trail by leaving a silken thread which aids them on return.

We know so little about the migration of crustaceans—though from the recovery of marked crabs which had walked along the

[8] *The Life of the White Ant.* (Allan & Unwin, 1927.)

sea bottom for immense distances we know that something of the kind exists—that we cannot hazard any guesses about orientation.

Professor Rabaud is almost as uncertain about vertebrate orientation, for he considers that our data is scanty and by no means always reliable: 'Too often, the assertions made on the return of vertebrates to the nest proceed from observations made without rigorous control, interpreted by the help of preconceived opinions, or of superfluous hypotheses which the observer takes for facts.' By the nest, of course, he means the home of any kind. Is this assertion quite fair?—for is or was he not influenced by preconceived opinions about clues, however much he may have proved their existence by later experiment? But he goes on to state that the phenomenon of migration must not be confused with orientation, for 'migration depends on an hereditary topographical memory of which orientation would be a residuum.' This he bases on the emigration of immature birds some weeks before their parents. These young, he argues, are influenced by the same stimuli as the old birds which follow, and these stimuli cause them to act in a set manner and arrive at given destinations; the only difference between them and their parents is that the old birds have the advantage of having travelled over the same ground before and have 'registered local cues.' 'It is from the moment that the birds approach a known region that migration and orientation coincide,' and further he declares that 'migration and orientation remain entirely distinct.'

With all this, part of which is very obscure, I cannot agree, for surely it is based on preconceived ideas and superfluous hypotheses. Avian migration, as we know it, certainly includes, nay, depends upon, orientation. Young birds, especially those which are reared in the Arctic and leave for southern winter quarters before their parents have fully accomplished the moult, work south without clues. To say that they have an inherited knowledge or memory of topographical direction implies that they remember landmarks which they have never seen; surely this is pure speculation. It is perfectly true that some young birds wander in wrong directions, or are carried far out of their track by wind variation, but some, probably the majority, arrive at the desired destination. Observation of passage migrants proves that birds do not always travel along the same route, and probably this course is regulated by the force and direction of prevailing winds, but there is strong evidence that the winter quarters of most species are almost as constant as their breeding quarters.

That mature birds have the advantage of having local cues because they have previously travelled over the same ground cannot always be correct, for even in our small islands there are birds which do not take the same route in spring by which they

relled in autumn from their breeding haunts, whilst in North erica it has been conclusively shown that many wading birds utumn take a short cut, crossing parts of the western Atlantic reach South America. In spring the return journey, very ch slower, is overland, far to the west of the autumnal track.[9] Ringing or banding of birds has also proved that not only they return to the same area, but that in very many cases ds come back to the same spot, even the same nest. In the ring of this year a personal friend of mine trapped in his garden turtle dove which he caught and ringed in the same trap in 24, and each spring since the bird, still bearing its identification bel, has visited and been captured in this trap. This, then, ows that, by whatever route the birds travel, they are gifted th some power of orientation, and that except when near the st they cannot be certainly guided by visual clues.

Unfortunately it is too true that many of the stories about the ming of domestic animals, especially of dogs and cats, have not en scientifically examined, but there is little doubt that many e correct. They show, on the whole, that the first part of the urney is accomplished by following a general sense of direction, ough for a time, in unfamiliar surroundings, the animal beats out in a puzzled manner. When, however, it has, so to speak, ven itself to its orientation faculty, it makes off in a more or ss correct direction until it finds visual clues. Without attempt- g to verify any of the many tales of dogs and cats, one example homing may be mentioned—the homer being a drake belonging John Burroughs. His son brought it from a farm two miles way, shut up in a bag so that it could not see its way. For a ly and a night it was imprisoned with two ducks, and whenever leased turned its head homewards, refusing to mate with these rds After four days Burroughs decided to watch it and give 'fair play,' and so allowed it to leave his farm; at once it ossed the garden in the right direction until it reached the main ad There a dog scared it, but after a detour it regained the ad, and after a bath in a roadside pond steadily tramped wards its home. Once, when it was near home, it turned up a rong lane, but soon discovered its error and returned to the ad When it sighted landmarks that it knew it 'raced home.' his seems to be the relationship of orientation and clues.

On the vexed question of the carrier pigeon, or, as we know it, he homer, the Professor has more to say, and demonstrates that here is little proof of the possession by the bird of any magnetic nse, though this has been urged as an explanation. Neverthe- ss he adds in a footnote that M. Casamajor is working at a heory that the homer 'may register as cues waves of a given

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length emitted in the region of the cote.' He thinks that possibly there may be something in this theory, and though as yet it is founded on speculative ideas, further investigation may show that something of this nature will solve many problems. The Professor says that, 'although it calls forth various objections, it cannot be rejected *a priori*, and we must await the results of experiments in progress.'

Some time ago I offered the purely speculative suggestion in an article on 'Nature's Broadcasting'[10] that animals might be able to receive messages through perception of emanations, ether waves, or some medium of radioactivity about which as yet we know nothing. The reception of these waves might be named 'Teleception,' and it may be discovered that not only can one animal communicate with another by telepathic messages, but that inorganic objects, such as the home or nest, may emit some wave or emanation which has influence upon a sympathetic brain. Burroughs' amorous drake may, for instance, have received an S.O.S. from the ducks in the home farm, or have 'felt' the direction of the farm itself.

Fabre[11] at first believed that some sexual transmission explained the 'sembling' of the males of certain moths to a virgin female, but after experiments with the large emperor-moth rejected the idea in favour of the attraction of sexual scent. He thought that the antennæ might be the aerials, transmitting and receiving messages up as well as down wind, for his males reached the imprisoned virgin from all directions and by complicated routes. He also showed that the moths were deflected and almost paralysed by the superior attraction of strong light. Mr. J. J. Ward[12] goes even further in trying to prove 'why moths fly to the light.'

Civilised man, corrupted by sign-posts, maps, and other guides, has lost much power of finding his way, but the native of forest, tundra, or prairie has a much better sense of direction. But putting aside human faculties and failings we see in a variety of animals apparent evidence of a power of orientation distinct from previous experience. Particularly interesting are the experiments conducted by Drs. J. B. Watson and K. S. Lashley,[13] who took a number of noddy and sooty terns from the Tortugas and released them far east and north of the seas they usually frequent; many returned safely, some from over 850 miles north of their range. Professor Rabaud mentions briefly these

[10] *Contemporary Review*, September 1924.

[11] *Social Life in the Insect World.* (Fisher Unwin, 1912.)

[12] *Strand Magazine*, March 1928.

[13] *Homing and Relative Activities of Birds.* (Dept. of Marine Biol. of the Carnegie Inst., Washington, 1915.)

experiments, and apparently belittles the result because the long distance birds took several days before they reached the Keys. Amphibians show some homing faculty, and so, certainly, do many fishes, but the difficulty of tracking their routes prevents safe conclusions. Nevertheless the fact that many salmon return to the rivers in which, as smolts, they were marked is surely evidence of orientation; numerous cases of return after two, three, and four years are recorded. Can we imagine that they use sensory cues similar to ours?

Last of all, what can we say about the eel? The breeding grounds of the European and American eels, specifically distinct, overlap, and their larvæ intermingle after they have left the warm waters of the western Atlantic, yet the former steadily travel east, the latter seek the American shores. Our mature eels, compelled by some obscure driving force, leave European fresh waters and travel south-west towards the Sargasso Sea and West Indies. Literally they 'go west,' for they never return after spawning. What directions do they use? Have they inherited memory? Can they recall their two or three years' eastward travel as leptocephali and elvers? North-east come the tiny larvæ and elvers, ascend the rivers, feed and grow, until the strange call of maturity and sex sends them back whence they came. Surely here is sense of direction without clues? [14]

When physicists can show that animals receive sympathetic wave-messages, when they discover transmitted forces no more wonderful than those already known, many problems of orientation and migration will lose their mystery but will not cease to be marvellous. Some animals, undoubtedly, employ their senses much as we do: others act in other ways; those ways we may yet discover. We are all learners, and there is still much to learn.

T. A. COWARD.

[14] For a short *résumé* of Dr E. J Schmidt's discoveries of the life history of eels, see J. T Jenkins, *The Fishes of the British Isles*. (Warne, 1925)

HENRY EDWARDSON: BIRD-WATCHER

HENRY EDWARDSON, who for nearly forty years kept watch and ward over the birds of Hermaness, in Shetland, and who died on July 9, 1928, was probably the oldest bird-watcher in the kingdom, in the technical sense in which protection of rare species by definite wardens is understood among conservation societies of the present day. He had been an authorised and, in a sense, professional watcher since 1891, and a lover and protector of birds long before that year, while following the occupation of shepherd, an occupation kindred in many ways and attractive to men of much the same temper of mind. He loved his birds as the shepherd—typified by W. H. Hudson's Caleb Bawcombe—loves his sheep, intimately and individually; and just as Bawcombe made the memorable avowal that if he had to live his life again he would wish again to be a shepherd on the downs, so Henry Edwardson, during his failing health in the winter of 1927–28, wrote that living on the hill among the birds put new life into him, and that if he could get back there it would mean to him more than all the doctors and medicine he could have. For thirty-seven years of his life he spent each nesting season alone with the birds, on a remote headland looking upon the wild Atlantic; and it is thanks to him that Britain retains on her list of nesting species the great skua gull, which had been in peril for fifty years and was threatened with rapid extermination when he first undertook his task.

The great skua, or bonxie, the largest of the predatory gulls and a bird of stout and powerful build with mottled brown plumage, is distinguished from the gulls proper by its hooked beak and its wedge-shaped tail. It spends most of its life as a wanderer over the seas, coming to rocky coasts only to nest, and probably it never had many breeding grounds, nor ever existed in numbers comparable with those of various gulls, guillemots, and other sea birds which crowd in countless thousands upon cliff and crag. The feeding habits of all the skuas seem to indicate a decadent race, since a creature that lives largely upon the labour of others has entered upon a dangerous course. It obtains much, perhaps most, of its food by chasing the smaller

gulls when these have caught a fish or have lately had a good meal. Anxious to escape swiftly from the enemy which relentlessly follows its every turn and twist, the gull lightens itself by discharging cargo in the form of the recent or hoped-for meal, and the skua, with falcon-like dash and rapidity, intercepts this on its downward way. The energy and skill expended by the skua in selecting and pursuing one particular gull, though the victim fly never so high or so strongly, sometimes speeding straight up into the sky, sometimes circling and doubling, would seem almost as great as the effort need to catch fish direct. Possibly the chase in itself appeals. The tactics are not unlike those of certain hawks when in pursuit, not merely of the quarry's food, but of the quarry itself. Mr. Selous has reminded us that the habit is not unknown to the gulls themselves, since birds which secure offal thrown from fishing-smacks are at once mobbed and the food often torn from them. Sometimes it is seized before a morsel has been swallowed; at other times the oppressed gull disgorges in order to be left in peace. Moreover, the gull plays the same trick on the tern. With all the gull tribe the bringing up of food is, as Mr. Selous comments, an easy and habitual action, and the nestlings, like those of widely separated species, are fed on regurgitated food. An approach to the skua chase is familiar among birds, from the house-sparrow onward, the flight of an individual with a tit-bit being a signal for mobbing by others, who will rather gain the scrap that has been seized than all that is left behind.

The principal breeding-places of the great skua have been, so long as knowledge of the species has existed, on Unst and Foula, in the Shetland Isles, the Faroes, and Iceland. Of late years it has spread to Orkney, though rarely so much as visiting the Hebrides, and is said to nest on Lady Franklin Isle, in the Hudson Strait. For the rest it is but a chance visitor, ranging on its great wings from Spitzbergen to the Straits of Gibraltar and the Swiss lakes. The nests are in scattered colonies on high moorlands, and roughly formed of heather and moss, and only two eggs are laid.

Unst, the most northerly of the ninety-odd fragments of Silurian and Laurentian rock which stand up to the winds and waves to form the Shetland Isles, rises at its northern extremity into two headlands, Herma Ness and Saxaford, the latter with a height of 312 feet, the former 657 feet. Beyond Hermaness is a further stack or island, considerably lower and often white with kittiwakes, on which stands Muckle Flugga Lighthouse, the northernmost inhabited building in Great Britain. On the hill itself is the watcher's summer home, consisting of two rooms, and made to resist the tempests rather than to please the tourist

lover of the picturesque; it was put up as recently as 1922, in succession to a sentry-box shelter which had previously served, but which was so small that cooking had to be done outside and a full-sized bed was impossible. The roughness of the long track across the peaty moor and shaggy heather to Burrafirth and the 'town' of Haroldswick is indicated by the fact that each portion of the cabin had to be brought up by hand owing to the impracticability of transport by van or pony. Here Edwardson lived day and night during the months of May, June, July and August. Once a week or so his food supplies, his letters, and his papers were brought to him. His companions were the screaming, miawling, barking sea birds, the fierce Atlantic waves, for ever beating against the defiant rocks, and the rude winds, often thick with sea mist, or rising in angry squalls whose roar mingled with the clamorous cries of the birds in one hurricane of sound. Here he was at home and happy: the deep indwelling sense of poetry and mystery which informs the mind of the men of the north, in contrast with the fleeting passions of the south, and the love of Nature, so often an instinct with those who live where her favours seem few, brought him into harmony with his environment. He stored up there the bright pure air, the salt breeze, the sunlight to serve him, as he said, through the long dark Shetland winter, when the sun is above the horizon little more than five hours of the twenty-four. Even in winter the isles, like all western highlands, are dank with mist and racked by storm rather than cold; but the birds have gone a-wandering, and there is nothing to bid their warden stay. From the hill his eyes could scan the ocean and delight in the movements of the birds, or on rare occasion follow every movement of a stranger in the land. Even apart from Nature few Shetlanders lack interests: their minds turn to the ancient story of their land, to myth and tale, as readily as the Scotsman turns to theology; and visitors to the Ness found in Edwardson a singularly attractive personality, with much to tell them in his pleasing and cultivated voice. The loud, coarse voice, as W. H. Hudson has somewhere said, is not the voice of the man of the quiet downs, nor of the inhabitants of open country; but Edwardson's was unusually refined and strangely at odds with his storm-defying clothes. He loved to tell, among other things, of his personal dealings with the birds, and especially of the Arctic skuas that were in the habit of coming to his hut for food and of eating bread from his floor with the confidence of a robin. The Arctic or Richardson's skua, popularly known as the scootie, is not a whit less wild and fierce than the bonxie; its manners are considered by some of its visitors to be even more aggressive, and its bold attacks on all who draw near the nest are far from pleasing to encounter

when with threatening beak and dashing wings it charges the intruder. As with the great skua, the actual attack is made, strangely enough, with the webbed feet. For many years one bird, more daring or more trustful than the rest, was the watcher's constant visitor, and would be beside the door when he returned to the place in spring. Twice this skua, which he computed to be thirty years old, lost its mate, and twice a half-reluctant bride was brought to the hut, 'a bit frightened and stand-offish at first,' said their host, but gradually yielding to the force of persuasion and example, and bringing, later in the season, two big ungainly chicks to be duly introduced to their human neighbour. All the birds of the place are, however, remarkably fearless, as is their wont where man has not proved himself their enemy, and Miss Frances Pitt has remarked on the extraordinary tameness of the Hermaness skuas. Neither skuas nor gulls are by nature afraid of man or even unfriendly. Dr. Edmondston told Macgillivray that in captivity the great skua was gentle and affectionate and would eat almost anything; and Lord Lilford, who had a pinioned pair, which had been sent to him from their nest in Foula, wrote that they were on peaceable terms with young great bustards from Spain and would devour bread and buns with almost the same avidity as their more natural food. Mr. Selous, writing of birds in the open, tells of a young great skua that allowed itself to be stroked, though others received overtures less politely. As for the gulls, London has proved their fearlessness, and there are even yet beaches in this country where the quiet rambler may almost walk among them.

In 1830 there are reputed to have been only two pairs of great skuas on Unst, and their lives were hardly worth a pin's fee; but, with the marvellous power which birds possess for holding on so long as any chance is afforded them, these somehow held on. Between that year and 1837 three visits to the Shetlands were paid by a notorious collector, self-styled an 'animal preserver,' Robert Dunn, of Hull, who published an *Ornithologist's Guide to the Islands of Orkney and Shetland*. To him an ornithologist was a man who killed birds for his collection; an animal preserver the man who set them up. Mr. Dunn filled both *rôles*, and in days before a close time for wild birds, or Acts for their protection, were dreamed of, he was able to narrate fully and truthfully his intentions and achievements. He begins by contrasting the happy state of affairs in the islands with that which prevailed in Holland, where he betook himself in 1834 with the hope of obtaining specimens of purple heron, spoonbill, golden oriole, and the like, but had to return empty-handed and 'highly mortified' because the shooting season had expired and he could not so much as carry a gun without risking a fine. The

Shetlands, on the contrary, seem to have welcomed him with open arms, and he was able to shoot skuas, eider-ducks, red-throated divers, great northern divers, stormy petrels, and anything else he wanted and could find, on or round about their nests, and to take the eggs. At Fitful Head he was happy in obtaining the white-tailed eagle (now extinct in Great Britain). The peregrine he found pretty numerous, though 'shy and difficult to get within shot of'; ravens in considerable numbers, though, like the eagles, they had been thinned down by the payment by the Commissioners of Supply, prior to 1835, of 3*s*. 6*d*. for an eagle's head, 4*d*. for a raven's, and 2*d*. for a crow's (the Royston or hoodie). On Rona's Hill he had still better luck, for here he 'fell in with a pair of skua gulls which I fortunately shot,' and this stimulated him to persevere and find several more, a reward he considered worth 'all the time I had spent and fatigue I had suffered.'

There were then, he writes, only three places in Shetland where the bonxie bred—Foula, Rona's Hill, and Unst.

> In the latter place it is by no means numerous, and is strictly preserved by the landlords on whose property it may have settled, from a supposition that it will defend their flocks from the attacks of the eagle. That it will attack the eagle if he approaches their nest is a fact I have witnessed; I once saw a pair completely beat off a large eagle from their breeding-place

It was also, he adds, a great favourite with fishermen, and considered a lucky omen if it accompanied their boats; in return they gave it the refuse of the fish that were caught. Curiously enough, Dunn makes no allusion to the skua's piratical manœuvres. In spite, however, of the friendly attitude of farmers and fishers, he found the great skua in diminished numbers on the occasion of his second visit in 1833 and still scarcer in 1835.

> During the interval between my first and second visit several parties from the south travelled through Shetland, principally for amusement, and having fowling-pieces with them, destroyed indiscriminately every bird that came within their reach, in fact almost annihilated several species, particularly the skua gull: a great number were also shot by the officers of a cutter which was stationed in Rona's Voe for two or three months. These gentlemen, I was told, destroyed great numbers of birds of all kinds, but particularly this gull. Mr. Sheen blamed me for thinning them more than any other person: in this he was certainly mistaken, as I did not take so many as to injure the breed; these gulls were however so scarce when I last visited the islands that I had great difficulty in obtaining permission to visit the places where they breed, the landlord assigning as a reason for his refusal that the birds had almost become extinct, but allowed me, as a great favour, to shoot a single pair.

Naturalists of to-day are inclined to agree with Mr. Sheen. Dunn does not seem to have made any attempt upon the birds

of Unst, either on account of their better protection or of their insignificant number. Yet it was the miserable remnant of the species that persisted on Unst which was to re-establish the race, and in 1891 the Zoological Society of London awarded its silver medal to Mrs. Ursula Edmondston 'for protection of the great skua in the Island of Unst, 1830–1891'; and also to Mr. R. T. C. Scott 'for many years' protection of the great skua in the Island of Foula.' Between these two dates much had happened in the way of legislation for the preservation of Britain's wild birds. In 1869 the Act for the Preservation of Sea Birds established a close time for certain birds, from April 1 to August 1, which would have considerably hampered Mr. Dunn's activities; and in 1880 all the birds mentioned in this statute were transferred to the schedule of the new Act for the Protection of Birds for complete protection during a close time longer by a month than the previous one. In 1894 further legislation made it possible to protect wild birds' eggs, and use of this was immediately made to penalise the taking of skuas' eggs in Shetland. One little incident which stimulated the passing of this Act was the organisation by a 'Naturalists' Publishing Company' of an egg-collecting expedition to 'the Land of the Great Auk,' meaning Shetland, recommending the isles as one of the best collecting grounds in the United Kingdom for sea birds' eggs. In the year 1891 Henry Edwardson was engaged as special keeper 'to live for three months on Hermaness and keep watch and ward by day and night over the skuas' home.' The first results were reported to *The Times* by Mr. Thomas Edmondston (August 1, 1892). Nine pairs of great skuas had arrived on Unst in the spring. Seven pairs nested safely and brought off their young on Hermaness, 'thanks to zealous and careful watching'; the other two, nesting outside the area, were harried by collectors and hatched no young.

For a good many years after this, however, the position of the skua remained critical. Dr. Eagle Clarke reported in *Annals of Scottish Natural History* (1893) that in 1890 and 1891 the Foula colony, then the largest existing, had suffered so severely from egg-taking that practically no young were produced, and in 1893 matters appeared to be little better. As regards the Faroes, Colonel Feilden had come to the conclusion that the extinction of the species as a breeding bird could not long be delayed. In 1897 W. H. Hudson wrote (*British Birds*): 'Every effort has been made to protect the birds in their two small colonies on Unst and Foula, but it is scarcely to be hoped that this insignificant remnant will continue to exist many years.' In 1904, again, Dr. Eagle Clarke chronicled a 'recrudescence of the persecution of this interesting bird in its breeding haunts in

Shetland,' owing to lack of protection in certain of its haunts, whence one dealer had obtained sixty eggs. In this year also the owner of Foula, a recent purchaser of the island, wrote to the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds that the skuas there were diminishing very rapidly owing to the taking of the eggs, and in 1905 that he was at his wits' end to know how to save them from the collectors and dealers. The condition of things in their few European stations was not much more cheerful; and in 1906 the *Ornithologische Monatsschrift*, published in Dresden, published an account of a trip to Iceland illustrated by a photograph of 240 eggs of the great skua, together with that of the proud collector, who had raked in all this plunder in one day for an Icelandic dealer.

It was about this time that the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds extended their watching operations to the Shetlands and Orkneys, and a few years later they took over the charge of Hermaness from the Edmondstons, acquiring the services of the birds' trusty and experienced friend, Henry Edwardson. From that time onward the story, so far as Hermaness is concerned, has been one of steady increase in a bird life that knows nothing of molestation or persecution Besides the two species of skua, the birds that have benefited include fulmar, puffin, gannet, eider-duck, red-throated diver, guillemot and black guillemot, peregrine, curlew, whimbrel, snipe, golden plover, while the small land birds, not numerous in such a district, are mainly meadow and rock pipits, larks, wheatears, and twites. A pleasant picture of the sanctuary is given by Mr. T. A. Coward in his chapter on 'Bonxie Hill' (*Bird Life at Home and Abroad*):

> Edwardson met us and took us over the ground, and entertained us in his two-roomed hut . . . His home, when not on the Hill, is in Burra Firth; whatever supplies he needs entail a six-mile tramp, but he has companions all the way—his dog, and the birds he loves. Some of these watchers may not be learned about the systematic classification or the biology of the birds they guard, but they are true ornithologists, studying the ways and the minds of the various species under their care. With him we walked to the most northerly point on the Ness, and looking down on the storm-lashed lighthouse, watched the crowded birds on Muckle Flugga, the Rumblings, and other stacks.
>
> Beside us, not many feet away, solemn puffins stood at gaze at the mouths of their burrows in the cliff turf. They had nothing to fear, they seemed to know, for Edwardson, their friend and protector, was there. Below, on headland and stack, were countless thousands of birds—great gannets, wagging wise heads at one another, shags standing in solemn rows on jagged reefs, or sitting on weed-built nests, guillemots on every ledge or standing in dense crowds on the pinnacles, and scattered everywhere the snowy kittiwakes. With easy glides the fulmars swung up towards their patient sitting mates, and swung out to sea again when they

were satisfied that all was well. The ledges were congested districts, the air was filled with graceful flying fowl, and, far as the eye could reach, swimmers dotted the waves. It was a wonderful, refreshing sight for the bird-lover, for here neither shooter nor egg-collector can, legally, exploit the birds.

In 1922 Edwardson wrote to the Society that he could not definitely say how many nests of the great skua there were, but at least eighty, while the solan geese, or gannets, were considerably more in number than in the preceding year. Two small colonies of gannets were established off the coast of Unst in 1920, and, with another settlement off Bressay dating from 1915, form the only new colonies of the species for well-nigh half a century.

The fulmars are also increasing, as well as the eiders, the red-throated divers are about the same. There seem to be more curlew. Puffins, guillemots, razorbills, and shags were all in goodly numbers; in fact, I would say that there are as many birds, both around the cliff and on the hill, as there is room for. There have been abundance of herring round the coast, therefore plentiful food for the birds, on some days quite a number of fish were brought on the hill by the great skuas for their young.

There has always been a curious hesitancy as to the number of bonxies Hermaness can properly support. When Mr. Edmondston wrote in 1891 rejoicing over the success of seven pairs, he added:

In my opinion the skuas on Hermaness cannot be expected to increase much beyond the numbers now attained In years gone by, when the colony reached thirty or forty pairs, the two species of gull on which the skuas chiefly depend for their piratical system of living, the lesser black-backed and the herring gull, were far more numerous than they are now. Protection for the skuas implies some measure of protection also for the gulls, but unless the latter greatly increase the former cannot be expected to do so

In 1911 there were sixty-five pairs, and Edwardson himself told Mr. Ogilvie-Grant that he did not think there was room for more, and that many did not breed. In 1914 there were estimated to be seventy-three pairs, in 1919 seventy-six and quite a number with no nests, occupying a colony of their own apart from the married quarters; in 1920 'as many bonxies as there is room for.' By this time there were likewise scattered nests on other islands of the group, the skuas' own way of settling things. In 1924 there were computed to be 100 nests on Hermaness, and at about this number they seem to have remained.

In September, 1927, the end of his last season on the Hill, Edwardson wrote: 'I have now lost count of the great skuas'; and it is pleasant to know that the bird record for that year was wholly satisfactory, a splendid summer following upon one of the worst springs within memory. Visitors to Unst were now

in the main friendly visitors; 'little egg-snatching goes on—very different from what it was when I started on and for a good many years afterwards.' He added: 'I have had three tame Richardson skuas—the old favourite, his mate, and their only young one. When I left the hill on August 30 they were still there, and I felt sorry to leave them, but no doubt they would be leaving in a day or two.' His last visit was paid on September 6; most of the birds had gone off on their pelagic wanderings, 'but the tame skuas were still there, and fortunately I had something in the hut that made a feed for them.' And so, with his kindly thoughts on his wild friends, he turned away from the cabin and from the hill, and went down to the dark winter, happy in the knowledge that all was well, that birds of every kind were in goodly numbers, and that egg-robbery had practically ceased, as the result of his faithful guardianship. When spring came he was too feeble to climb the headland again, but his place was taken by one whom he could trust. It may be added that the silver medal of the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds was presented to him, with an address, on his seventieth birthday, November 9, 1924.

Now and again the cry is raised that there are too many great skuas, that they interfere with other and less powerful species, and that the time has come for removing the prohibition against killing the bird and taking the eggs. Complaints raised as to their killing geese and attacking lambs have indeed found little support, the sheep farmer still, as of old, regarding their presence as a defence, not now against eagles, but against the grey crows. That they attack at times the eggs and young of other birds is indisputable; but the curious fact is cited that with the increase of bonxies the eiders, whimbrels, and other interesting species they are known to molest, have likewise increased. It is also well to remember that, though the great skuas are now well established, the dangers which well-nigh exterminated the British colonies are at least as menacing as ever. Collectors have not ceased to trouble, nor is there any lull in their depredations wherever rare birds exist and protection is slack. In the case of a large and fearless bird, extremely limited in its range and in its breeding grounds, with but one brood and rarely more than two eggs in a year, the removal of legal penalties or of the vigilant guardianship of watchers would in all probability bring about a swift renewal of onslaughts; and in infinitely fewer years than it has taken to build up the colony on Hermaness the great skua might be swept off its last rock of British territory.

LINDA GARDINER.

THE 'ENDEAVOUR' IN NEW ZEALAND

In the well-known portrait of Cook by Dance in the Royal Naval Hospital at Greenwich, which David Samwell, the surgeon of the *Discovery*, described as an excellent likeness, it is not impossible to perceive the qualities that made him the most successful navigator since Columbus. That spacious forehead, behind which (in Herman Melville's words) you can almost 'see the antlered thoughts go down to drink,' resembles in itself the outline of some uncharted continent on which Time, the great explorer, must trace the coasts of knowledge and the rivers of experience. The eyes, set widely apart beneath prominent brows, have a quiet look in them of kindliness and self-possession, and reflect in subdued lights the enterprising but calm spirit within; the nose, long and straight, with a fine curl to the nostrils, is as firmly chiselled as if cut in stone; the mouth, set in a heavy, curved line of firmness and strength exhibiting a habit of reserve and revealing the promise of resource in danger or difficulty, is informed by the same spirit of kindliness as the eyes; and the rounded chin, moulded as though in granite, proclaims the indomitable courage of the man and his pride in his own destiny. 'I know the work I have to do in the world,' the expression seems to convey, 'and I shall do it, God willing.' Yet, with all the qualities of the man of action, of sensibility, and of meditation so fearlessly displayed, there remains an aura of inscrutability about the portrait, a suggestion that all is not told; indeed, that the secret of the model is nowhere revealed because he was unconscious of the fact that he had any secret to reveal.

This inscrutability is more evident still in Cook's logs and journals. From them we learn, with crystal clarity, all that he had to communicate about his three principal voyages; we can gather the bare facts of shipboard life in the *Endeavour* and the *Resolution*; we can re-create in fascinating kaleidoscope the outlandish and unparalleled scenes that unfolded before the wondering eyes of the crew as the ship passed from latitude to latitude, from island to island; we may ascertain with exactitude the state of the weather from day to day, the positions of the sun and the moon and the part of the ship where they were taken, the features

of the land discovered and the behaviour and appearance of the natives: we can discover all this, and fill in the big canvas with the colours of our imagination; but we learn nothing whatever of the writer beyond the fact that he was a great seaman, a just and humane captain, and, though of plebeian origin, a gentleman born. He seems to have neither the time nor the inclination to touch upon any matters affecting himself as an individual, or pertaining to his private life, his family, or his friends. Duty is his only concern; and, with a sublime disregard of that desire for prestige and advancement that is the first infirmity of original minds, he does his work each day for the sole satisfaction of fulfilling his destiny. As a writer in the *Sydney Morning Herald* observed on the hundredth anniversary of his landing at Botany Bay, he belongs to that great brotherhood of adventurers of whom Lamartine says that 'they admit of no personal feeling, acknowledge neither cause nor birth nor country, and bow only to genius, heroism and virtue.' In short, he was preoccupied with the *cause*, and not with the personal gain.

Cook seems to have been modest to a fault. He had that bashfulness and diffidence that long communion with the sea and its austere mysteries seems to rouse, like some lost virtue, in deep and profound natures In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks from the *Resolution*, outward bound from Plymouth Sound, he acknowledges the award of the Copley gold medal bestowed upon him by the Royal Society for his paper on the prevention and cure of scurvy, with the extraordinary statement that he is obliged to his friends 'for this unmerited honour.' He has no personal desire to present posterity with his portrait, but since he is likely to be 'in the West End of the Town' on a particular morning, he 'thinks he can spare a few hours before dinner to sit to Mr. Dance'; and in excuse for not writing for the public an account of his voyages he opines in a letter to a friend that 'he has no ability for writing,' though his journals are models of style and lucidity, written with grace and dignity, and marked only by an occasional lapse from the conventional forms of spelling, the authorship of which may partly belong to his transcriber, Mr. Orton. From the day he was appointed by Captain Palliser to survey the coasts of Newfoundland to the day of his death at the hands of superstitious natives on Kealakukua beach no word but of praise or confidence appears to have been said of this exemplary genius. To the natives of the islands he was a god; to the officers and crews of his ships he was a captain who inspired confidence and enthusiasm wherever he went, and of whose justice, humanity and skill no question need ever arise.

Such was Cook when, in the forty-first year of his age, he burst into those silent seas of the Pacific, and brought the

Endeavour to anchor in the palm-fringed waters of Royal Bay, Otaheite.

The ostensible reason for Cook's first voyage to the South Seas was to observe, for the information of the Royal Society, the transit of Venus across the sun's disc from the most favourable point in the Pacific for such an observation; and it seems to have been purely an accidental decision that eventually took the *Endeavour* to the far South and added to the territories of the Empire the Dominions of Australia and New Zealand. He says himself in his private journal that he had intended to return to England by way of Cape Horn to ascertain 'the existence or non-existence of a Southern continent,' the dream of which had possessed the imagination of Europe ever since Tasman's voyages in the *Heemskerk* and the *Zeehan* in 1642, but the excellent health and spirits of the ship's company persuaded him to change his course and to steer his 370-ton bark towards the empty wastes of the Antarctic seas.

Leaving Royal Bay, where the ship had been anchored for three months, he proceeded to Huaheine and the Society Isles, where he landed with Banks and Solander to observe the manners and customs of the people, and on August 10 the bark—which he described himself as 'a little crank, but an admirable sea-boat'—pushed out into those uncharted seas across which the Polynesian 'fleet' which peopled New Zealand had passed some four centuries previously. During the next six weeks he made a circuitous course towards the Antarctic circle, the weather varying between gentle breezes and clear skies and sudden gales with tempestuous seas. The monotony of the voyage was relieved by schools of grampuses, skip-jacks and dolphins; a small piece of wood was picked up covered with barnacles, which seemed to indicate that land was not a great distance off; and Banks, with a rashness that Aloysius Horn, as well as the Ancient Mariner, would have deprecated, shot a white albatross.

At 3 p.m. on October 6 Nicholas Young, the surgeon's boy, saw land bearing W. by N., which was at first believed to be the actual *terra Australis incognita* which it was thought must exist in the Southern Hemisphere to balance the continent of Europe (and which actually does exist, though not in the latitude imagined, in the Australian continent), and Cook, by a graceful gesture that illustrates the terms of his friendly relationship with the crew, gave it the name of 'Young Nick's Head.'

Two days later, on the evening of Sunday, the 8th, the *Endeavour* anchored in Poverty Bay, before the entrance of a small river, in ten fathoms of water, and Cook, accompanied by Banks and Solander and a party of men, went ashore in the pinnace, the first white men ever to set foot in New Zealand.

What appearance did New Zealand present to the eyes of the intrepid voyagers, 13,000 miles from home, in the spring of 1769? From the logs and journals, although the word 'sunshine' is never mentioned, one gathers the impression that they enjoyed many of those magical New Zealand days when the land seems to float between sky and sea, and the whole cosmorama is like some vast study in blue and gold. Above the limpid waters of the bay they saw the white cliffs rise sheer from the beach, and beyond them, to the distant mountains, were thick forests of unfamiliar trees, among which Cook found the giant kauri, which he said would make the best masts in the world. Clustering along the shore, the explorers observed a tree with brilliant red blossoms, which must have impressed them with a sense of mystery and romance, with leaves and branches bearing a close similarity to the English oak—which is known to-day by its euphonious Maori name, *Pohutukawa*—the first object to attract the attention of the Polynesian settlers when they landed from their canoes on this same shore in the fourteenth century.

The natives, dressed in their picturesque costumes of skins and feathers, came hurrying down to the shore to gaze with astonishment upon these strange *pakeha* beings, with their smooth white skins and extraordinary clothes, who had suddenly burst upon them from some unimaginable world over the horizon. Fear came upon them, and being a warlike people, accustomed to give and to expect no quarter, they adopted threatening attitudes, and raised their *patoo-patoos* to hurl them at the invaders, compelling Cook to fire upon them in self-defence. Tupia, the Otaheitian native, who had entreated Cook to take him on the Southern voyage, engaged them in conversation and found, to his astonishment and delight, that he could converse with them quite easily. Sydney Parkinson, the young artist of the expedition, who was one of the thirty members to die of dysentery after reaching Batavia, arranged his materials and commenced to sketch the flora, the scenes of native life, and Cook and Banks walking in the woods accompanied by a Maori chieftain heavily tattooed and wearing a gorgeous cloak of mats and feathers. Banks wandered on into the bush alone and identified the New Zealand spruce, and the flax plant from which the natives made their fibre and cloth, of which he collected specimens to bring back to England; and members of the crew tried, for the most part unsuccessfully, to trade with the natives for *meres* of carved whalebone, for their *tikis* and adzes of precious greenstone, and listened to the carolling of the bell-birds, and thought it the most melodious song they had ever heard.

On October 21 the *Endeavour* lay in Tegadoo Bay, and from there Cook sailed on down the east coast round Table Cape, past

Portland Island, Long Point, and Wairoa to Cape Kidnappers and Cape Turnagain (a name which smacks of *Treasure Island*), after which he returned to the north and anchored on the 20th in a small bay, where they watered. In the Bay of Plenty, a fascinating place to-day for a holiday and a paradise for the fishers of the makao shark and the swordfish, he named a group of islands the Court of Aldermen, and anchored for a night in the lee of Mayor Island, and then continued his cruise along the coast to Mercury Bay, where (in Olympian disregard of the Maoris, who were to prove such fierce disputants of the first colonisation by the whites) he took formal possession of the country, with all its bays, harbours, rivers and islands, in the name of King George III.

The *Endeavour* passed through the Hauraki gulf; but Vaitamata Harbour, that magnificent stretch of inland water hat provides so beautiful a setting for Auckland city, does not eem to have been entered by Cook on his first voyage, though small headland, Point Resolution, on the outskirts of Auckland, eneath which the writer used to swim each morning with the overnor-General's staff in the summer of 1926, was named by im during his second circumnavigation of New Zealand in 1773.

From Mercury Bay the *Endeavour* sailed on towards North ape, running as closely inshore as the wind would permit, and few days later she hauled round Cape Colville into the entrance o the River Thames, so named by Cook owing to a fancied esemblance to the landscape at Gallions Reach and Gravesend. Iere they were well received by the natives, but did not make ny long stay, as they wished to take advantage of the flood tide, which was setting 'as strong as it does in the River Thames elow bridge.'

The weather now became unsettled, with strong gales and eavy squalls off the land, but Cook beat against it to the Bay of slands, where Samuel Marsden, the first missionary to reach New Zealand, founded the colony of Europeans in 1814. At Kororeka, the original name for the present township of Russell, he Maoris took a fancy to the anchor buoy, but desisted in their ttempts to secure it after receiving a charge of small shot from he ship. Cook and the naturalists of the party landed a number times to inspect the country, and to pay a visit to a native *pa*, encampment, which they described as a 'neat, compact place, d its situation well chosen.'

Embarrassed by westerly winds and strong currents, they n up the coast to the Three Kings, the chain of small islands med by Tasman and one of the most picturesque places seen passengers to-day from the decks of the Union liners which between Auckland and Sydney; and on December 30, after

encountering the 'prodidgeous high sea' that is not uncommon in this most exposed part of the coast, they sighted Cape Maria Van Diemen, and tacked down the west coast to Queen Charlotte's Sound, where the ship was careened and watered. Here Cook had definite proof that the Maoris practised cannibalism, as the remains of seven natives who had been captured and despatched a few days previously were to be seen around the camp fires.

As soon as the *Endeavour* had been thoroughly overhauled and retrimmed Cook passed through the strait which bears his name, and made a course down the east coast of the South Island, where, after being lost for seven days off Banks Peninsula, the ship passed Stewart's Island, the subsequent headquarters of the first whaling expeditions to New Zealand waters, and on February 28 she ran into Admiralty Bay to procure wood and water, and to refit for the voyage homewards by way of New Holland, Cook recording, in his usually modest way, that, 'as he had now circumnavigated the whole of the country, it was time for him to think of quitting it.'

It is interesting to note that before Cook left the shores of New Zealand he expressed the opinion in his journal that

> every kind of European grain, plants and fruit would flourish here in the utmost luxuriance: from the vegetables that we found, there is reason to conclude that the winters are milder than those in England, and we found the summer not hotter, though it was equally warm; so that if this country should be settled by people from Europe, they would, with a little industry, be very soon supplied, not only with the necessaries, but the luxuries, of life in great abundance,

a prediction which visitors to New Zealand to-day find has been realised in every particular.

At various places along the coasts of the two islands Cook put on shore no more than a dozen pigs, but by the time that the first settlers arrived these had increased to such an extent that they were to be found roaming in the forests all over the country. To-day the direct descendants of these 'Captain Cookers,' as they are known to the New Zealanders, remain in their wild state in large numbers in the King Country of the North Island, where they have a reputation for great ferocity when hunted and cornered.

At daybreak on March 31, 1770, with a favourable south-easterly gale and a clear sky, Cook sailed out of Admiralty Bay, steered northwards for a short distance along the coast, and presently left Cape Farewell astern and turned his face to the Southern Ocean and the far shores of New Holland. In six and a half months he had achieved the task of circumnavigating 2400 miles of uncharted coast, laying it down with such remarkable

exactitude that the commander of the French expedition to New Zealand of the following year recorded that 'it astonished him beyond all power of expression,' and that 'he doubted whether the coasts of France had been delineated with more precision.'

What was the opinion held by his officers and men of this great English captain for whom the whole of the Southern Hemisphere was too small? His achievements remain, but the man himself is such a shadowy figure that it is with the glow of some surprise discovery that one finds his personality so vividly portrayed in the noble panegyric written by Lieutenant King, second in command of the *Resolution*, after Cook's death in Hawaii ten years later:

> Thus fell our great and excellent commander. After a life of so much distinction and successful enterprise, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be considered premature, since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consideration in their hardships in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe. The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships His stomach bore without difficulty the coarsest and most ungrateful food Indeed, temperance with him was scarcely a virtue, so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body His understanding was strong and perspicacious, his judgment in whatever related to the service he was engaged in quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly, and both in the conception and in the mode of execution bore evident marks of a great original genius His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied by an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might, perhaps, have been justly blamed as subject to haughtiness and passion had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane Those intervals of recreation which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing that persons who have experienced the fatigues of service will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effective prosecution of his designs

S. F. A. COLES.

THE SURVIVORS OF THE 'WAGER'

MOST people have heard the story of the circumnavigation of the world by Commodore Anson in the *Centurion*. In 1740 England was at war with Spain, and the squadron under the Commodore's command sailed from Spithead in September to harry the rich Spanish seaborne trade off the west coast of South America and to ravage the coastal settlements.

Anson's little fleet consisted of six men-of-war and two victuallers. During their second attempt to round Cape Horn in tempestuous weather two of the ships, the *Severn* and *Pearl*, were beaten back to the eastward and eventually returned to England. Only the *Centurion*, *Tryal*, and one victualler reached the island of Juan Fernandez, while the *Centurion*, reaching England in 1744, alone completed the circumnavigation of the globe.

The *Wager* was wrecked upon an island in the Gulf of Penas some 500 miles north of the western end of Magellan's Straits. The adventures and hardships of certain of her survivors are almost incredible. It is a tale of shipwreck on a desolate and uninhabited island, and of famine, mutiny, death and eventual return to civilisation through the wilds of Patagonia to Spanish Chile and thence to England.

The following narrative is based upon the stories of various survivors, but in particular upon a little volume written by the Hon. John Byron, one of the *Wager's* midshipmen, and grandfather of Lord Byron, the poet.

The first edition of that book, published in 1768, now before me, was picked up for a few shillings in a market bookstall. It is a smallish, insignificant-looking volume bound in the original old calf, now sadly the worse for wear. But its large print on old-fashioned hand-made paper with wide margins, its peculiar woodcut of the wrecked *Wager*, and its odour of I know not what, spell romance to a book-lover interested in the story of the sea and its seamen. Through how many hands has this identical volume passed? One hundred and sixty years ago this midshipman's narrative was what we should now call a 'best seller.'

Byron was seventeen and a half years old at the time of the

wreck. Cast away on May 14, 1741, he did not reach England until February 1746, when, quaintly dressed in foreign-looking clothes, he presented himself on the doorstep of his sister's house in Soho Square nearly to have the door slammed in his face by the contemptuous porter.

He had been advanced to the rank of lieutenant during his absence, and was promoted to commander immediately upon his arrival in England. On December 30 the same year, largely, we may suspect, through his influential relations, he became a captain, and subsequently commanded the *Dolphin* during her voyage round the world. He was Governor of Newfoundland in 1769, and as an admiral commanded a fleet in an indecisive action against the French in the West Indies.

I

The *Wager*, of twenty-eight guns, was an old East Indiaman bought into the Navy for Anson's expedition. More of a storeship than a man-of-war proper, she carried all sorts of careening gear, ammunition and stores for the use of the other ships, besides a considerable quantity of merchandise, presumably for barter with natives. She sailed from England under the command of Captain Kidd, who died during the voyage south. He was succeeded first by a Captain Murray and then by Captain Cheap; and, as was customary at that period, the greater number of her seamen had been pressed from homeward-bound merchant ships. Supremely discontented at their ill-fortune, they were ripe for mutiny A number of infirm and decrepit invalids from Chelsea Hospital served on board as marines.

Nearly wrecked on Staten Island, to the eastward of Cape Horn, in April 1741, the *Wager* still struggled on with the rest of the squadron, though many of her crew were ill with the scurvy. A week later, owing to her violent rolling in a heavy sea, she lost her mizzen-mast, and soon afterwards, in a furious westerly gale and a prodigious sea, was overwhelmed by a great wave which stove in her boats and all but sent her to the bottom. The mizzen-mast was replaced by a studding-sail boom; but the ship, by this time alone, was in a crazy and shattered condition and little better than a disabled wreck.

Sailing on as best she could, she succeeded in rounding Cape Horn and stood on to the northward for Socoro, an uninhabited island in the Chonos Archipelago, Chile, which had been given as a rendezvous by the commodore. The weather, cloudy, thick and tempestuous, was unfit for taking sights, so that her position was uncertain. Charts of the dangerous coast were also lacking, and some of the officers, knowing the vessel to be on a lee shore,

tried to persuade the captain to steer more to the west to gain an offing.

But Cheap was not the type of man to take advice from subordinates, and, determined at all hazards to make the appointed rendezvous, stood obstinately on to the north. At last, in hazy weather with a tumbling sea and strong gale, land was sighted in the north-west. The ship was driving bodily towards it. Every effort was made to save her by setting additional sail and wearing round to the south. But the wind, rapidly increasing in fury, blew straight towards the shore, and with no more than a dozen hands fit for duty—all the remainder being in the throes of scurvy—their efforts were unavailing The night came down as black as pitch. The tempest still howled, and in a last endeavour to claw off the rocks they set the topsails, only to have them blown in tatters from the yards.

At 4 a.m. on May 14 the crash came. The first shock was not very great, many thinking that the ship had merely been struck by a heavy sea. They were soon disillusioned, for presently she struck again with great violence and was flung over on her beam ends with the seas breaking over her.

All those in a condition to help themselves gathered on the quarter-deck, where they were least exposed, among them being many poor scurvy-stricken wretches who had not shown their faces on deck for two months. Others, in the last stages of the disease and without the strength to fend for themselves, were immediately drowned as they lay in their hammocks between decks.

It was still dark. Nothing could be seen but the breakers leaping furiously in all directions, and for a time even the stoutest-hearted gave themselves up for lost. One man, demented with terror, went about brandishing a cutlass and threatening to kill anyone within reach. Others, feeble through scurvy, were flung off their feet and rolled to and fro like inanimate logs by the violent working of the ship. A few, however, retained their presence of mind, and when the ship was carried bodily off the reef by a monstrous sea, they succeeded in running her into an opening between two great rocks, one of which afforded a certain amount of shelter. She still pounded furiously; but presently the masts were cut away, and when daylight came the weather cleared and they could see the shore within a few cables.

The boats were got out with some difficulty, and Captain Cheap, who was confined to his cot with a dislocated shoulder, was asked to go ashore. He refused to leave until all the officers and men had gone. With the prospect of immediate death no longer staring them in the face however, most of the ship's

company had become riotous, opening and pillaging chests and boxes and breaking in the heads of wine and spirit casks and helping themselves. Several became so drunk that they were drowned on board, their bodies remaining washing about the decks for days.

Byron, the midshipman, describes going below to his chest to save what he could. The ship, however, thumped so heavily, and the water came in so fast, that he was forced to return on deck with nothing but what he stood up in.

The behaviour of the men went from bad to worse, and presently the boatswain and some of the crew refused to leave the ship so long as there was any liquor to be had. In their maddened condition persuasion was useless, so Captain Cheap, with the other officers and men, took to the boats and went ashore. Wet through, exhausted, cold and hungry, they found themselves upon a desolate, barren beach with no cover except an abandoned native wigwam. The weather was bitterly cold The rain persisted, and during the ensuing night, huddling together for warmth, an officer and two men died of exposure. Many of the others, having had no food for forty-eight hours, were at their last gasp.

Up to the present only a bag of biscuit dust, the sweepings of the bread-room, had been brought ashore for food, and the morning after landing parties were sent out to search the place for something to eat. All they obtained was a seagull and some wild celery, which, with the biscuit dust, was boiled up into soup. It produced the most unpleasant results, for the biscuit had been stowed in a tobacco bag.

About 140 officers and men had landed, the boatswain and his gang of daredevils still staying in the wreck, either drunk or intent on pillage. Attempts were made to bring them ashore; but as they were found in a state of drunken insubordination all representations were useless. Then came another furious gale and heavy sea which put the mutineers in terror of their lives lest the ship should break up and drown them. When a boat did not immediately put off to fetch them they fired one of the quarter-deck guns at the hut, the ball just passing overhead. An attempt to land them failed owing to the weather, whereupon they revenged themselves by smashing open and looting every chest and box they could find, one of their number being strangled during a brawl. Arming themselves, they next gave it as their opinion that as the ship had been lost they were no longer under the jurisdiction of the captain and officers. However, when they did finally come ashore, full of braggadocio and wearing the officers' best laced suits over their greasy shirts and trousers, they were disarmed and bereft of their stolen finery, the boat-

swain, their ringleader, being knocked flat by Captain Cheap with his cane.

For shelter from the cold and wet the castaways turned the cutter upside down and supported her on props. Exploring parties set off in all directions in search of food. They came across a few seabirds and a quantity of shellfish, though searching was a gruesome task owing to the mangled bodies of the drowned which littered the foreshore. Other men went off to the *Wager* to salve provisions, hooked poles having to be used for grappling casks and cases, as only the quarter-deck and part of the forecastle were above water. The work was further impeded by the number of corpses floating between decks.

Until more extended expeditions became possible, however, it was necessary to rely upon the wreck for food, any provisions obtained being strictly rationed and a portion set aside for their eventual boat journey to civilisation. Already several men had died of starvation, and in spite of the greatest vigilance on the part of the officers the store tent was constantly pillaged by famishing men.

As yet they had not been able to determine whether they were upon an island or the mainland, and as the long-boat, the largest boat carried, was still in the ship, a party was sent off to launch her. While the work was in progress some natives came alongside from the south in three canoes, friendly relations being established by means of presents. They were a repulsive-looking lot, dressed in the skins of animals and feather cloaks, and had long black hair which covered their faces. Beyond a few mussels and some dogs—which were roasted and eaten by the famishing Englishmen—they had little to barter in the way of food.

Discontent and mutiny were spreading apace. Already the men were dividing into cliques, while some had even conceived the idea of going off in one of the boats and abandoning the others to their fate.

II

Captain Cheap was never on good terms with his officers, and it is evident from many of the narratives that he was completely indifferent as to the welfare of those under his command. Byron, indeed, had built himself a hut where he lived along with a stray dog found in the woods. The animal soon became very much attached to him, and would allow nobody to come near

Affairs went from bad to worse, and the ten men who contemplated desertion, a desperate and lawless gang, tried to blow up their unpopular captain by exploding half a barrel of gunpowder

near his hut. Prevented from doing this, they rambled off into the woods, and, discovering the land they were on to be an island twelve or more miles distant from the mainland, made a camp apart from their shipmates and plotted to steal one of the boats. Finding this impossible, they built themselves a punt and converted one of the ship's masts into a canoe, in which crazy craft they left the island and were never seen again. They were no loss. One of them had committed two murders since the wreck.

Then occurred an incident which is anything but creditable to Captain Cheap One of the midshipmen, Cozens, ordinarily an inoffensive and good-natured youth, had been put under arrest for being drunk and using abusive language. He was released, but a day or two later had an altercation with the surgeon in the course of which they came to blows. A little later, after a further quarrel with the purser, Cozens was at the store tent during the issue of provisions. In the course of a heated argument the purser, accusing the midshipman of mutiny, drew a pistol and fired it at his head One of the men knocked up his arm, and the shot missed, but Captain Cheap, hearing the report, ran out of his hut with a cocked pistol and, without waiting for any explanation, shot Cozens through the head. The wretched boy, mortally wounded, fell bleeding to the ground, and lay there for several days until he died with no other shelter than a piece of old canvas and some branches. The captain would not even allow him to be carried to a tent.

If the behaviour of Cozens may have been provoking, that of Captain Cheap, on the other hand, was unjustifiable. Realising, however, that his hold over the men was rapidly dwindling, and imagining Cozens to be meditating mutiny, he had determined to overawe the malcontents by a show of authority. His brutal and ill-judged action, however, had the very opposite effect. Cozens was popular with the men, and his murder—for it can be called by no other name—fanned their discontent and grumbling into active rebellion. One can hardly wonder.

The dreary days passed. The everlasting search for food continued, and hauling the long-boat ashore they started to lengthen her by 12 feet amidships to make room in the boats for all who wished to leave the island. When she was nearing completion the men began to consider a course of action, and eventually made up their minds to go south through the Straits of Magellan in the hope of finding a ship and so getting home. The captain, however, did not approve of their plan, proposing instead to go north with the idea of taking a Spanish merchantman and then rejoining Anson.

Exposure and starvation had claimed many victims. Of the

145 men who had landed no more than 100 remained, and all had the greatest difficulty in keeping themselves alive. One day, while Byron was in his hut with the dog, a party came to the door and said they must eat the creature or starve. The midshipman, who had made a pet of the animal, naturally objected; but it was not the least use.

'Thinking that I had at least as good a right to a share as the rest,' he says, 'I sat down with them and partook of their repast. Three weeks after that I was glad to make a meal of his paws and skin, which, after recollecting the spot where they had killed him, I found thrown aside and rotten.'

By this time the men were holding frequent debates and discussions which generally ended in bouts of riotous drunkenness Eighteen of the strongest members of the crew virtually controlled the situation and established themselves in the largest tent, whence they sent deputations to the captain demanding liquor or informing him what resolutions they had passed. Having made up their minds to go south, they wanted the captain to go with them. Cheap, equally determined to go north, pretended to agree in order to keep them quiet. However, when the mutineers proposed limiting the captain's power and stipulated that he should take no steps without consulting the other officers, he insisted upon exerting his full authority. This brought about an open breach, the men saying they would take him with them by force in order to bring him to trial in England on the charge of murdering Cozens. On October 9 they rushed into his tent and made him a prisoner.

Four days later the long-boat was ready for departure, and everybody except the captain, two officers, and a few marines embarked in her and the cutter and barge. Byron, thinking the captain was also going, went with them; but at the last moment Cheap was dissuaded from leaving the island. As the boats were already overcrowded and provisions were scarce, the men raised no objection to his remaining, and eighty-one of them sailed off, leaving the captain, an officer of marines, and the surgeon behind. Byron, seeing how affairs stood, made up his mind to quit the party at the very first opportunity. He succeeded in doing so the next day when the barge was sent back to the island for spare canvas, and the few men with him also elected to stand by their commanding officer.

Efforts made to induce the runaways to part with a share of the provisions were futile. By this time the shellfish in the island were exhausted, and the captain and his two officers had nothing to live upon except a dozen pieces of salt beef and pork and about 90 lb. of mouldy flour. In this supply Byron and his men were allowed no proper share, what little was doled out to

them being given as a favour. They were forced to subsist upon wild celery and a weed fried in the tallow of some candles they had managed to save from the wreck.

The crew gone, the captain now began to think of sailing to the northward in the barge and yawl. Before leaving, however, a message was sent to the deserters, still on the opposite side of the bay, to sound them as to whether they also would come. A few elected to return, the captain's party thus being augmented to twenty.

The story of those who deserted the captain may be briefly told. One boat parted company during the voyage south, and the other, under the command of Lieutenant Beans, went on alone. On November 8 eleven men were left ashore, and on November 11 the boat entered the Straits of Magellan, accomplishing the difficult passage in a month. She then proceeded up the east coast of South America to Rio Grande do Sul, arriving in February 1742. They had had a most adventurous journey in very bad weather, men dying almost daily of exposure and starvation, and of the seventy-one who had left Wager's Island in the two boats about thirty-three reached civilisation, some of whom seem to have arrived in England early in 1743. Included among the dead were the cook, aged eighty-two, and two boys, one aged sixteen and the other twelve, the last-named being the son of one of the officers.

During an onshore gale in which the boat was forced to put to sea Midshipman Isaac Morris and seven men were left by the long-boat on the barren coast not far south of Montevideo. After enduring terrible hardship, and having lived for some time among the natives, the survivors of this little band, three in number, eventually reached England in July 1746.

The two boats that remained with Captain Cheap were in a bad state of repair, but were patched up as well as could be managed with the few materials available. It was about now, at their wits' end for food, that three poor fellows pillaged the slender stock of flour. The theft, naturally enough, was regarded as a serious crime, and, determined to make an example, the captain ordered the thieves to be severely flogged and then to be banished to a desolate island some distance away. Two made their escape and took to the woods, but the third was duly marooned and left to fend for himself Relenting a few days later, the captain sent a boat to bring the poor wretch back; but he was found dead.

There came a fine day, practically the first since the wreck, and, visiting the remains of the ship, they succeeded in salving three casks of salt beef, the contents of which were equally distributed. Finally, on December 15, seven months and a day

from the time they had been wrecked, they put out to sea, the captain, surgeon, Byron, and nine men being in the barge and two officers and eight men in the yawl. It was the captain's intention to sail to the island of Chiloe, a Spanish settlement, and there to capture a ship wherein to join the commodore or return home.

III

Soon after leaving it came on to blow a gale with so heavy a sea that they could do nothing but run before it. When in the troughs between the waves the boats were out of sight of each other, while men had to sit as close together as possible on the gunwales to receive the breaking seas on their backs to prevent their frail craft from being swamped. The precious beef, the anchors, and sundry other things had to be jettisoned to avoid foundering, and, to make matters worse, they were running onto a lee shore upon which the great waves broke in sheets of flying spray. But fortune smiled upon them for the time, for, seeing a gap in the breakers, they scudded through it to find themselves in a harbour as placid as a mill-pond It was raining hard and bitterly cold. They had no food and could find neither wood for a fire nor branches to make a shelter, but landed and spent the miserable night.

For the next few days, sometimes rowing, sometimes sailing, but always in tempestuous winds and mountainous seas, they worked their way north, anchoring each night among the islands and landing in search of food Sometimes they found materials for a fire. Once the surgeon shot a goose; but more often than not they went fireless and were forced to exist upon seaweed.

By Christmas Day they had actually eaten their shoes of raw sealskin obtained from the natives, but a day or two later killed a few seals and came across a quantity of shellfish. For a month or more not one of them had known what it was to have a dry stitch on his back, and, to cap their misfortunes, the yawl was capsized in a heavy sea while at anchor during the night and sank with the loss of one man.

There were now too many for the barge alone to carry, and some had to be left behind. We are not told how they were selected; but the lot fell upon four marines, who were landed on a desolate beach with their muskets, a little ammunition, and what food could be spared. Starving, worn out by exposure and privation, they were long past caring what happened; but as the boat sailed off, leaving them to their fate, they stood upon the shore, gave three cheers, and shouted 'God bless the King!' They were seen some time later helping each other over a tract of rocky country and then disappeared for ever, probably to

perish miserably of starvation in the swamps or dense forests inland.

During an attempt to round a cape off which there was a terrible surf the boat was nearly wrecked. All hope of getting to the northward was given up. Accordingly they determined to return to Wager's Island, there to linger out their miserable lives with no prospect of ever reaching home. Before sailing south they were fortunate enough to obtain more seals, which they boiled and set aside as sea-stock. In the violent winds and heavy seas they had many narrow escapes of disaster during the return journey; but finally, about two months after setting out, they again reached the island, reduced to mere skeletons and having had nothing to eat for some days but seaweed.

Hauling their boat ashore, they found to their surprise that one of the huts was nailed up, and on breaking it open found it to contain ironwork laboriously picked from the ship's timbers. It was evidently the work of Indians, who, through intercourse with the Spanish, knew the value of iron. Cast away in the bushes, they also found some pieces of putrid seal-meat, which they ate on the spot without any qualms.

Not long after the ship had been wrecked a seaman had been murdered by one of the mutineers, and the men, 'addicted to superstitious conceits,' attributed all their misfortunes to the fact that the corpse had been left unburied. They at once set to work to repair the omission. At this time wild celery was all they had to live upon, and cannibalism was talked of in whispers. Indeed, it might actually have come to pass had not one of the officers found some rotten beef cast up on the beach several miles from the huts.

IV

About fifteen days after their return there arrived a party of Indians in two canoes. Among them was a chief from the north who talked indifferent Spanish and carried a silver-headed stick, given as a mark of distinction by the Spanish authorities. Through Mr. Elliot, the surgeon, who could speak the language a little, it was eventually arranged that the party should be conducted to one of the Spanish settlements. In return for this service the chief was to be given the barge and all it contained. Two men had died since returning, and another had run away, and soon afterwards the thirteen Englishmen and ten natives embarked in their boat and set off to the north with the two canoes in company.

It is unnecessary here to describe their weary progress, their constant struggles against wind and sea, and their terrible

difficulty in finding the wherewithal to exist. But one or two incidents which occurred during the ghastly journey do not show Captain Cheap in a very favourable light.

On one occasion, when rowing up a swiftly-running river, a starving seaman fell off his thwart and lay in the bottom of the boat, unable to move through weakness. Byron, who had one or two dried shellfish in his pockets, put one in his mouth from time to time. They only served to prolong the agony, and before very long the poor fellow died. Throughout this period the captain had a large piece of boiled seal by his side; but the dying man's entreaties for a morsel were made in vain.

'It would have redounded greatly to the tenderness and humanity of Captain Cheap if at this time he had remitted somewhat of that attention he showed to self-preservation,' says Byron. 'In these last affecting exigencies a sparing perhaps adequate to the emergency might have been admitted consistently with a due regard to his own necessities.'

The captain, it may be said, had better chances of obtaining food than the others owing to the natives being impressed by his rank. But he never seems to have shared his good fortune with the others. Were it not vouched for in more than one account, such callousness and inhumanity would be difficult to believe.

They toiled on along a rugged, desolate coast scourged by breakers and with no signs of human occupation. Then one day six of the men decamped with the barge and all it contained, leaving the remainder stranded with nothing but Byron's gun and a little ammunition. The loss, though a serious blow at the time, ultimately proved their salvation, for in their weakened state the heavy boat could neither have been rowed round every cape and promontory nor transported overland. The Indian chief, on his return a few days later, was annoyed at the loss of his promised reward, though on being promised the gun and some things of Captain Cheap's he was again persuaded to guide them to safety.

The captain and Byron were led to a native encampment, where Cheap was taken into a wigwam and fed. Byron, however, was left to look after himself, and, had it not been for the kindness of two Indian women who took him into their hut and fed him on fish and sea-eggs, would probably have died of starvation. The other members of the party had been left behind for a time, and on returning to them the captain and Byron found the surgeon in a very bad way and two other officers nearly dead from starvation. As before, however, Cheap considered it no part of his business to consider the wants of others. If it had not been for the women, who, against the orders of their lords

and masters, gave them scraps, it would have fared ill with Byron and the others.

It was about the middle of March 1742 that the survivors of the little party embarked with the Indians in their canoes, no two Englishmen being in the same boat. The surgeon died the second day out, and in miserable straits for food, sometimes paddling, sometimes carrying the canoes overland, slow progress was made to the northward. Byron mentions how he was devoured by vermin, while his shirt was rotted to bits. He wore an old coat with a piece of red waistcoat underneath it, a pair of ragged trousers and neither shoes nor stockings.

The natives presently dismantled their canoes for convenience in transport and took to the woods, everyone except Captain Cheap having something to carry. Byron's burden was a large piece of putrid seal-meat done up in wet canvas, and with his feet and ankles gashed and torn he was forced to lag behind through fatigue. He sat down for a time, and then staggered on and joined the others, having left his load behind. Captain Cheap's first question was as to what had become of the meat, and the wretched midshipman was made to walk five miles back to recover it. He returned just as the others were embarking to cross a great lake, and without being given a morsel of food was left behind alone to await the arrival of another party of natives. Starving and utterly exhausted, he went into the woods and fell asleep, waking before daylight on hearing voices. They belonged to a party of Indians in a wigwam, who received him surlily and gave him nothing to eat but a small piece of seal, which he swallowed whole.

For the next two days Byron travelled northward in a canoe with these natives, being forced to take the paddle and being prevented even from sharing their fire when they landed at night His food consisted of some limpets, which he was eating in the canoe when the savages noticed him dropping the shells overboard Instantly they fell upon him, and after trying to strangle him with the ragged handkerchief he wore round his neck attempted to hurl him overboard, an intention that would have succeeded but for the intervention of an old woman. Evidently he had offended against one of their superstitions, for the natives collected the limpet shells and carried them carefully ashore.

Rejoining the others, the entire party then continued to row to the northward, by this time all the English being so thin that they were little better than living skeletons. They were covered with vermin, and Captain Cheap, in particular, could only be compared to an ant-heap. But he was long past caring. His mind seemed to have gone. He could neither remember his

sufficient to pay their charges to London, and Byron, without a scrap of food for the journey, was obliged to ride at full speed through the turnpikes to avoid payment.

Arriving in London, he drove to Marlborough Street, where some of his friends had lived. He found the house shut up, and, having been absent so long without a word from home, had no idea which of his friends and relations were living and which were dead. Without even the money to pay his coachman, he finally remembered a linen-draper patronised by his family years before. This good man came to his rescue with money, and told him that his sister had married Lord Carlisle and was living in Soho Square.

Thither Byron went, but on knocking at the door the porter, not liking the look of him, which was half French, half Spanish, all but slammed the door in his face. Byron, however, prevailed upon him ' I need not acquaint my readers with what surprise and joy my sister received me,' he says. 'She immediately furnished me with money sufficient to appear like the rest of my countrymen ; till that time I could not be properly said to have finished all the extraordinary scenes which a series of unfortunate adventures had kept me in for the space of five years and upwards.'

TAPRELL DORLING.
(*Taffrail.*)

ROBERT POLEY: AN ASSOCIATE OF MARLOWE

As we know from Dr. Leslie Hotson's discoveries in 1925, Christopher Marlowe had three companions when he met his death in Eleanor Bull's house at Deptford on May 30, 1593. Besides Ingram Frizer, who struck the fatal blow, the other two eye-witnesses were Nicholas Skeres and Robert Poley. On the career of Frizer between 1589 and 1611 Dr. Hotson threw considerable new light, showing that in 1593 he was in the service of Thomas Walsingham, of Scadbury, Chislehurst,[1] that in 1603 a lease in reversion was granted to him for the benefit of Lady Audrey Walsingham, and that between 1602 and 1611 he was living at Eltham. Dr. Hotson also gave the details of some unsavoury financial transactions between 1593 and 1598 in which Frizer and Skeres appear to have fleeced Anne Woodleff and her son Drew, of Aylesbury. 'Nicolas Kyrse *alias* Skeers, servant to the Earl of Essex,' is mentioned in a list of 'a very dangerous company' arrested on March 13, 159$\frac{4}{5}$, and on July 31, 1601, a Privy Council warrant orders the keeper of the prison of Newgate to remove 'Nicholas Skiers' to Bridewell.

Concerning Robert Poley Dr. Hotson told nothing new. He merely quoted a few letters relating to his connexion with Babington's conspiracy in 1586. Miss Eugénie de Kalb has since added a few details about his employment in Government service between 1588 and 1593. It has therefore seemed desirable to make a fuller investigation into his career both for its own interest and for the additional clues that it supplies of his connexion with the Walsingham circle, including Sir Francis, Elizabeth's secretary, his son-in-law, Sir Philip Sidney, and Thomas Walsingham, the friend and patron of Marlowe.

A difficulty that at once faces us is that of Elizabethan nomenclature. Kyrse, as has been seen above, is an alias of

[1] Dr. Hotson (as Miss Eugénie de Kalb pointed out in her article, 'The Death of Marlowe,' in *The Times Literary Supplement*, May 21, 1925) did not realise that this Thomas Walsingham was the Sir Thomas Walsingham who was knighted in July 1597, and who was the patron of Marlowe and the husband of Lady Audrey.

Skeers. Marlowe in the coroner's inquisition appears as Morl and there are other variants such as Marley and Marlin. Poley appears as Pooley, Poole, and Pole, and allusions to him indexed under these different names. On the other hand, as th have been proved to be two contemporary Christopher Morl besides the dramatist, so there may have been more than (Robert Poley, while allusions to Poley or Poole without a Ch tian name are equivocal and must be judged on their mer Thus as Robert Poley or Poole was with Marlowe on May 30, 15 it is reasonable to conclude that he is identical with 'one Po(a prisoner in Newgate,' with whom, according to a note delive by Richard Baines on the previous Whitsun eve, Marlowe v acquainted, and who had taught him how to counterfeit Frei and English coinage. If the identification is correct, Bair allegation is of considerable importance, as the only link, outs of the legal records, between Marlowe and any of the th companions of his last hours.

Though he cannot have been in Newgate at the date of M lowe's death, Poley had often been in confinement. The fi record that we have of him is as a prisoner. In January $158\frac{8}{9}$ was involved in some remarkable proceedings (of which m hereafter) for alienating the affections of Joan the wife of Willi Yeomans, a London cutler.[2]

Among the deponents in the case before William Fleetwo the Recorder, was Richard Ede, apparently lodgekeeper at Marshalsea, whose knowledge of Poley went back to 1583. O date not specified in that year, according to Ede, Poley was cc mitted by Sir Francis Walsingham to the Marshalsea and remair there until May 10 following. One half of the time he was a cl prisoner, and the other half he had 'the liberty of the house' made use of this enlargement to entertain Mistress Yeomans at 'f banquets' in his chamber, while refusing to have anything to with his own wife, who often tried to see him. This ill-used la (as we learn from Yeomans) was 'one Watson's daughter,' a was married to Poley by a seminary priest in the house of (Wood, a tailor dwelling in Bow Lane, who circulated prohibi books like *The Execution of Justice* and *The Treatise of Schism*

Whatever the reason for Poley's committal to the Marshals he cannot have been in want of money at this time, for entrusted Mistress Yeomans with 110*l*. of 'good gold.' Af a time he sent Mistress Ede to borrow 3*l*. from Yeomans, w was not at home. Mistress Yeomans, however, sent him back the messenger 3*l*. of his own money. Yeomans afterwards sent

[2] The brief headings in the Calendar of State Papers (Domestic) under date January 7, $158\frac{8}{9}$, do not indicate the value of the depositions in their form for Poley's biography.

his brother another 3*l*., and when Mistress Ede declared that the money had already been received by Poley, Yeomans thought his wife had robbed him and was angry with her. But when Poley came out of prison, the matter was explained, and Ede brought about a reconciliation, confirmed by a gift of Poley to Yeomans of a silver buckle double gilt, and to Ede of two angels for his pains in the matter. But the intrigue between Poley and Joan Yeomans continued, and to facilitate it she arranged for him to have a chamber at the house of her mother, a widowed Mistress Browne.

By 1585, however, Poley had become associated with a very different circle from that of the London cutler and his wife. Charles and Christopher Blunt (or Blount) were younger brothers of William, seventh Lord Mountjoy. Charles, who was a favourite of Elizabeth, succeeded to the title in 1594, and afterwards became Earl of Devonshire and Lord Deputy of Ireland. Christopher was Master of the Horse to Lord Leicester, whose widow he married about 1589. He was knighted for his military services in Flanders in 1587–8. He afterwards took part in the ill-fated campaign of the Earl of Essex in Ireland, and in the abortive conspiracy against Elizabeth, for which he was executed on March 18, 1601. This was the culmination of a long series of treasonable practices. By 1585 Christopher Blunt, who became a convert to Roman Catholicism, had thrown himself ardently into the plots on behalf of the imprisoned Queen of Scots. For this purpose he chose as his agent Robert Poley, as appears to be first mentioned in a letter from Thomas Morgan to Mary Queen of Scots, dated July 10, 1585. Morgan, one of Mary's agents abroad, was at this time a prisoner in the Bastille, but he was able to communicate in cipher with the Queen of Scots, then at Tutbury in the custody of Sir Amias Powlet.

> About fifteen days past or thereabouts there arrived here a special messenger from London sent hither expressly by Mr. Blunt unto me with letters, declaring by the same that he was bound to serve and honour the only saint that he knows living upon the ground—so he termed your majesty . . . which bringer of Blunt his letter is a gentleman and named Robert Poley. I am, as I was, still prisoner, and he could not be permitted to have access to me.[8]

Poley, however, refused to deal with Morgan through any intermediary, 'declaring that he would not deliver his charge to none living till he spake with myself or heard me speak.' Some of Morgan's friends became apprehensive, beginning 'to doubt the said Poley was sent from England to practise my death in prison

[8] My quotations throughout this article are from the original documents in the Record Office, but I have modernised the spelling.

by one means or other.' Morgan, however, was not influenced by their fears:

> I found the means to have him conducted as near as might be to the window of the chamber where I am a prisoner, and through the window I spoke so much to him as satisfied him, who at the last delivered the letters where I appointed, and so they came to my hands with ample instructions of the state of England.
>
> And so upon conference and conclusion with the said Poley I found nothing but that he meant well, and a Catholic he showeth himself to be, and much disposed to see some happy and speedy reformation in that State . . . I have returned Poley in fine well contented and confirmed, I hope, to serve your majesty in all he may. But I wrote not one line with him, but signified that Blunt should hear from me by some other means.

The last words suggest that Morgan did not trust Poley fully, but in any case he got him recompensed for 'his voyage and charges hither.' He persuaded the Archbishop of Glasgow to send Poley thirty pistolets through Charles Paget.

> He has received the same, and is gone to England, where he promised Paget to do some good offices and prayed him to assure me thereof, for I could not be permitted to speak with him but once, as I told you already.

Morgan's caution in not communicating with Blunt through Poley proved fruitless. For as Charles Paget, another fervent adherent in Paris of the Queen of Scots, wrote to Mary on July 15, Poley himself on his first arrival there 'committed an error in writing hence to Mr. Christopher Blunt' and 'sent it by an ordinary messenger, so that it was taken.' This is confirmed on July 18 by Morgan: 'I hear that the said Poley's letters were intercepted at the port in England and sent to the Council.' In all probability Poley did not 'commit an error,' but deliberately arranged that the correspondence should fall into the hands of the English Government. Exactly six months afterwards, on January 18, 1586, Morgan gives further news of Poley:

> Hert [*i.e.*, Charles Paget] and I recommend the French Ambassador some English in London to do him some pleasure and service there and amongst others one Robert Poley who hath given me assurance to serve and honour your majesty to his power being but a poor gentleman He is much at Chr[istopher] Blunt his devotion and both of them do travail to make an intelligence for your majesty. The said Ambassador and his secretary Courdaillot have sithence their arrival in France reported well to Hert and to myself of the said Poley who hath been heretofore in Scotland and knoweth the best ways to pass into Scotland. If you know not how to be better served for conveyance to Scotland you may cause the Ambassador to address the said Poley with your letters into Scotland. But order must be taken to make his charges in such voyages. And if your majesty will have him to remain in some place nearer for your purpose and service he will accommodate himself accordingly to your pleasure. He is a Catholic and Blunt has placed him to be Sir Philip Sidney's man that he may more quietly live a Christian life under the said Sidney.

What an exquisite compliment to the *preux chevalier* of the Elizabethan age (though the Calendar of the Scottish State Papers cynically omits it)! But it was of course not with Poley's progress in the religious life that Mary's supporters were concerned. They secured him a place in Sidney's service because on September 20, 1583, Sir Philip had married Frances, daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and had taken up his abode in his father-in-law's house. Poley would thus be in a favourable position for learning 'Mr. Secretary's' movements and plans.

In a later letter to the Queen of Scots, dated March 21, 1586, Morgan states this without any disguise:

Having written thus far I received letters out of England from London from Poley, in my former letters mentioned, who writeth unto me that he hath been in the parts where your majesty remaineth, and there addressed the means to convey such letters as I commended to his care to serve to make an intelligence with your majesty. We have applied him this twelvemonth or thereabouts and have found him to deal well and very willing to serve your majesty. Hert can tell you he was first recommended unto me by Christopher Blunt who never abused [*i e*, deceived] me, but continueth well affected to serve and honour your majesty. And I am of opinion that you entertain the said Poley who by Blunt's labours and my advice is placed with the Lady Sidney, the daughter of Secretary Walsingham, and by that means ordinarily in his house and thereby able to pick out many things to the information of your majesty. Blunt and he in favour of your majesty and by my instigation have done acceptable service to the French Ambassador at his first arrival in England, wheneas he was so narrowly looked into as few or none of the English durst approach his house, much less confer with him or any of his . . . As I have said, [Poley] is in a place to discover many things which he beginneth to do to the disadvantage of the common enemies.

Morgan goes on to tell Mary that 'Raleigh, the mignon of her of England, is weary of her or she of him, for I hear she now entertains one [Charles] Blunt, brother of Lord Mountjoy, a gentleman young enough to be her grandson.' It is therefore expected that Mary should make Poley understand that she thinks well of this gentleman's brother Christopher, 'who is at present in Holland with Leicester, and has sent for Poley to come to him.'

There is no evidence as to whether or not Poley obeyed this summons. But on March 31 Charles Paget wrote, as Morgan had done ten days before, emphasising the advantage to Mary's cause of Poley's position in Sidney's service.

There be two others which be in practice to gain others to serve your majesty for intelligence, whereof one is called Poley, a great friend to Christopher Blunt, of whom I suppose your majesty hath heard heretofore. Morgan and I have had conference with the said Poley and hope he is in such place being servant to Sir Philip Sidney, and thereby remaineth with his Lady and in house with Secretary Walsingham, so as he shall be able to give your majesty advertisement from time to time.

As Sir Philip had left England on November 16, 1585, to take up his post as Governor of Flushing, and as he remained in the Netherlands till his death on October 17, 1586, Poley can have had little personal intercourse with him. But, as both Morgan and Paget state, he remained with Lady Sidney, who followed her husband about the end of March. His employment in Sir Francis Walsingham's house suggests various links and is of importance for the biography of Marlowe. It was at Scadbury, the Chislehurst estate of Thomas Walsingham, son of a cousin of Sir Francis, that the Privy Council on May 18, 1593, ordered their messenger to seek out Marlowe for arrest. It has already been seen that Frizer, with whom Skeres was in close league, was in the service of Thomas Walsingham. Poley, as his own words will show, while acting as an agent for Sir Francis, was brought into direct association with Thomas Walsingham, who thus appears as the centre of the group. It may well have been at his Chislehurst home, or at one of the two residences of 'Mr. Secretary,' in London or at Barn Elms, that Marlowe and Poley first met. If their association began as early as 1587, when (as Dr. Moore Smith has shown) there was a break in Marlowe's Cambridge residence, and when (as Dr. Hotson discovered) he was employed 'in matters touching the benefit of his country,' this would throw light on an obscure passage in his career. It would help to account for the report that Marlowe intended to go beyond the seas to Rheims and to remain at that centre of Roman Catholic propaganda—a report against which the Privy Council protested so energetically when in June 1587 they ordered that he should be furthered in the degree that he was to take 'this next Commencement' at Cambridge.

In any case, Poley's equivocal activities illustrate how easily Marlowe might have been employed by the authorities in matters touching the benefit of his country which would lend themselves to misrepresentation. And an episode which (if William Yeomans' memory on January 7, $158\frac{8}{9}$, is to be trusted) took place early in 1586 throws a remarkable light on Poley's mentality. 'About three years past,' according to Yeomans, Poley was examined before Sir Francis Walsingham 'by the space of two hours touching a book which was made against the Earl of Leicester.' This was evidently the notorious *Leicester's Commonwealth*, published in 1584, and prohibited by the Privy Council on June 28, 1585.

> Although Mr. Secretary did use him very cruelly [? put him to the torture] yet would he never confess it. And he said that he put Mr. Secretary into that heat that he looked out of his window and grinned like a dog.

Yeomans asked Poley how he 'durst deny having the said book because he very well knew that he had the same.' 'Marry,' answered Poley, 'it is no matter, for I will swear and forswear myself rather than I will accuse myself to do me any harm.'

What an avowal from one of the trio on whose evidence the coroner's jury were to be dependent later for their verdict on how Marlowe met his death!

During the summer of 1586 Poley was becoming more and more deeply involved in plots and counterplots. He wrote an unsigned letter of thanks to Mary Queen of Scots which evidently caused her some perplexity. She refers on July 27 to 'a letter of Poley's as I judge by reason of some reward he thanketh me for therein received beyond sea. Otherwise the letter being an unknown hand without subscription or name therein I am not assured from whom it came. Neither can I tell by whom to send back my answer again.'

Mary had far deeper reason for being distrustful of Poley than she knew. For by July 1586 he had already wormed his way into the secrets of the hot-headed youth, rich and well born, who staked everything for her sake, and in losing brought doom upon her as well as himself. Into the well-known story of the conspiracy of Anthony Babington it is not necessary to go here. It is sufficient to say that about April 1586 Babington, largely inspired by John Ballard, a priest from Rheims, formed a plot that included the murder of Elizabeth; that in July he communicated the scheme to Mary, that Ballard was seized early in August; that Babington afterwards fled but was discovered; and that he and Ballard were executed on September 20. The plot, though completely mismanaged, is of first-rate historical importance, because it led directly to Mary's own trial and execution.

Poley's relation to the conspiracy is curiously equivocal. He appears to have been an agent of Walsingham, but he won Babington's complete confidence, and after the arrest of the conspirators he was committed to the Tower, where he was examined on various charges and made a lengthy confession. From this we learn that he was introduced to Babington in the middle of June, that he might procure him a licence from Walsingham for some years of Continental travel:

> I laboured . . . that I might accompany him between the condition of a servant and companion, being utterly unable to maintain myself in all this journey, thinking with myself that I should both better myself thereby both in language and experience, and also do the State much better service in that course abroad than in that wherein I remained at home. Babington agreed to supply all my charges of travel, and to give me some yearly stipend at my return . . . and I telling him that I remained bound with two sureties with me, to appear every 20 days at the Court, he offered me 40*l* or 50*l*. to make means for my discharge, which money I received of him afterwards to that end the day before my Lady Sidney's going hence towards Flushing.[4]

[4] The dates are difficult to reconcile, for Lady Sidney had gone to Flushing before the middle of June, when, according to Poley, he first met Babington.

Here, incidentally, we get an important sidelight on Poley's dubious activities. How was it that he, while in the service of the Sidneys, and in touch with Walsingham, 'remained bound with two sureties to appear every twenty days at the Court,' and had to buy his discharge through a gift from Babington? Was it a sequel to his examination concerning *Leicester's Commonwealth*? Poley procured Babington a couple of interviews with Walsingham, who evidently encouraged further confidences by speaking favourably of the go-between. On Babington's asking by what means Poley's credit grew with Mr. Secretary,

> I told him by dealing with his honour on some business of my master, *Sir Philip Sidney, but he seeming to discredit that and urge me further, I told him further I was in a like course of doing service to the State* as *himself had now undertaken He answered me that was impossible, because he knew that all the men of note in England being Catholics had me in vehement suspicion.*

For some time longer Poley continued to play his double part, while Walsingham made excuses for postponing a further interview with Babington or the grant of his passport. Then when all was ready the Government struck. Ballard was arrested at Poley's lodging, immediately after a visit by Thomas Walsingham, 'to whom I had delivered such speeches as Mr Secretary had commanded me the day before.' Babington's flight followed, and before his arrest he wrote Poley a last letter in which affection and doubt are pathetically mingled:

> I am the same I always pretended I pray God you be, and ever so remain towards me Take heed to your own part lest of those my misfortunes you bear the blame . . Farewell sweet Robyn, if as I take thee, true to me, if not adieu *Omnium bipedum nequissimus*. Return me thy answer for my satisfaction, and my diamond, and what else thou so wilt The furnace is prepared wherein our faith must be tried. Farewell till we meet, which God knows when.

When the conspirators were arrested, Poley was committed to the Tower, where his confession was written. But, as Babington had told him, he was deeply suspected by the Roman Catholics. An anonymous informer writing on September 19, 1586, speaks of 'one Roberte Poole alias Polley,' whom 'the Papists give out to be the broacher of the last treason.' They rest persuaded that his committal to the Tower was a 'blind' after he had revealed the conspiracies; he had consorted with them by the Council's direction.

In any case, he cannot have been a close prisoner, for Joan Yeomans was again able, with 'one W. Golder,' to visit him and bring him letters from Christopher Blunt. How long he was confined it is difficult to say. Ede speaks of his having come out of the Tower in October 1588, and similarly Yeomans of his delivery

'about Michaelmas last.' But it seems impossible for him to have had two years' continuous imprisonment. There is preserved a petitioning letter by him, apparently addressed to the Earl of Leicester. It includes the phrases 'then went your honour immediately to Kylingworth' [Kenilworth] and 'your honour's great business of Parliament.' It must therefore have been written after November 29, 1586, when Leicester returned from the unsuccessful campaign in Flanders, and probably between February 15 and March 23, 1587, when a Parliament was sitting, which the Earl regularly attended. At this time Poley cannot have been in the Tower, for he speaks of having recently introduced to Christopher Blunt a Thomas Audley who had 'married a near kinswoman of your honour's first wife,' and who wanted to 'move some suit' to the Earl. What can Leicester have thought of such a reminder of Amy Robsart, if the reference be really to her? Audley had accompanied Poley, among other places, to Seething Lane, 'where I attended Mr Thomas Walsingham for my secret recourse to Mr. Secretary, but all to lost labour then and my distress now' Here again we have direct evidence of Poley's association with Marlowe's patron.

Poley must also have been out of the Tower about Shrovetide 1588, according to the remarkable evidence on January 7, $158\frac{8}{9}$, before the Recorder, of Agnes Hollford, wife of Ralph Hollford, hosier. She deposed that on a Friday about Shrovetide last she met Mistress Browne, mother of Mistress Yeomans. Mistress Browne told her that 'Mr. Poley lay at her house, and her daughter coming to the house to dry clothes,' she 'found her daughter sitting upon the said Poley's knees, the sight thereof did so strike to her heart that she should never recover it. She prayed God to cut her off very quickly or else she feared she should be a bawd unto her own daughter.' Her prayer was quickly answered, for when Mistress Hollford called on Mistress Browne on the Monday following she found her 'departed and ready to be carried to the Church to be buried, she dying on the Saturday before.'

But this divine visitation did not check the guilty pair. After another spell of imprisonment Poley was again free about Michaelmas, apparently through the intervention of Sir Francis Walsingham. 'Had I not good luck,' he told Yeomans, 'to get out of the Tower? Mr. Secretary did deliver me out.' 'You are greatly beholding unto Mr. Secretary,' replied Yeomans. 'Nay,' said Poley, 'he is more beholding unto me than I am unto him, for there are further matters between him and me than all the world shall know of' He further declared that Walsingham had contracted a disreputable disease in France

After his release Poley took up his quarters at Yeomans' house, and soon managed to get him committed to the Marshalsea for the

sregard of a warrant by the Vice-Chancellor, Sir Thomas eneage. Richard Ede again intervened as a peacemaker, but his forts, though they got Yeomans out of prison, ended in failure, r Mistress Yeomans, on the pretence that she was going to arket, finally eloped with Poley.

In spite of everything, he seems still to have been employed a Government agent. In April 1591 we hear of his delivering ters to and from Sir Thomas Heneage ; ' he tells Sir Thomas all e letters he receives and was sent over by him with divers ters a year past.' On May 25, 1592, Sir Robert Cecil writes to · Thomas that he has spoken with ' Pole ' and finds him no fool. ıd, according to Miss Eugénie de Kalb in *The Times Literary pplement* (May 21, 1925), on the very day of Marlowe's death, *y 30, 1593, he had in his charge letters from The Hague to the* ırt at Nonesuch. From that time little is heard of him till ır the close of the century On December 17, 1600, he writes Cecil in the familiar strain, begging again to be taken into our, and offering to have à book written that will be a counter-ıt to Jesuit propaganda.

And thus, so far as I know, this singular figure disappears from ory. What a tangle of contradictions does his career present ! ployed by the advisers both of Elizabeth and Mary, he is ıted by neither party. He is in and out of prisons, the Tower, Marshalsea, and (probably) Newgate, but when at liberty he avelling on missions in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands. carries on for years an intrigue with a citizen's wife, yet gains intimacy of men of quality—Christopher Blunt and Paget, to speak of Anthony Babington. He is at the same time a ant inside Walsingham's house and a spy upon him. He is ed as ' man ' to Sir Philip Sidney that he may ' the more tly live a Christian life,' and he is one of the three boon com-ions of the ' atheist ' Marlowe in the Deptford tavern where he his death. His presence on that fatal May 30, 1593, makes the ma of that day even more enigmatical. Taking into account t we hear about Marlowe's character from Thomas Kyd and rs, I am one of those who have been prepared to accept the ıng of the coroner's jury that Ingram Frizer killed the drama-in self-defence. But when one remembers that of the three ıesses Poley, by virtue of his varied experience and associa-with high personages, was probably the predominant figure, is disturbed by the echo of his words, ' I will swear and for-ar myself rather than I will accuse myself to do me any harm.'

F. S. Boas.

SOME MORE OLD ADVERTISEMENTS

In January 1927 I wrote an article in this Review which I called 'Some Old Advertisements.' My idea was not only that my little collection would be found to be amusing to read, but that it also presented a picture of the period I chose. There is a certain truth about an advertisement which may not be found in proclamations, speeches, treaties, and all the more serious and pompous utterances and documents which belong to an age. It is the little things of life which go to make up reality.

The period I chose before was the year 1820, the year of the death of George III. I want now to look back at another date, and have this time selected the year 1685—the time of Dryden and the age of Louis XIV.—and as newspaper the *London Gazette*. Again it is the year of the death of a king. Charles II. died early in the year 1684–85 (for the year then did not begin until the end of March), and James II. succeeded him on February 6. The year 1820 was before selected because it is about a hundred years ago; 1685 is now chosen because it is at the very dawn of the newspaper age: it is not till after this date that the newspaper began to take the place of the newsletter

On May 23, 1622, Nicholas Bourne and Thomas Archer, London booksellers, published the *Weekly News from Italy, Germanie, etc.*, which was the first periodical newspaper printed in England. In 1685, however, the *London Gazette* alone was licensed to publish political news. The *Oxford Gazette* had appeared on November 4, 1665, and became the *London Gazette* on February 5, 1666, the year of the great fire of London.

The old *Gazette* consists of a single small-sized sheet. It is marked 'Printed by Tho. Newcomb in the Savoy.' The paper is of excellent quality; and the ink, too, must have been very good, for the pages are little faded, and will outlast the modern print. We need not praise the Stuart papermaker and printer for this. They simply were not clever enough to make bad goods; this is an art reserved for our more accomplished age.

Now, the contents of this *Gazette* are thus described in the famous third chapter of Macaulay's *History*, in which he gives so brilliant a description of the state of England in 1685:

The contents generally were a Royal proclamation, two or three Tory

addresses, notices of two or three promotions, an account of a skirmish between the Imperial troops and the Janissaries on the Danube, a description of a highwayman, an announcement of a grand cockfight between two persons of honour, and an advertisement offering a reward for a strayed dog.

This description is a good generalisation, but, like all generalisations, can be easily criticised. The body of the *Gazette* seems to me to be of much more interest than this passage indicates, and it is my business here to show what is to be found in the advertisements.

There are half a dozen to a dozen of these advertisements at the end of each number of the *Gazette*, and it is true that descriptions of highwaymen, of cockfights, and of lost dogs are to be found: these dogs, by the way, are usually spaniels, and liver-coloured is a common description. A strayed or a stolen horse is, however, more often sought for than a dog, and an apprentice or servant who has run away with some of his master's property is very frequently the subject of a notice.

As a whole the advertisements show the lawless nature of these Stuart days. Theft, robbery with violence, abduction constantly recur, and doubtless in those days, when there was no police force, a notice in the *Gazette* was one of the only possible ways of recovering a loss or tracing a criminal. It is not to be wondered at that the days were lawless or that theft was rife when it is remembered that in 1685 more than one person in each five of the population was in receipt of poor law relief, and that this relief in those days was far less than the comparatively princely doles which are now given away—though, be it said, in spite of our groans, we give now to a proportionately less number of recipients.

My first example is of a highway robbery, and it contains an excellently compact description of the whole episode:

(No. 2345. May 1688) Whereas the Chester Mail was on Friday set upon by a Person on Horseback, between Daventree and Coventry, who un-horsed the Boy, after having wounded him, and broke open the Mail, and tore most of the Letters, which it is supposed was done to steal out some Letters or Writings of Consequence The said Person had black bushy hair and wore a great coat, with a black Hat, and a Scimiter, and rid without Boots, on a little Horse with a white slip down his face; and was seen to ride through Dunstable towards London on Sunday last in the Afternoon. Whoever gives notice of the said Person at the general Letter Office in London so as that he be secured shall have Twenty Guineas reward

But robbery with violence did not flourish upon the roads alone, and the following is another good description, this time of an act of piracy on the high seas:

(No. 2291. Nov 1686.) Whereas the 28th October last, off Rye a French

Bark called the St. John of Caen, Daniel Lefort Master was seized by 20 armed men on Board an Hoy, who carried away the said French Bark with her Lading, consisting of 12 Patts of Bees-Wax, 8402 Barbary Goat-skins, 200 pieces of Tin, 55 sacks of Gauls, 3 ton of Wood, 10 Bales of Kid-hair and about 100 Piggs of Lead. The said Bark is about 50 Tons, Square Stern without a Head, an Half-deck from the Main-Mast, which is of one piece, and a blue-painted Stern The principal person concerned in this Piracy is a tall Man about 40 years old, Full-faced, short flaxen Hair, inclining to red . . .

Descending from highway robbery and piracy to the misdoings of the financial cheat of the period we come to the frauds of a gentleman who seems to have chosen his assumed name with some art and sense of the future :

(No. 2041. June 1685) A Little well set broad Man, of a lean face, somewhat swarthy with some marks of the small-pox, black eyes, a straight Nose of a middle size, short Raven-Black hair, cut by the top of his shoulder and hanging streight down, wearing a light coloured cloath suit lined with red and a loose Campaign coat of a sad mixt coloured Chamlet, a broad-brim'd gray hat with a black Ribon hat-string, going with the Name of Mr Thomas Walbank, came lately (as he asserted) from London (by way of Ireland) to Edinburgh in Scotland and there under colour of forged and counterfeit Letters and Commissions from divers Eminent Merchants in London, committed several great cheats, and afterwards stole away upon a brown Horse about 14 hands high, of which this notice is given that he may be Apprehended and brought to Condign Punishment.

Now proceeding to less serious crime, that of the dishonest servant or apprentice, we find this notice :

(No. 2009 Feb 1684) John Bolton (born at Durham) about 20 or 23 years of age, round faced of a fresh Complexion, full Ey'd, short brown Hair curled very little, pretty, tall and slender, in a brown Cloth Suit, and a little black Bever-Hatt , Run away from his Master on Monday the 16th Instant with 135L in Money besides Linnen etc If any one can Apprehend and secure the said Party, and give Notice to the Right Honourable Lord Keeper's Porter in Great Queen-Street, or to Mr John Roydhouse at the Vine in Long-Acre, shall have five guineas reward besides charges.

Notices of this last type are very common indeed ; they are attractive to read because of the close and obviously accurate description contained in them. In passing it may be said that ' pock-marked ' occurs in the large majority of the descriptions. To be pock-marked then was almost as common as to be vaccinated now. Scarcely less interesting than the faithful descriptions of the thieves and runaways themselves and of their dress is the enumeration of the articles lost. For example, a lady who lived in the Haymarket was not ashamed to advertise in June 1685 (No. 2040) that she had lost, besides other things, out of her lodgings a ' gold scraper for the tongue,' while William

Bond on July 18, 1685 (No. 2011), left in a hackney coach at night

a Bag made of a Bears Skin, in which was two Indian Gowns, four dozen of Gloves, a little Callembout box, two pair of Stockings, four pair of Shooes, a Shagreen Case with three razors, three little books, a bundle of papers.

A mysterious collection to take about in a hackney coach at night.

The offence of keeping lotteries contrary to His Majesty's letters patent was common enough, and such a notice as the following—only remarkable for its fantastic names—is often met with :

(No. 2039. May–June 1685.) Whereas James Rouse and his Wife, one Captain Dependy, Robert Quinborrow, John Smith of Warrington in Lancashire, John Jones, John Price, John Gutheridge, and John Burgin and divers others do in contempt of His Majesties Letters Patent to the Loyal Indigent Officers keep Lotteries and Games resembling Lotteries in the Countries, some by counterfeit Deputations, others by Deputations out of Date, It is therefore earnestly desired, that all Mayors, Bayliffs, and other His Majesties Officers will suppress all persons as do Exercise any Lotteries or Games resembling Lotteries, others than such as are Deputed under the Hands of some of the Commissioners and their Seal of Office, with this inscription MELIORA DESIGNAVI.

Before deserting the subject of crime I find it interesting to read three advertisements which show how unfortunate was the Royal household on April 23, 1685, the day of the coronation of His Majesty King James II.

(No. 2028. Ap 1685) Lost of His Majesties Plate at Westminster Hall the 23rd of this Instant April at the coronation, viz 2 spoons with the Arms and Cypher of His Majesty when Duke of York 1 Fork the same 4 spoons without a Mark 4 Forks without a Mark 2 Salts no Mark Whoever have found the aforesaid Plate, or any part of it, are desired to bring it to His Majesties Pantrey at Whitehall, and they shall be rewarded for their pains

The Crown, it is to be noticed, with due caution commits itself to no named reward.

This loss was only the beginning, for in a day or two, when the first violence of the stir in His Majesty's 'pantrey' had subsided, a very much more serious commotion apparently arose amongst the officers of His Majesty's Jewel House :

(No 2029 Ap 30 to May 4, 1685) Lost at their Majesties Coronation, the Button off His Majesties Scepter, set about with 24 small Diamonds three rubies and three Emeralds ; a Pendant Pearl from His Majesties Crown, about 9 Carrets or 30 Common Grains, and about 16 great links of a Gold Chain. Whoever gives notice thereof to the Officers of His Majesties Jewel-House, shall be well rewarded.

The Crown, it will be seen, still preserves the same cautious reserve in the matter of naming the reward which will be given,

but appears, by the second advertisement and the advance of 'rewarded' to 'well-rewarded,' to indicate that it had intended to be mean over the matter of the spoons, forks, and salts lost from the King's 'pantrey.'

While the commotion over the loss of the Royal jewels was still alive a further loss was seemingly reported to the officers of His Majesty's Board of Green Cloath :

(No 2032. May 1685.) Whereas divers parcels of Table Linnen Pewter and other Necessaries provided and used at His Majesties Coronation Dinner on the 23rd day of April last, have been taken away from and about Westminster-Hall, and are yet concealed. All persons are hereby required who have any of His Majesties Goods of what sort soever in their Custody, forthwith to bring them to Whitehall and there give notice of the same at his Majesties Board of Green-Cloath, upon pains of being prosecuted according to law . .

Evidently this time it was too much. The Crown's belief in the honesty of its subjects was shaken and the idea of loss was given up—these things had been *taken away*. There was still, however, a lingering hope of honesty or repentance, for the thief is kindly invited to come to Whitehall and give up the articles (and himself).

Passing now from crime to a notice which may or may not speak of a crime, consider this advertisement by an unfortunate mother who has lost her daughter :

(No. 2048 July 1685) Mary Pound a Girl about Eleven years old, little for her age, with small black eyes, a round Pale Face with full red lips, dark brown hair cut short, tyed behind with a black ribbon Gold Knobbed Ear Rings in her Ears, a little Burial Gold Ring, with a little ring over it on her middle Finger, a black and white striped Bengall night Gown unlined, a black Crape under Petticoat, White Thread Stockings, and Black Cloth shoes. Went from her Mothers house. . . .

It was foolish to let the little thing go abroad with so much gold upon her. I do not understand, however, how she came to be wearing her nightgown, if by nightgown is meant what we understand by that garment.

Poor little Mary Pound! Was she just lost, or had she been knocked on the head in those dirty, dark streets for the sake of her gold earrings and gold burial ring by 'some son of Belial flown with insolence and wine'? I hate to think that this could have happened, and prefer to believe that she was simply lost and wandering about the city, her small black eyes wide open in her round, pale face as she looked at the strange sights. She might see strange beasts, for example a dromedary :

(No. 2057. Aug. 1685.) These are to give notice That there is now to be seen at the Mermaid-Inn in Carter-Lane near St. Pauls Church London, a large Dromedary seven Foot high and 12 Foot long, taken from the Turks at the Siege of Vienna The same is to be sold.

And, a little further on, a 'rhynoceros':

(No. 2122. March 1686) These are to give Notice, that the strange Beast called the Rhynoceros, will be sent beyond Sea, and therefore wil not be seen in the City after the 14th April next, which it may be in the mean time at the Bell-Savage on Ludgate-hill.

Or she might have squeezed her way into an auction-room and watched the sale of two elephants:

(No. 2011. Feby. 1684.) On the 15th of March next, will be Exposed to Sale by the Candle Two Elephants, the one male the other Female, the price and places where to be seen and Sold shall be notified by Printed Bills on the 5th of March.

Let us imagine this sale to have taken place in the stable where the two great beasts were kept and the excited bidding with little Mary Pound present, her eyes black and bright, looking on as it took place 'by the candle':

After dinner we met and sold the hulkes, where pleasant to see how backward men are at first to bid; and yet when the candle is going out how they bawl. (Pepys Diary 3 Spt. 1662.)

Mary Pound was not the only child to be missing. Here is a notice about a boy, probably an apprentice:

(No 2009. Feb 1684.) George Cope a Youth about 16 years of age, tall slender of a fair complexion, having light coloured hair with a sad colour'd suit, and a Campane Coat of white cloth, Run away on Wednesday morning between the 11th Instant, from his Master Mr. Benson, next door to the Three Tuns at Charing-Cross, whoever gives notice of him to his said Master shall be rewarded for their pains

While my next notice speaks of an unfortunate little coloured boy in the manner in which one might refer to a dog:

(No. 2019. March 1685) A Taunymore with short bushy Hair very well shaped in a gray Livery lined with Yellow, about 17 or 18 years of Age, with a Silver Collar about his Neck, with these directions Captain George Hasting's Boy, Brigadier in the Kings Horse-Guards. Whoever brings him to the Suger Loafe in the Pall Mall, shall have 40 s reward.

Apparently it was common for these boys and for Indians to make off. The 'unusual' and horrible shape attributed to the following runaway, when read literally, affords the reader a shock:

(No. 2337. Ap. 1688) One John Newmoone alias Shackshoone, an indian of an unusual shape, having a child growing out of his side, low of stature and of swarthy Complexion, belonging to Sir Thomas Grantham, Knight run away. . . .

I have mentioned the darkness of the streets, and until the last year of the reign of Charles II. they were completely unlighted.

Heming then undertook to light them, but he was apparently not the only undertaker.

(No. 2092. Dec. 1685.) Whereas Anthony Vernatty Gent obtained a Patent from His Late Majestie, for enlightening the Streets, by a new sort of Lantern with Lamps. These are to give Notice That the said Mr. Vernatty may be treated with at the Coffee house under Scotland-yard Gate every day from 11 till 1 a clock.

Lighting streets is a small beginning of the advances with which we are so familiar. In those days modern science was in its infancy: Newton's *Principia* was published as a complete work in 1687. There are, however, occasionally in the advertisements glimpses of invention and improvements of industry, as, for example :

(No. 2009. Feb. 1685.) His Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant unto James Delabadie Esq. His Letters Patent for the sole use and benefit of an Engine in all His Majestie's Dominions for beautifying of cloth Serges, Cottons, Bayes, and all Woolen Manufactory by Napping or Freezing the same without Honey, Mollesses or any Moisture, whereby the said Goods are greatly improved and preserved from Moulding though never so long kept, it being a different manner (and which renders them much more beautiful for sale) then any formerly used, These are therefore to give notice, That the said Engins are now ready for publick use, and that the places for receiving the said Goods is at the House which was formerly the Windsor-Castle-Tavern in the Old Fish street next door to the sign of the Dolphin where all persons may have their goods done at reasonable Rates, Likewise old Clothes are by this means made like New.

As for medicine, there are to be found advertisements by those who claim faithfully to make up prescriptions A reference to one means of healing now extinct is contained in a proclamation which, though not, properly speaking, an advertisement, I cannot refrain from quoting :

(No. 2279. Sept. 1687.) His Majesty having been pleased in the late Progress to Touch for the Evil, above 5,000 Persons, His Majestie's Sergeant Chyrurgeon hath observed a great Neglect in the Ministers of the several Parishes in not keeping (as they ought to do) *lists* of those for whom they have certi'd, in order to their obtaining Tickets to be Touched. For want whereof, several abuses have been committed, And many that have been Touched before, producing Certificates, as if it had not been so, have had new pieces of Gold given them, contrary to the establish'd order, which the respective Ministers therefore are required to be more careful in for the future.

This business of 'touching' was clearly a dirty and unpleasant affair; and there is another proclamation in the *Gazette* which prescribes a 'close season' owing to the warmth of the weather. It was doubtless difficult, though not impossible, to obtain baths in those times :

(No. 2042. June 1685.) Whereas there have been several mistakes

in a great many persons coming to the Royal Bagnio in Newgate street, London all Gentlemen and Ladies are desired to take notice that the days for Gentlemen are Mundays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Frydays; and for Ladies Wednesdays and Saturdays in every week, from six in the Morning till ten at Night, where are large Baths with several degrees of Heat, being very Healthful and Delightful for all People, who may be there shaved and cupt after the best manner, the whole charge being but 5s. 6d.

The washing, shaving and cupping ought certainly to be done in the best manner at this price.

Though medical knowledge was not great, the maker of pills and nostrums evidently earned his daily bread:

(No. 2286 Oct. 1687) Whereas there are several Pretenders to that Pill commonly called Scot's Pill, or Dr. Andersons · these are to Certifie, That the Onely True Pill is sold at the Royal Coffee-house near Charing Cross, at the sign of the Coffin in Warwick-Lane . .

This gentleman approaches the modern style of advertisement by way of warning against imitations—though he was apparently so much carried way with the brilliance of his idea that he forgot to notice the unfortunate address he gave. Perhaps he was in league with another advertiser whose address is similar:

(No 2035 May 1685.) Mr. William Russell at the Sign of the Four Coffins in Fleet street near Fleet-Bridge, hath a Secret to preserve dead Bodies, so that the Corps may be safely conveyed to any part of this Nation or elsewhere, he having had the honour to be imployed by most persons of Quality for some years past, and for the ready supply of those who live at a great distance he hath Coffins ready made rich or plain, of a sort of Wood that will endure until the Body is fully dissolved, For want of such Coffins most persons of Qualitie's Vaults are much annoyed. There also you may be fitted with Mourning for Rooms, and all things fitting for a Funeral at reasonable Rates.

Educational advertisements are uncommon; here is one:

(No. 2102. Jan. 1685) Monsieur Meure of Saumur in France, where he hath had several English Gentlemen under his Care and Education, keepeth now a Boarding School in London, and teacheth French, Latin, Greek, Geography, Mathematics, etc Also Writing, fencing and Dancing. He may be spoken with at his school next door to the White-hart Inn in Long-acre near Covent-Garden

It is a small point, but curious, that the schoolmaster of a hundred years ago said *the* mathematics while the Stuart schoolmaster says mathematics as we do.

The following shows that there were not only schools but 'old boys,' and 'old boys,' moreover, who held dinners:

(No. 2348 May 1688) All Gentlemen, heretofore scholars of the Biggin School in Hitchen in the County of Hertford are desired to meet at the George & Vultur tavern upon Ludgate Hill, on the 30h. of this instant

May, then and there to Chuse Stewards, and to consult other things necessary for there establishing an Annual Feast.

There at the George & Vultur tavern upon Ludgate the 'old boys' of Biggin school might discuss a match of cocking:

(No. 2094. Dec. 1685.) This is to give Notice, That there will be a Great Match of Cocking between Leicestershire and Oxfordshire Gentlemen, being kept at the Sign of the Crane in Leicestershire, beginning the last Monday in January

or mention their fancies for the Newmarket races:

(No. 2310. Jan. 1687.) At New-Market on Wednesday in Easter week next 1688 in a Plate of 100 Guinea's value to be run for, by Horses, Mares and Geldings that never run before; Gentlemen are to ride themselves, Three Heats, Twelve Stone weight; a Stranger to put in for his Horse Ten Guineas. The Nobility and Gentry that contribute to this Plate are desired to pay in their Contribution-money to Mr. Richard Hoare Goldsmith at the Golden Bottle in Cheapside London; or to Mr. Clayton at his House in New-Market. No Horse can run for this Plate that is not kept one full Month before the day of Running.

But I have quoted enough to show the character of old advertisements of 1685, and will conclude, since I have spoken chiefly of London, with a notice of street widening—it concerns old London Bridge:

(No. 2061. Aug 1685) The Lord Mayor & Court of Aldermen having directed, That as well the Draw-Bridge as the rest of the Common Passage over London Bridge should (for the general convenience and safety of all Passengers) be enlarged from Twelve to the width of Twenty foot. These are to give notice to all Makers of Hoyes, Cars, Lighters or Barges, and to all others concerned, That (to this end) the Gullet under the said Draw-Bridge (commonly called the Draw-Bridge Lock) will be stopped up all the month of September next and no longer.

This piece of street widening was, I imagine, urgently necessary, as the notice shows that the roadway of London Bridge, the only passage over the river, was until 1685 but 12 feet wide. The word *cars* was a misprint for *crares* (trading vessels), and the correction was duly advertised (*Gazette*, No. 2062), since it misled into the belief that the passage on the roadway was being interrupted. The correction would be more important to-day!

CARROL ROMER.

MEMORIES OF 1914—1918

VIII. Dawn on the Asiago

Eddying clouds swept over the vast expanse of plain which lay between the mountains and the Adriatic, shrouding the Euganean hills and the cities and villages over which Venice had in time past held sway. Of late the tumult of war had desecrated this smiling countryside, and men of many nations had thronged the dusty roads. The Lion of St. Mark, still proudly erect in the Piazza of Vicenza, had looked down for many months on a motley array of uniforms, grey, khaki and light blue, made yet more vivid by the distinguishing colours and emblems of rank or regiment, the kilts and glengarries of the Scottish regiments, the plumes of the Bersaglieri, the badges of the Alpini and Black Arditi, the dark headdresses of the Chasseurs Alpins. Now the tide of war which had beaten for so long against the barrier of the Piave lines had ebbed. But high on the Trentine Alps above the clouds the war did not seem far away. It was the morning of November 11, 1918, but news of the Armistice had not reached this remote corner of the far-flung battle line.

I made my way down the road through the great pine-woods towards our old front line, from which the 48th (South Midland) Division had advanced a few days before through the little town of Asiago, up the gorges of the Val d'Assa, and into a remote beyond. Through the trees I heard the familiar tramp of soldiers on the march, and I stood at the side of the road to watch the return of an infantry brigade from its last fight. For nearly four years this brigade had been on foreign service, in the mud of the Ypres salient, on the chalk uplands of Picardy, and latterly amid the rocks and pine-woods of the Asiago Plateau. The last of their battles was fought. This was the hour of victory, the long-awaited hour, the consummation of four years of unremitting toil and sacrifice. Yet on the faces of these men who had borne the burden and heat of the day I could discern neither triumph nor relief. Their faces were grey with the fatigue of many days of marching and fighting; their uniforms were stained with mud and dust; the burden of rifle, pack and steel helmet which each

man bore lay heavy on them. Their weariness of body was matched by a yet greater weariness in their eyes. Yet both in their eyes and in their bearing the dominant impression was one of dignity. These men had lived long in the Valley of the Shadow; they had learned there to distinguish between the false and the true. Their eyes were free from illusion, yet in them there was nothing of bitterness. Their bearing was proud, but in it there was nothing of arrogance. Theirs was the considerate pride of the craftsman in the greatest of all crafts, that of life. Their apprenticeship to that craft had been long and arduous. It was ended. They were men.

The regiments passed by and disappeared into the pine-woods girdling the mountain road; the tramp of their feet died away. Yet I can see them still, each with his heavy burden, and I can hear the rhythm of those marching feet. I see them sometimes as a South Midland brigade, but more often as the men of that generation, my own, who when offered the heaviest of burdens, in the creation of which they had had no share, accepted it uncomplaining and marched away, passing out of the sight of men. Perhaps some such thought was in the mind of the Commander-in-Chief when in his despatch describing this memorable day he wrote:

> By the long road they trod with so much faith and with such devoted and self-sacrificing bravery we have arrived at victory, and to-day they have their reward.

We had our reward; we have it still. I knew well, as I watched the regiments pass, what that reward was, for of late I had been reading *Songs before Sunrise.*

> Unto each man his handiwork, unto each his crown,
> The just Fate gives;
> Whoso takes the world's life on him and his own lays down,
> He, dying so, lives.
> Whoso bears the whole heaviness of the wronged world's weight,
> And puts it by,
> It is well with him suffering, though he face man's fate;
> How should he die?

The road led to the little town of Asiago, which was my destination, but I turned aside in the vicinity of a small chapel which had escaped destruction, though within a few yards of our front line, owing to the protection afforded by a steep bank. On the far side of the bank the battlefield of the Asiago Plateau came into full view; in the background was a range of mountains, cleft by the Val d'Assa. In the foreground were our trenches and barbed wire; on the wire the 'heart-shaking jests of

decay' were lolling. For no apparent reason desultory shots were still being fired from some quarter; a bullet flashed by me with the sound of a whiplash, as of old. I traversed No Man's Land, eloquent still of battle, here derelict rifles and equipment, there a grey figure recumbent and unheeding of the coming of peace. A machine-gun in the Austrian front line was trained on our lines; the belt of cartridges was partly fired. A jagged rent in an unfired cartridge showed where the bullet had passed which had silenced this gun for ever and had put out the light of a man's life.

Late that afternoon I returned through the woods and reached the hutment camp near Tattenham Corner, where the road passed over the summit of the range and by a series of traverses on the mountain-side descended several thousand feet to the plain. News of the Armistice had arrived, but there was no sign of unusual animation. The clouds had settled on the mountains; a grey mist eddied to and fro, clinging to the huts and pine trees. Shadowy groups of men could be discerned, but they appeared to be engaged on the usual errands of camp life. There was nothing to distinguish this day from any other day in the past four years

At Tattenham Corner my usual good fortune enabled me to intercept a lorry descending to the plain, and I arrived at Thiene, a large village, at this time the railhead for the British and Italian forces on the mountains to the north. There was a considerable military population of 'base details'; the civil population was there in force, supplemented by a considerable accession of camp followers of the traditional type. No one here had any occasion to be tired, and a merry evening was clearly in prospect.

I dined with several officers at the billet of the Town Major. Most of them wore the badges of infantry regiments and the insignia which spoke of wounds or long service at the front. The meal was strangely quiet, and the thoughts of some were perhaps wandering, as were mine, over the past four years How like this dinner was to a thousand other dinners, in which the tradition, handed down by generations of army cooks, that an officer must have a four-course meal in the evening in any circumstances, had been faithfully observed. Soup, disguised bully beef, tinned fruit, sardine on toast—I had eaten it how often, and in what strange surroundings! Yet how different was the meal in every other way! There had been dinners which were the prelude to hazardous occasions; why had they been so merry, while this dinner, the prelude to secure and ordered existence, was so quiet? Could it be that the absence from our board of Death, so long our neighbour, and the arrival of Life, so long a stranger to us, was causing embarrassment? We had always disliked that dark figure at the table, but we had got to know him well. This bright presence

was very welcome; but we did not know him yet, and he was reported to have odd ways. We would have felt more comfortable if we had had with us certain absent friends, people who had greeted the dark figure when he first arrived with an easy familiarity, had always got on well with him, slapped him on the back in moments of excitement; they were the people who would have put this new arrival at his ease, made the evening go, perhaps kept him in his place if he essayed any of his well-known practical jokes. What an evening it might have been if only they had been here!

Dinner over, we made our way towards the Officers' Club. An Italian band was occupied in playing the national anthems of the Allies, and there was a substantial amount of excitement, mostly contributed by the representatives of the Latin races. The few British soldiers contented themselves for the most part with carrying their officers on their shoulders round the square. There was a general sense that the tributes which were being paid to the British armies should meet with some response, and at last an officer was found willing to undertake the task. He was possibly not the most suitable, as he spoke no Italian, belonged to the non-combatant services, and was in a state of considerable exhilaration. He discharged his task, however, to the satisfaction of the crowd, and his references to the sacrifices which he had made during the war and to his wife and family in Lancashire drew tears from himself and a further instalment of the National Anthem from the Italian band.

A few days later, in circumstances of greater dignity, I paraded my command to read to them a Special Order of the Day. Many of them had been on active service for the major part of the war; several were regular soldiers and had taken part in battles so distant as to be almost forgotten—Mons, Marne and the first Ypres. In a silence which had its origin as much in emotion as in discipline, I read those eloquent words in which the thanks of the nation were conveyed to the forces in the field:

> Between that date and this you have traversed a long and weary road. Defeat has more than once stared you in the face. Your ranks have been thinned again and again by wounds, sickness and death, but your faith has never faltered, your courage has never failed, your hearts have never known defeat. With your allied comrades you have won the day.

Winter in the Lombardy Plain was bitterly cold, in marked contrast to the grilling heat which we had endured during the summer. The base at Arquata Scrivia, in which I found myself at the end of the year, was fog-bound and cheerless. A peculiar, and most unjust, scheme of demobilisation was in force, which decreed that men should be released in an order of priority deter-

mined by professions and trades instead of length of service, and conferred on married men with four years' service in the field the privilege of seeing the return home of boys in certain selected trades who had arrived at the war in the late autumn of 1918. The anger and discontent which was prevalent on the Western Front in the months following the Armistice was attributed to the inevitable reaction following on the strain of years of war. But the responsibility rested in a considerable measure on the distinguished authors of this scheme of demobilisation. It gave me, however, as a 'student,' the opportunity of early release from the army. I spent some days at a camp waiting for the demobilisation train among the most remarkable crowd of 'students' who have ever confessed to that title. Two jockeys were conspicuous among them; others whose acquaintance with the racecourse was evident had presumably seen themselves described in the Press as students of form, and in the absence of any other occupation set out in the bulky official handbook, had selected this group as most nearly describing their means of livelihood. A puzzled agricultural labourer who had entered himself as a 'farm assist.' was reported to be proceeding home in the privileged category of chemists.

On a bitter morning we marched to the station and boarded a ramshackle collection of outworn trucks which was described as a train. There was a carriage, with compartments for the officers, of the type now reserved for exhibition in museums, and a rapid survey enabled me to ascertain that one compartment, already occupied by the train adjutant, alone possessed a complete set of glass and seats on both sides. I felt that this compartment presented peculiar attractions for a journey of several days, in part through the Mont Cenis Tunnel and High Savoy, in mid-winter. The same thought occurred to a mining engineer from the Rand. We put our point of view to the train adjutant, who proved amenable, and remained in his excellent company until our arrival at Cherbourg some days later, in spite of frequent and determined efforts to dislodge us made by the train commandant. We invariably obeyed his orders, but the train had a lamentable habit of starting at the precise moment when our baggage was at last collected and preparations for moving had reached an advanced stage.

In other wars the departure of troops for active service, and their return home, has usually been the occasion of some ceremony or mark of appreciation, repugnant to a few, but a source of pleasure to many. The soldier of the Great War was denied any ceremony on his departure for the Front for military reasons well understood and appreciated by all. The imagination of those in authority did not enable them to realise how much it would have

meant to the soldier, not only at that time, but in the years to come, if he had been permitted to return to his county or town with his battalion, the band at the head playing the old familiar tunes, his comrades by his side. A scheme by which composite battalions of soldiers with a certain length of service belonging to the same regiment were collected at demobilisation camps and sent home as units could not have been more cumbrous than the group scheme, and the industrial needs of the country, which apparently led to the adoption of that scheme, could have been met by the early demobilisation of the battalions drawn from the industrial areas most in need of labour. The return home had been much in the thoughts of the soldier ; little did he expect that it would take the form ultimately decreed, and that he would be handed a railway ticket and be told to get out of his uniform as soon as possible. The arrival of the train by which I travelled from Southampton to Wimbledon was greeted by two girls, who loitered for a few moments on the bridge and waved a hand. We marched to the demobilisation camp, attracting not the smallest notice. Long before dawn the next morning I found myself in charge of my last parade. I gave for the last time the familiar orders ; the men disappeared into the cold and darkness. I returned to the mess-room and sat by the fire. I had several hours to wait, but I had no desire to sleep again. In my last hours as a soldier I wanted to think, and in the firelight the memorable years marched by.

I saw a heather moor in southern England, the train throbbing into unknown night, the cliffs of Dover fading into the sea, the wilderness of white tents of the great base camp, the road by the sand dunes of Etaples, the French labourer in his blouse silhouetted against the sunset on the railway singing the *Marseillaise* as the troops passed by, the muddy Lys, the gloom of a Flanders twilight, the march of tired men on the long road from Steenwerck to the south, and the warm glow of the braziers in the farm near Bois Grenier where at last it ended.

The scene moved to the Somme. I heard the thunder of the guns, the roar and echo of the heavy shells in the ruins of Albert I saw the fitful moonlight among the ruins of Albert Cathedral, the dark walls of the château mess and the faces in the candle-light, the ghastly desolation and all-pervading mud of La Boisselle, the trees rent into strange shapes, the mine craters round the riven cemetery and the untouched cross, the barbed wire dark against the snow, the rank grass swaying mournfully in the wind, the coming of a winter dawn.

The Great Bear rose to the north above the dark mass of Thiepval Wood. The trees echoed endlessly to the crash of bombs and the staccato clamour of machine-guns. The uplands beyond

from Beaumont Hamel to Serre were ablaze with the lurid light of a night bombardment. The air was shrill with the passing shells. The mill of Authuille stood sentinel above the flooded whispering Ancre. The marshes were aglow in the sunset. It was night; the glare of the Verey lights descending over No-Man's Land illumined the stark ruins of Thiepval Château. Mouquet Farm gleamed in the sunlight at the end of the valley. The chalk parapets of Leipzig Redoubt lay but a short distance away. Nightmare days and nights succeeded each other, dominated by the torment of unceasing shell fire.

The scene moved north again. I saw the waves lapping the belts of wire on the Belgian shore, the moonlight on the Yser marshes, the mist rising from the lagoons and swamps, the ghostly forms, the lonely causeways, the broken chancel of St. George's. I heard the stuttering machine-guns blending weirdly with the cries of the wild-fowl and the giant shells from the naval guns far overhead amid the bombing aeroplanes on their way to Bruges. I saw the long road leading from Nieuport to the south, and the longer road which led to Ypres

The scene changed once more. I ascended the Trentine Alps up to and beyond the clouds, and standing among the giant boulders looked far over the Venetian plain, seeing from time to time a straggling village through a rift in the clouds, and the tops of mountains scattered far and wide like dream islands in a forgotten sea. To the north lay rocks ending in pine-woods. Where the pines ended lay the front line, and ruined Asiago beyond. I watched a brigade marching back from its last fight

How much I had seen in these first years of manhood! What strange and wayward experiences had been mine! How much of the infinite variety of human nature, of the depths of the human heart, had been revealed to me, who had lived on terms of intimacy with men from the four corners of the world, who had known the comradeship of five nations in arms! No longer could I think of men in terms of profession, class or creed. I had other and truer standards by which I might judge my fellow-men; I had with them a bond of union, a bond of common experience and common humanity, forged in the fires of war.

The tragic drama in which I had played an insignificant part was ended. Drama was said to purge the emotions through pity and fear. Now that the stage was empty, and the storm of emotion and conflict was stilled, it was time to reflect. What were these emotions of pity and fear? We watched a great drama on the stage. We saw man in conflict with forces beyond his control and overwhelmed. We were moved by sorrows greater than our own. Yet as the curtain fell we had not a less, but a greater, faith in that strange substance with which we were

endued. We felt that we were greater than we knew. The frets of every day, our petty ambitions, the whips and scorns of time, were of less moment. Life was on a higher plane. We could almost see it whole.

Such was the influence of tragic drama on the stage. Had tragic experience a lesser power? Had the tragedy of the war taught humanity any lesson of abiding value? Was there any gain to set against apparent loss? Could anything atone for so much sorrow, such loss of young and splendid life? Could ancient hatreds die, and reconciliation come, as it came in Juliet's tomb, now that friend and foe, alike writ in sour misfortune's book, had been borne to a triumphant grave, and the youth of the world lay dead, their vault a feasting presence full of light?

Were the hearts of men changed? Many were broken; some were bitter; were any purged? They had gone out into the dawn to meet death and had looked back on the setting sun over fields of carnage. They had lived for long in the shadow of death. They had seen, perhaps they had done, terrible things, deeds of violence and shame.

Yet there was another side to war: the evocation of noble qualities through generous service, the triumph of the spirit of man over disaster and death. How many men had gone to death as to a holiday and in the reckless generosity of youth had thrown away their lives 'as 'twere a careless trifle'! The more a man had to give, the more proudly and gladly did he give it. Hours of disaster had revealed the real greatness of men, and indeed of nations, and especially my own. The stubborn valour that was our proudest tradition had never risen to greater heights than in the desolate wastes of Passchendaele in the autumn of 1917, and on the Somme uplands in March of the following year. In our darkest hours of defeat had been revealed the undying genius of our race. What the ugliness of war had clouded it could not utterly destroy. Surely there had remained even to the end an element of romance, 'high heart, high speech, high deeds 'mid honouring eyes,' for what more could a man ask than the companionship of brave, loyal, generous men, his country's chivalry? In our hearts there would always be the memory of the undaunted courage, the strength and gentleness of simple men whom we had known.

In the flickering light of the fire the men with whom I had served passed by. How greatly I had been privileged in my friends, and what havoc the war had wrought in that gallant company which even now I could see in the candlelight of the mess in Frechencourt, and whose laughter I could still hear, Noel Blakeway dead at La Boisselle, W. B. Algeo, Harry Mansel Pleydell, dead at Thiepval, Willie Green dead at Leipzig Redoubt, Ian

Clarke dead at Beaumont Hamel, Robin Kestell Cornish dead at Passchendaele! Name after name rose in my mind of others who had gone from the château mess to die on the Somme or in later battles of the war. The hand of death had been heavy too on my men. Never again would I find my trusted sergeant-major by my side at the head of my company on the march or in the cold light of dawn when the stand-to-arms passed down the expectant lines. There was something of music in their very names, that music which must have stirred the hearts of thousands at memorial services, and has called forth from a Rugby poet some exquisite lines:

> These were my friends. Ah! stay and tell again
> Those lovely names. The grave voice passes on.
> This lantern searching through the field of dead
> Lights one by one the sleepers and is gone.

Dawn came at last, heralding the new life. I laid aside my memories, and set out across Wimbledon Common to the adventure of peace. That adventure did not at first present all the attractions attributed to it in popular report, and I learned how large an element of truth lay in Othello's great cry: 'Farewell, the tranquil mind! farewell, content!' which I had quoted in irony as the train left Arquata Scrivia on my journey home. As 1919 wore on I was surprised, in common with many others who fought in the war, at the hatred and bitterness preached and practised by many who had never borne arms, and I was much distressed by the drifting apart into two opposing camps of those who had fought as comrades in the war. The industrial troubles of late 1919 must have depressed me considerably, as some rough notes written at the time, couched in the language of exaggeration, show:

> Everywhere we watch the triumph of the old *régime* and concurrently the inevitable growth of anarchy. And we who fought for a dream of a new world are weary and impotent. We have lost our leaders. We are but a remnant. Our hearts are in the past.

The notes are headed by two lines of John Masefield:

> And all their passionate hearts are dust,
> And dust the great idea that burned.

My gloomy forebodings proved wrong in the event in this, though not in other countries. That they proved wrong, and that our land has been mercifully free from violence, I attribute in a great measure to the determination of those who fought in the war never to engage in civil strife against their late comrades. The advocates of violent courses, on each side, have been drawn

almost exclusively from the ranks of those who took no combatan part in the Great War.

A visitor to the battlefields often finds it hard to trace the line of his old trenches, in so great a degree has the material havoc of the war been made good. It is surely not too much to hope that the moral havoc has disappeared in no less measure. There are other wounds of war which cannot be healed. Nothing can restore to us the men whom we loved, nor give to the England of the future the inspiration of their presence, and the men who would have been their sons. Among the men of my generation there are many who must carry during long years the burden of wounds and ill-health, among the women many who must support the greater burden of frustrate lives. The hurrying feet of the years will break us more surely than other generations on whom the yoke of inauspicious stars has not pressed.

Not to us will be vouchsafed the opportunity to form a reasoned judgment on those events in which we took part and to determine their place in the scheme of things. We were too busily engaged. We suffered too much. Only after a hundred years are we beginning to understand the Napoleonic wars. And it may be profitable, in considering the issues of the Great War, to turn to that splendid epic, *The Dynasts*, in which the greatest of contemporary writers, through the medium of the Spirit of the Pities, the Ironic Spirit, and the Spirit of the Years meeting on the field of Waterloo and afterwards in the Overworld, spoke his considered judgment on those wars which devastated Europe a century ago, and in the course of their devastation emancipated the mind of man throughout Western Europe.

The Imperial Guard is broken, and the clocks of the world have struck Napoleon's last empery hour; the Spirit of the Pities asks if this is the last Esdraelon of a moil for mortal man's effacement, and the Spirit Ironic replies:

> Warfare mere,
> Plied by the Managed for the Managers;
> To wit: by frenzied folks who profit nought
> For those who profit all!

But the Spirit Ironic has not the last word. The semi-chorus of the Pities speaks of the Will awaking 'in a genial germing purpose, and for loving-kindness' sake.'

And at last all the spirits join in one splendid chorus:

> But a stirring thrills the air,
> Like to sounds of joyance there,
> That the rages
> Of the ages
> Shall be cancelled, and deliverance offered from the darts that were,
> Consciousness the Will informing, till It fashion all things fair!

No doubt in those years of poverty and disillusion which succeeded the Napoleonic wars the Spirit Ironic was alone heard, and the theory of the impotent and suffering Managed exploited and driven to death by the Managers was as common and as sincerely believed as it is to-day. It is only now that in the chaos and suffering of those wars we can discern any good emerging, any 'genial, germing purpose.' Perhaps some day later generations may begin to see our war in a truer perspective, and may discern it as an inevitable step in the tragic process by which consciousness has informed the will of man, by which in time all things will be fashioned fair.

C. O. G. Douie.

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No. DCXXI—November 1928

THE FUTURE OF BRITISH RAILWAYS

In these kaleidoscopic times it is difficult to forecast the future of any organisation or industry, certainly for any length of time, and this is especially so with British railways, in regard to which I have been invited to express my views.

'The best of prophets of the future is the past'; therefore a brief glance at the history of British railways will be helpful. This may be written in few or many words; the survey attempted here must of necessity be so brief as to exclude much relevant matter

Railway locomotion has existed in this country for more than 100 years Prior to its advent the only means of inland transport for people and freight were horse-drawn coaches and wagons and canals. By comparison with railways even the best coaches were slow and uncomfortable, and journeys were hazardous and expensive; transport by canals also lacked speed—a fatal deficiency.

Into this simple and leisurely transport system, tolerably adequate to the then dominantly rural character of the nation,

burst the momentous invention of the steam locomotive. Compared with the earlier forms of transport, speed was the principal characteristic of the railways, and their inception soon infused the habit of travel into a community hitherto largely stationary, and gave an immense and lasting stimulus to trade and commerce.

As an indication of the condition of affairs before the railway era, let me quote from a pamphlet dated 1831 in regard to the projected Birmingham and London Railway.

> . . . On the canals between Birmingham and London every means are used to effect dispatch, but still the quickest passage for fly-boats is 60 hours. . . . The charges for passengers by coach are 42*s* inside and 21*s*. outside, and for parcels 1*d* per lb, and by wagon the charge is 5*s*. per cwt. By fly-boat for packages and general merchandise 60*s* per ton, and for iron castings in boat loads 32*s*; for pig iron 25*s* per ton. Thus the charge for luggage, at ten miles per hour, is 1*s* 9*d* per ton per mile, wagon charge for a rate of three miles and a half per hour 1*s* 10¾*d* per ton per mile, and goods by fly-boat at two miles per hour 6½*d* per ton per mile, and the lowest rate for pig iron 2½*d* per ton per mile

The railway not only more than halved the time, but also the cost, of passenger journeys, while goods were conveyed in one-sixth of the time and at less cost.

The revolutionary character of this enormous change, coupled with the fact that railways in their early days were immensely prosperous, resulted in numerous schemes being brought before Parliament Many of these were strongly opposed, and in all cases parliamentary sanction was conditioned, by statutory restraints and requirements, more drastic than those imposed in any other country in the world The railways had both to fight hard and pay heavily for their charter, and in their infancy, as in maturity, they experienced drastic parliamentary regulation and control. No grants of land alongside their track were made to British railways, nor was there any State or municipal aid in the provision of stations On the contrary, the code of regulations embodied in the Regulation of Railways Acts from 1844 onward is the most stringent in the world.

In the course of fifty years, roughly from 1840, the railway companies, large and small, extended their lines to practically every part of Great Britain, and became virtual monopolists (subject always to effective and far-reaching State control) of the inland transport of the country They served the country well, and certainly not extortionately, as is evident from the fact that the average return on capital invested in railways over a period of thirty years between 1860 and 1890 did not exceed 4 22 per cent. per annum.

Whether from self-satisfaction or lack of external stimulus or other cause, it sometimes happens that a period of inertia falls

upon industries as upon individuals. It must be admitted that some such spirit seems to have overtaken our railways in the 1870's and 1880's, when for a time they appeared to have been content to rest upon laurels they had undoubtedly won. This period did not last long, however, and by the end of last century a renascence had set in—evidenced by the introduction of long-distance runs, more and better express trains, while considerable improvements were effected in permanent way and rolling stock, including the provision of corridor coaches, gas and electric lighting, steam heating, restaurant cars and many other amenities which added greatly to the comfort of passengers.

In 1914 the war came. Much has been written on the important part played by British railways in the waging and winning of the war. Suffice it to say that the service afforded to the nation in the transport of troops and munitions of war, the manufacture in their workshops of guns and much equipment, and other assistance rendered in a great variety of ways, won the unstinted admiration of successive Prime Ministers and Commanders-in-Chief, and redounded to the credit of the railways and their personnel.

On the first day of the war the Government took possession of the railways, and with Government control, whether for good or ill, came many revolutionary changes In 1919, although wage standards soared to unprecedented heights, and many other expenses increased alarmingly, no steps were taken by the Government to raise railway rates to cover this increased expenditure. Whatever may have been the contemporary merit, if any, of this policy, it resulted in an exceedingly unenviable heritage for the railway companies upon the coming of decontrol in 1921. At that stage the wages bill of the railways had increased from 47,000,000*l* in 1913 to about 173,000,000*l* per annum for the year 1921, an increase of no less than 268 per cent. This increase was attributable to the dual effect of the introduction of the eight-hour day in February 1919 and the concession by the Government in 1920 of large and general improvements in the standard of railway wages associated with the then existing war bonus It may here be noted that the wage advancements referred to were accompanied by a promise by the Government of the day that the general wage level should not in future fall below 100 per cent. above the average pre-war standard.

Meanwhile, in 1919, the Ministry of Transport had been established with a Minister vested with the fullest authority over the railway companies. To meet the enormous commitments on the debit side of the accounts heavy rate increases were levied upon a reluctant trading community, which was just beginning to experience serious reaction after a period of war-stimulated prosperity. It cannot be doubted that the impetus of this sudden

increase in railway rates turned the attention of the traders more rapidly and definitely in the direction of motor transport than would otherwise have been the case, and this movement was accentuated by the sale of a very large number of Government lorries released from war service.

The Government's contribution to the rehabilitation of the railways as a commercial enterprise was the Railways Act of 1921. By means of this important enactment the railways reverted to private control, subject to a scheme of compulsory grouping, under which the 120 companies of pre-war days became the four great companies we know to-day.

In the circumstances some such scheme was necessary: indeed, it is difficult to imagine how the heterogeneity of great and small companies which existed in 1913 could have functioned under the vastly altered conditions of to-day.

But if benefits resulted from the Act, tremendous difficulties in reorganisation and adaptation also came in its train. It was not to be supposed that the merging into one entity of concerns which had been serious competitors for generations would be an easy process. But all the difficulties were faced resolutely, and the organisations can now be said to be well established In addition to grouping the railways, the Act of 1921 set up a new court —the Railway Rates Tribunal—and new standard schedules of rates and charges have been introduced, as the result of much hard work, and with remarkably little friction; these rates are now generally operative.

There is an aspect of the new conditions regarding rates and charges which must be referred to, because it has a definite bearing upon the future of the railways The rates have been calculated on a basis which should produce to each group company a standard revenue broadly equivalent to the 1913 revenues of the companies forming the group From time to time the rates and charges and the resultant yield are to be subject to review by the Tribunal, and if it should be found that the revenue earned by a company is substantially in excess of its standard, 80 per cent of the excess is to be handed back to the public by way of reduced rates and fares.

Thus, in brief, it is made impossible for the railway companies themselves to obtain large profits; if and when they should materialise the benefit must pass to the traders and the public In this way there has been created a clear bond of interest between industry and railway transport.

Meanwhile, during the time this extensive internal reorganisation and reorientation has been proceeding in connexion with the railways, competition in the form of motor transport has been developing.

Untrammelled by irksome and costly legal restraints, free to pick and choose traffics and routes, and subsidised by reason of the public highways (its permanent way) being provided, maintained, improved, and signalled largely at the ratepayers' expense, and with streets or large public areas allocated without charge for use as 'stations,' road motor traffic has increased considerably. There are some particularly irritating considerations for the railway companies in regard to road motor competition. They are the only passenger-carrying agency which contributes to revenue through direct taxation, *i.e.*, the tax levied on fares paid by first-class passengers. Until a few months ago, the railways themselves were without powers to operate road transport except for the collection and delivery of rail-borne freight traffic, while on the other hand they were, and still are, among the largest ratepayers Moreover, where roads have been raised to pass over a railway, not only the bridge structure but also the road on it and the raised approaches have usually to be maintained by the railway; in fact the railways have to maintain several hundred miles of public roads, towards which the Minister of Transport has no power to make grants in aid from the Road Fund These conditions were—and to some extent still are—so manifestly unfair as to call aloud for early amendment. Road powers have now been conceded to the railways, and it is the companies' intention to use these powers to co-ordinate road and rail services and to provide the public with an even more efficient and economic service than they have enjoyed hitherto.

The value to the nation of its great railway systems cannot be exaggerated They provide direct employment for a vast army of 677,000 men, who, with their families, form a substantial proportion of the whole community The 1,200,000,000*l* of capital invested in railways is held by some 700,000 shareholders, representing people in all stations of life, and the prior securities have long been regarded as second only in stability to those issued directly upon the national credit

What can one say of the services provided by railways, which have long been the main arteries of the inland commerce of the country? The following figures are perhaps sufficiently impressive During last year British railways conveyed 1,651,000,000 passengers and 325,000,000 tons of freight traffic, involving the running of train miles to the total of 413,000,000

In considering the future of British railways it must be obvious to every thinking man that they should be regarded as essential to the well-being, and even to the very existence, of this great manufacturing and trading nation One does not wish to repeat *ad nauseam* the hackneyed saw about railways being the life-blood of industry, but there is no doubt whatever of its essential truth,

especially when it is remembered that there are thousands of private sidings, or industrial tracks, connecting individual works with main line railways whereby millions of tons of traffic pass between factories, mines, or works wholly by railway.

At the same time facts must be faced. The most expensive part of any system of inland transport, whether by railway, canal, or road, must be the permanent or fixed works. If one form of transport is required to bear the entire cost of its permanent works while another form is relieved of this either wholly or in large measure, the latter has an advantage that is bound to tell in the long run[1] It will be noted that I have not referred to rival purveyors of transport, for the reason that, having been granted full power to use the public highway, the railways will do so under precisely the same conditions—advantageous or otherwise—as other users of the public roads In short, it is safe to say that the railways will certainly not make the mistake made by many canal companies of adhering slavishly to one form of transport, but will adopt all forms according to circumstances or the demands of the future, whether by railway, road, sea, or air. The extent to which railway lines may be abandoned in favour of the road will depend entirely upon the action of the Government. In that connexion there appear to be two alternative courses in the solving of the contemporary transport problem, the one being a continuance of the policy of *laissez faire* towards the newer form of transport by motor vehicles on roads It is indeed certain that if all effective limitation of speed of road vehicles and use of trailers is abandoned, and by direct or indirect taxation roads are widened to accommodate every conceivable kind and weight of traffic, there is no end to the possibility of transport by road, and to the consequent diminution of railway traffic. Obviously, this would

1

Five Years ending	Total Annual Cost of Roads in Great Britain	Total Receipts from Motor Vehicle Taxation	Number of Motor Vehicles	
			Year	Number
	£	£		
1895	47,618,160	—		
1900	54,705,627	—		
1905	69,015,325	—	1905	56,000
1910	74,383,622	1,050,000*	1910	114,000
1915	88,263,460	7,127,000	1915	322,000
1920	95,763,763	14,933,000	1920	550,000
1925	236,340,181	65,251,000†	1925	1,501,000

* Four years ended 1910, earlier figures not available

† Proportion of receipts derived from commercial vehicles = £18,750,286 (28 per cent approx), leaving 72 per cent derived from private cars, motor cycles, and hackney carriages.

Figures relating to annual cost of roads prior to 1910 extracted from Local Taxation Returns Subsequent figures communicated by Ministry of Health Figures relating to motor vehicle taxation extracted from Road Fund reports and Ministry of Transport returns.

be such a revolutionary change, and so undesirable from many points of view, that it cannot be seriously contemplated. The other alternative is the scientific one, namely, to co-ordinate the different forms of transport, and this problem has been referred to the recently appointed Royal Commission, whose terms of reference are:

> To take into consideration the problems arising out of the growth of road traffic and, with a view to securing the employment of the available means of transport in Great Britain (including transport by sea coastwise and by ferries) to the greatest public advantage, to consider and report what measures, if any, should be adopted for their better regulation and control, and, so far as is desirable in the public interest, to promote their co-ordinated working and development

Without attempting to anticipate the findings of the Royal Commission, it may be safe to assume that measures of co-ordination of transport agencies will be proposed, and suggestions made to avoid preferential treatment of any section at public expense. That the railways are favourable to a policy of co-operation was made evident during the progress through Parliament of the Bills conferring road powers on them. As to what is desirable and fair, I may be pardoned for quoting a detached but informed observer. Speaking as recently as October 9, Sir Henry Thornton, President of the Canadian National Railways, said:

> They [the British railways] found themselves confronted with a new form of competition, which prior to the war was quite unknown, and which threatened seriously the integrity of the British railway system, and that was the road competition None objected, nor could object, to fair competition It was fair competition which promoted progress and development, but competition must be along certain well-defined lines recognised as fair
>
> He would say first that the transport companies which used the highways of England must be subjected to such regulations as to size of vehicle and speed as would not unreasonably encroach on the rights of others who used the roads, or of the railways Secondly, those who operated those vehicles must be sufficiently sound both mentally and physically to be entrusted with the lives of passengers and the safety of goods Thirdly, it was a rule of life that one should pay for what one got, and pay reasonably. It seemed to him that those who made their money by using the highways should pay a charge which was in keeping with the use they made of that facility The railways provided at their own expense their own highways. It was unfair that other means of transport should, without adequate charge, use a road provided by the public Furthermore, it seemed to him that the securities, the rates, and the fares of the new form of transportation should be subject to exactly the same safeguards as were imposed on the older forms of transport—the railways

My forecast of the future of British railways is that they are destined for many years not only to remain in existence, but to

be the prime movers of all forms of freight and passengers. They will also provide extensive co-ordinated road and rail services. This will most certainly be the case should any Government of the future decide to nationalise the railways—a course to which one political party stands pledged. But whether nationalised or not, the best interests of a nation impoverished by war are to be served by effective use of all existing means of production, and not to incur expenditure merely to supplant one efficient system of transport by another. Railways are pre-eminently suited for the conveyance of heavy freight, and long-distance heavy or light freight and passengers.

But this forecast is conditioned by the supposition that the railways will see to it that the transport they provide will meet fully all reasonable requirements and, in particular, that it is rapid, reliable, door-to-door, and cheap

Many examples might be given of the fact that the railways are fully alive to their obligations in these matters. As regards the passengers, while it is true that in some instances the level of ordinary fares is at present higher than by road transport, this is not universally the case, while the railways have the advantage of speed. The standard of comfort in rail travel is increasing, outstanding examples being the London, Midland and Scottish Company's 'Royal Scot' train and the London and North Eastern Company's Pullman train There is also a general tendency to increase the average speed of trains and to reduce fares. As regards speed, the Great Western Railway has led the way, and there is no physical difficulty in the way of very high speeds if demanded by the public, but the greater the speed the greater must be the cost and risk. Possibly those who favour very rapid transport may take to the air!

As regards freight, there have been many post-war developments Already by means of express freight trains there are services between towns 200 or 300 miles apart whereby merchandise is regularly delivered on the day following that on which it is collected. The future trend of events will be for this kind of service to become the standard. The nature of other developments is indicated by the provision of 'containers' to enable goods to be sent without elaborate packing from a factory or shop to destination Associated with this there will be extensive developments of collection and delivery services giving door-to-door transit, while, in the country, lorry services serving wide areas are becoming increasingly numerous. Then there are systems of railhead delivery, under which goods for a particular area are conveyed in bulk to a centre and then distributed by the railway company to various retailers. In all these matters railway and road will increasingly work in combination.

Freight rates are constantly under review, and there is and will be greater disposition to base railway rates, like road rates, on the cost of service, instead of on a classification of goods, which takes into consideration relative values and capacity to pay. Freights for export coal, iron, agricultural produce, etc., are to be reduced under the Government's forthcoming rating relief scheme, and, although any benefit that may accrue to the railways can only come in the form of increased traffic, the companies are glad to co-operate in this effort to stimulate productive industry. Under the Government scheme the railways will receive rate relief to the extent of about 4,000,000*l*. per annum. Every penny of that sum is to be passed on to industry in the form of reduced railway freight charges. Industry will thus get not only its own rate relief but also the rate relief to which the railway companies might fairly claim to be entitled, and when it is remembered that the Great Western Railway alone has hitherto paid more than 50 per cent. of the total poor rate levied *in thirty-seven parishes through which its lines pass*, it will be realised that in agreeing to pass on their share of relief of rates the railway companies are doing a very ' big ' thing.

In other directions there will be continuous research to improve railway services and to reduce cost. Schemes of electrification of railways are bound to result from the carrying into effect of the Government measures for provision of cheap electric power. Electrification, especially in London and large towns, will enable the railways to develop what Americans call ' air rights ' and to build valuable property where to-day there are expensive roofs covering only platforms, lines, etc The steam locomotive, however, is vastly more efficient than it was a few years ago Given an increase in the maximum axle load (the Great Western is now in advance of other British lines in having a 22 ton 10 cwt maximum), much can be accomplished New forms of locomotives may also appear, consuming oil or pulverised fuel, while turbo-electric and other types may prove to be useful commercial assets. One thing is certain—in all departments of the railway service there will be continuous effort to reduce operating costs Last year expenditure on railway working amounted to 161,010,554*l*., and with so vast a business there must be many directions in which economies can be effected by introducing more labour-saving appliances or improvements of one kind and another Waste must be eliminated, and in this connexion it is to be hoped that some remedy may be found for the waste represented by the empty haulage incidental to our system of privately-owned rolling stock, by the continued use of small capacity mineral wagons, and by the time taken to load and unload railway vehicles of all descriptions. No doubt the ' Standing Committee

on Mineral Transport set up by the Government some two years ago will make useful suggestions with this object in view.

One of the best guarantees for the future prosperity of the railways is to be found in the spirit of co-operation which is manifesting itself among the employees. Conferences have been held between representatives of the management and the men for the purpose of improving the general position of the railways, and committees for the consideration of suggestions made by members of the staff were never previously so busy as they are to-day. There is a growing realisation of identity of interest between the men and the service they are associated with, of which the recent voluntary acceptance by the whole of the staff of a percentage reduction of salaries and wages was an outstanding expression.

The present times are admittedly trying for the railway companies, but the main trouble is the great decline in freight revenue consequent upon the present low ebb to which the 'heavy' industries of the country have fallen, an outstanding example being the case of coal.

This condition of industry is, we hope, only a passing phase. Railways are not dependent on any one industry, but on the commercial prosperity of the country as a whole. We are living in an age of rapid scientific development which may revolutionise certain branches of industry; but if we believe that our country will maintain its commercial position, and with a moderate revival of trade, the future of British railways can be faced with confidence.

FELIX J. C. POLE.

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE

THE present scheme of National Health Insurance in this country originated with the Act of 1911, described as 'an Act to provide for insurance against loss of health and the prevention and cure of sickness, and for purposes incidental thereto' In its earliest complexion the movement was unfortunately a mere piece of electioneering propaganda, summed up in the famous and mendacious slogan, which was supposed to recommend it to voters, that *9d* worth of benefit was to be procurable for the expenditure of *4d*. Its two chief sponsors were a very agile and adroit politician and a professor of anatomy, who, though he possessed medical diplomas, had never practised medicine and was not by any personal experience qualified to give expert advice upon the medical questions involved in the scheme.

While the motives alleged as promoting that legislation were admirable, the actual provisions of the Act fell far short of securing the achievement of the purpose cited It is unfortunate that political considerations have continued to influence the operation of the Act ; they have rendered National Health Insurance, as I maintain, the illusory thing it still is, and have largely contributed to the profound dissatisfaction both of doctors who operate the Act and of patients who are its victims While the principle of National Health Insurance is beyond criticism, and is accepted nowadays as entirely proper and necessary, the means actually adopted are very open to controversy The opinion is widely prevalent that an equivalent expenditure otherwise directed might produce a much greater benefit to the public health, and it is that thesis that I propose to develop

The present scheme of National Health Insurance is on a compulsory and contributory basis 'Persons who are required to be insured are, subject to certain exceptions, those who are between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five, who are employed under a contract of service in manual labour, or in non-manual labour at a rate of remuneration not exceeding 250*l* a year.' The total number of persons entitled to medical benefit now (1927–28) approaches 14,000,000 for England alone. The cost of the scheme is shared between the insured persons, their employers, and the

national Exchequer. The revenue is derived in the first instance from weekly contributions paid partly by the worker and partly by the employer by means of health insurance stamps affixed to contribution cards, the rate of contribution being 1*s.* 6*d.* per week in the case of men, of which 9*d.* is payable by the employer and 9*d.* by the worker, and 1*s.* 1*d* in the case of women, of which 7*d.* is payable by the employer and 6*d.* by the worker.

In the memorandum explanatory of the National Health Insurance Bill of 1928, which subsequently became the Act, it is stated that no change is made in the rates of contributions payable by employers or employed, and the liability of the Exchequer towards the cost of the scheme remains at one seventh of the cost of benefits and administration in the case of men, and one fifth in the case of women. The original conception has, however, been very materially changed and complicated by the addition of the pension scheme through the operation of the 'Widows, Orphans, and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act,' 1928 With this part of the subject I do not propose to deal. The total income under the National Health Insurance Fund, England, for the year ending December 31, 1927, including Exchequer grants, was over 33,000,000*l* It will thus be seen that the sums dealt with under national insurance are very large indeed.

The scheme of National Health Insurance is grievously complicated by the circumstances of the 'approved society' system. The Report of the Royal Commission of 1924 points out how large a part of the administration of the Act of 1911 was entrusted to these societies, and this circumstance has—in the opinion of medical men, at any rate—greatly vitiated the usefulness of the Act. Two main statutory conditions constitute a claim to be regarded as an approved society under this definition: (i) that the society shall not be conducted for profit; (ii) that its constitution shall provide for its affairs being subject to the absolute control of its members The approved societies, therefore, are of many different types, the chief being the friendly societies (with or without branches), trade unions, societies formed by industrial assurance companies, or collecting societies, etc. At the time of the Commission's Report (1926) there were 886 approved societies in England, 94 in Scotland, and 40 in Wales; but with their branches the actual number of units administering this system in 1926 was 7876. The individual membership of these societies differs enormously. At the date cited, for example, there were 70 societies in England each with less than 100 members, and 24 societies each with over 50,000 members, and two societies each with over 1,000,000 members. It will be seen how haphazard and confused this part of the system has become, and it is at once obvious that the political power

wielded by these societies is very great indeed. This factor has, in the opinion of medical critics, exercised a disastrous effect in deflecting the operation of the Act from the goal set out in the preamble cited above—namely, the prevention and cure of sickness, which is obviously the ideal to be aimed at ; and the term ' National Health Insurance ' carries that implication. But in its operation since its inception it has remained simply ' National Sickness Insurance.' The disastrous effect of this political influence of the approved societies is evidenced by the statement made by Sir Kingsley Wood, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Health, in the debate in the House of Commons on April 3 this year, when he said :

> . . the reason why the specialist services [recommended by the Royal Commission] have not been put into operation is simply and only the consistent and determined attitude which, for reasons which they may consider perfectly right and proper, the approved societies have maintained on the matter

The Royal Commission in fact found that if the approved societies would come to an agreement and pool certain of their funds, that scheme (for provision of specialist services) could be put into immediate operation without any further addition whatever, either by way of extra contributions or by way of State assistance.

Unfortunately in its primary conception the scope of ' medical benefit ' was limited to what has been somewhat unhappily called ' general practitioner treatment.' Some definitions of these terms may be given from the regulations now in force. Medical benefit is defined as ' medical treatment and attendance,' which ' includes the provision of proper and sufficient medicines and of the prescribed medical and surgical appliances ' ' The treatment which a practitioner is required to give to his patients comprises all proper and necessary medical services other than those involving the application of special skill and experience of a degree or kind which general practitioners as a class cannot reasonably be expected to possess '

Benefits passing beyond these limits are classed under the general term ' additional benefits,' and are distributed by the approved societies. They are only available to those insured persons who are members of societies having surpluses at the annual stocktaking, and only to those members who fulfil certain qualifying conditions The conferment of the benefits is entirely within the power of the society to give or withhold, consequently large classes of insured persons do not in fact receive these benefits, and there is no uniformity in their distribution. This restriction of scope of benefit to ' general practitioner treatment ' has been very widely criticised. It may be said, I think

without contradiction, that there is a fairly general consensus of opinion, well expressed by a prominent witness before the Insurance Commission of 1924,

that the present insurance service, as far as it relates to health, is defective; that the present medical service is merely a general practitioner service; and that in order to get the full benefit of the scheme . . . it is imperative . . . to extend that service to include . . . all proper aids to diagnosis, all second opinions in the way of experts . . . and certain services which we might broadly describe as curative . . . *e g*, electrical treatment, light treatment, and so on

None of these additional services has been secured as yet under the terms of the Act. The British general practitioner is by far the best-trained general practitioner in the world, and if he were given an entirely free hand in his treatment of insured persons criticism would be very much less called for. But his liberty of action in dealing with insured persons as compared with private patients is limited in numberless ways, and no provision is available for hospital and specialist treatment, which has been secured in ever-increasing measure for other sections of the community In fact I would say that the scheme of national insurance was started in the wrong direction, and has progressed upon the wrong road, that direction being exactly opposite to the advance which the progress of medicine has made with such amazing strides during the fifteen years which have elapsed since the Act came into operation.

If one lesson has been enforced more deeply than any other by the advance of medicine, it is the essential importance of diagnosis Demosthenes, asked to name the three qualities most necessary to the political orator, repeated three times 'The quality of audacity,' and diagnosis may be similarly emphasised as the quality most necessary to the physician or surgeon of to-day It is precisely in diagnosis that the system adopted under the Act fails so conspicuously. Diagnosis is left in the hands of a single man, and the level of skill required is the lowest common denominator of a necessarily relatively low degree of medical experience The medical isolation of the general practitioner, who has been some time in practice, under our present system tends to increase, and he suffers very serious disadvantages therefrom. The circumstances of panel practice cruelly aggravate the natural tendency of the practitioner under such conditions to become obsolete in his knowledge and careless in his methods

To quote from the Commission's Report (1926), 'A large proportion of panel practitioners have few opportunities for coming into contact with those who are devoting themselves to the study and practice of particular branches of medicine and surgery and thereby extending their boundaries' The Commission strongly

recommended a system, which unfortunately has not been adopted, by which there should be reciprocal communication between the general practitioner and the specialist, and that all insured persons should be entitled, as part of the consideration for which they are paying their compulsory contributions, to enjoy hospital and specialist treatment.

Moreover, as if isolation were not a sufficient handicap, the panel practitioner is further hindered even in the exercise of his capacity, for he is overruled by countless bureaucratic regulations and encroachments upon his professional liberty. Those encroachments have become still further and much more seriously increased in the past twelve months by the operation of a very remarkable agreement which was concluded between the Ministry of Health and the dispensing chemists last year In that year, 1927–28, the total cost of medical benefit was 8,050,000*l*, of which sum 5,999,000*l*. was appropriated for the professional remuneration of the doctors working the Act The Drug Fund, as it is called—that is to say, the amount produced by the allotment of 2*s*. 10*d* for 'drugs' per head for each person—totals over 2,000,000*l* Prior to 1927 the Drug Fund had always been overdrawn In 1927 the Ministry of Health, no doubt anxious to avoid the recurrent unwelcome demonstration thus afforded of the essential insolvency of the Drug Fund, concluded an agreement with the dispensing chemists by which the Drug Fund, now for the first time strictly limited in amount, has to provide a working profit for the chemists first, and the sum available for drugs and appliances for the insured is rigidly limited to what is thus left over All the great medical organisations stoutly declare that they were never consulted as to this agreement. A leader in the *British Medical Journal* of September 29, 1928, describes it as 'dangerous and undesirable' The Conference of Panel Committees held last year (October 1927) recorded a unanimous resolution that the agreement was 'against public policy.' It would seem clear, therefore, that this agreement was forced upon the great body of panel practitioners without their knowledge or consent, a procedure which is surely the very worst method of securing the cordial co-operation of the men who are responsible in the last instance for the working of the Act Obviously it is only equitable that, inasmuch as the chemists are now responsible for overdrafts upon the Drug Fund, they should have some means of controlling expenditure under this fund, machinery has accordingly come into existence which enables the chemists to exercise this control; and the chemist is exhorted by his official societies to do so. I have before me a circular issued by such a society to chemists from which I quote:

Do not forget that economy is absolutely necessary if chemists are to maintain their rate of payment. Money saved now remains in the Drug Fund for distribution to chemists. . . . Report to the secretary of your pharmaceutical committee all instances of extravagance in prescribing of whatever kind. . . . Report to the secretary of your pharmaceutical committee all the cases you have of regular drug takers under the Act, giving name of patient and of doctor with period over which supplies have been obtained from you. . . . Remember that if you express a wish to that effect your name need not be used in connection with any reports you make.

It will be seen that the chemist is here encouraged to submit a *secret* report upon the doctor's prescribing! The machinery thus set in motion is exceedingly complicated. The chemist's report, transmitted to the pharmaceutical committee, is considered by that body, who make representations to the Ministry of Health, which applies to the Pricing Bureau for a digest of the incriminated doctor's prescriptions over a certain period, and if they are judged to be 'excessive' the regional medical officer may be instructed to call upon the doctor thus charged with extravagance. This officer again reports to the Ministry, and if the Ministry regards the report as unsatisfactory it calls upon the panel committee, consisting of local medical practitioners, to make an investigation. The panel committee in turn reports to the insurance committee, consisting of over 90 per cent. of laymen. The insurance committee, conscious of the new circumstances by which losses on the Drug Fund are sustained by the chemist, cannot fail to be thereby influenced in supporting the claim of the chemists to be protected, and the practitioner is fined sufficiently heavily to make him unwilling to repeat the offence. The panel practitioner, who ha[illegible] many anxious months during which he has been submitted [illegible]ndless inquiries, and who has paid a substantial fine in money[illegible] well, will thereafter probably subside into the *rôle*, which is [illegible]st for him by bureaucracy, of an automatic distributor of the harmless and inexpensive formulæ suggested for his use by an official pharmacopœia, issued under the auspices of the pharmaceutical committee as affording him protection against any likely charge of 'extravagant prescribing.' The gravamen of my criticism is that a body, the insurance committee, overwhelmingly lay in composition, is thus in a position to judge finally a professional man upon his professional practice, a subject of which the large majority of members of that committee are necessarily ignorant. Public opinion would, I think, condemn this system as emphatically as medical men have condemned it. Thus *The Times* in a leader of August 24 last, commenting upon these features of panel practice, said:

His freedom to treat his patients according to the dictates of his knowledge and experience is a doctor's most valued and most valuable possession. To compel him to justify or to explain the exercise of that freedom is to limit it in a way which may easily become dangerous to his patients.

I have said that the trend of medical practice at the present time is in the direction of improved means of diagnosis and the provision of modern methods of treatment which follow upon that diagnosis. In those modern methods the 'bottle of medicine' has receded further and further from its ancient position of authority, but in panel practice it is the 'bottle of medicine' which is often the only means of treatment at the disposal of the panel practitioner, and, as I have shown, the contents of that bottle are ultimately determined, not by the prescriber's desire, experience or knowledge, but by the considerations of economy which present themselves to the chemist when he dispenses the prescription, for by the bargain of 1927 the chemists are directly and financially interested in dispensing only the cheapest medicines One of the most mischievous aspects of this position is that the public are encouraged to place continued faith in the 'bottle of medicine,' the contents of which are mostly ineffective; the waste entailed by this valueless drug consumption approximates 2,000,000*l* a year Moreover, in very many cases still ore precious time is wasted in this useless treatment, when, if the se were properly diagnosed and efficient treatment given, cures ight result which with this waste of time become impossible by ason of the advance of disease beyond the limits of medical intervention [illegible] Surely diagnosis ought always to precede treatment! In e enc[illegible]us majority of cases of panel practice treatment is given, id c[illegible]nued for long periods, upon a diagnosis which is necesrily [illegible]xtremely inadequate, and therefore not infrequently rone[illegible]us The sole bulwark which has prevented the present surance system from crumbling to the ground is the assistance ow afforded to insured patients by the voluntary hospitals This sistance is not in any way secured to the patients by the Act; deed, it is essentially fortuitous in its incidence, and largely atuitous, on the part of the hospitals Evidence placed before e Royal Commission repeatedly drew attention to 'the fact that e treatment of insured persons by insurance practitioners is complete because it is not satisfactorily linked up with provision r treatment in hospitals.' It was emphasised that 'owing to rious causes no payment whatever was made from insurance nds in respect of a large proportion of those insured persons who ceive in-patient treatment in hospitals; that even in the case those who made contributions the contributions formed only a rt of the average cost per bed; that no payment was made

in respect of the general out-patient work.' The experience of a group of hospitals in Sheffield, as reported to the Commission, is illuminating. In 1923 the cost to those hospitals of treatment of insured persons was 28,870*l.*, while the total amount received from insurance funds for the same period was only 4300*l.* But even this assistance, which is voluntary at the present moment, is in danger of being disturbed if the voluntary hospitals come, as is now so seriously threatened, under bureaucratic control. In that event the most—and, in my opinion, indeed the only—efficient medical benefit under the Insurance Act would disappear.

The importance of extension of medical benefit to include hospital and specialist services was very clearly brought out by the inquiry into the working of the Insurance Acts conducted by the Royal Commission appointed in 1924. Unfortunately some of the major recommendations of this Commission have been defeated by the opposition of the approved societies, even although the Ministry of Health had supported these recommendations of the Commission. The present position, therefore, is that hospital and specialist treatment, which is the natural supplement to general practitioner treatment, is not provided by the Act, and the partial provision of these services for the moment contributed by the willingness of the voluntary hospitals to fill the breach would in all probability disappear if the voluntary hospital system were abolished In that event all the National Health Insurance services would come under direct bureaucratic control As has been demonstrated by the march of events under the partial control now exercised by Government departments, a singularly complicated machinery of committees has come into being, and the practitioner is ever increasingly harassed by officialism anxious to justify its existence by multiplying inquiries and investigations into his practice, which are usually both needless and irritating. The irony of the situation is increased by the fact that the Minister of Health retains a complete autocracy, he may ignore all these elaborate investigations, and by his own simpl fiat he may dismiss a practitioner from the panel, and no appea against the decision is open to the practitioner, who, when s removed, is not admissible to the panel again in any part of th country without the consent of the Minister.

The blight of 'red tape' has overspread the present adminis tration, and its extension into regions now free from its operatio is not to be encouraged.

Side by side with the system of National Health Insuranc which, as I have pointed out, is State-aided and compulsory, ther has grown up another system of voluntary medical insuranc originating with the voluntary hospitals and largely conduct by them. That system begins, I submit, with the right method

approach—that is, diagnosis precedes treatment and is conducted by the specially expert staff provided by the voluntary hospitals, which attract the best minds in the profession. It is comparatively rare for the patient to be seen by only one person; he is usually examined by several, and a co-ordination of opinions results in a better grasp of the cause of the disease than is possible with a single diagnosis, however experienced. Of recent years the voluntary hospitals have developed a system of what may be called 'voluntary insurance,' very aptly described in the following clause from the report of the Pay Beds Committee of King Edward's Hospital Fund for London:

> Many of the patients are no longer regarded, either by the hospital or by themselves, as destitute persons who can only be the passive recipients of charity They are invited to co-operate towards their own assistance and the assistance of their fellows by contributing according to their means when in hospital, and by subscribing towards the maintenance and even the extension of the hospital, or hospital system, whose services they may some day need We have already referred to the development of contributory schemes such as the Hospital Saving Association, whereby large numbers of persons within the ordinary hospital income limits provide in advance, by a kind of mutual insurance, the funds with which to cover their maintenance if and when they need hospital treatment The voluntary hospital system has thus become largely a co-operative effort in which all classes of the community, including the hospital patients themselves, combine, as their means permit, to provide hospital services which produce benefits for all classes . directly for the less wealthy because without the hospital the necessary medical treatments cannot be brought within their means, and indirectly for the more wealthy because without the hospitals the necessary medical treatments would not exist During a development of this kind the line between the patients who may benefit directly and those who should only benefit indirectly need not be drawn at the same place as it was before the development began

The popularity of the services thus rendered by the voluntary hospitals may be gauged by the fact that every voluntary hospital has a continually extending waiting list of patients desiring to submit themselves for treatment, and inasmuch as this method of treatment follows the trend of medical advance it is likely to become increasingly popular, especially with those of the better educated sections of the community Some months ago an extremely interesting lecture was given at Oxford, the lecturer assuming the *rôle* of Isocrates returned to our modern world and making criticisms thereon One of his most pregnant sentences was to the effect that the English people managed their voluntary systems extremely well, but invariably bungled systems under State control; and that dictum applies, I think, more forcibly to medicine than to any other branch of human activities, for surely medicine flourishes best where control is least

I would suggest that the present system of National Health Insurance, which does not in fact fulfil the ideal contained in those words, should be drastically revised. It would, I think, be entirely possible to link up a system of National Health Insurance to the voluntary system which I have sketched. The ideal, it seems to me, would be to reverse exactly the present procedure, by which the diagnosis and treatment of the insured person in the vast majority of cases is left in the hands of one man, namely, the general practitioner who is the panel doctor allotted to the patient Surely it would be preferable that all the members coming under this very costly scheme of State insurance should be able to secure the advantages which those fortunate persons who come under the voluntary hospitals insurance scheme now enjoy, namely, that efficient diagnosis should precede treatment. The practitioner and his patient should without any question, and in consideration of the contributions now levied by the Act, have the advantage of expert advice in every case in which it is required. Waste of health and waste of money, now rampant under the faulty methods inseparable from the present conception of panel medical treatment, would be obviated, and the cost, I am convinced, would not be greatly in excess of the current wasteful methods, whereas the results would inevitably raise the general health, and with that the happiness of our community to the highest possible level, an achievement which the present advanced state of medicine might give reasonable promise o securing if its practitioners were given a free hand in its operation The panel practitioner should be as exempt from control in his pro fessional treatment of the panel patient as he is in the treatmen of his private patients, and a simplification of the extremely com plicated bureaucratic arrangements now enforced is urgentl called for. If the British panel practitioner were thus left fre and had automatic and unquestioned access to the specialist an hospital services as recommended by the Royal Commission, th panel practitioner would in effect act very much as the casualt medical officer now acts at a great London hospital To those wh are unfamiliar with the working of such a hospital it may perhap be explained that under modern conceptions it is becoming in creasingly important to arrest the beginnings of illness in the sma ailments which, if unchecked, lead to greater evils. The gre mass of persons seeking treatment at the voluntary hospitals as a rule first effectively sifted out in the casualty departmen where a rough-and-ready classification is made of the patients they come for inspection, and as a result of the rapid diagnosis th carried out the patients are sent on to the departments dealin with the special trouble for which relief is sought if specialist trea ment is considered necessary. If an effective nexus could be esta

ished between panel practitioners and the voluntary hospitals, his sifting out of the material coming to a hospital would be argely effected by the panel practitioner, and the work of the iospital would be materially lightened by the much larger body if assistance in the sifting which would be thus provided. There uld, of course, have to be some machinery for receiving this ge addition of patients at the hospitals in the first years of the eriment, but I think the eventual result would be to free the rk of the great hospitals from their present congestion with ior ailments and to leave the staff free to deal with the more ious cases of disease requiring institutional treatment This uld incidentally leave the consulting staff more time to devote mselves to the teaching of students, which is becoming ever re and more a pressing need as the boundaries of medicine arge. There would have to be also a much more complete chinery than at present exists for keeping in touch with praconers sending cases for diagnosis ; and the immensely benel effect of a close and intimate association with hospital prac- on the practitioner would very quickly be evident As I have itioned, the isolation of a panel practitioner under present ditions was adversely criticised by the Royal Commission. s isolation would largely disappear, and with a saner view on part both of patients and practitioners as to the medical treatit which is of real value the melancholy fetish of the ' bottle of licine ' would also gradually disappear It is unfortunately case that larger quantities of mostly valueless drugs are conied by our people per head of population than in any other rter of the civilised world, and this mischievous tendency is ially on the increase Panel practitioners are finding that their ients are coming more and more frequently for medicine ply because they conceive themselves entitled to have it and because they really require it, and a most foolish wave of tudinarianism is thus set moving Perhaps we may see in the tinually extended resort to unqualified practice—and especi- to those forms of it which boast that they use a ' drugless licine '—a reaction which may even be described as healthy n this unhappy reliance upon drugs alone

These charges which I have very briefly foreshadowed of course ime a continued existence of the voluntary hospital system, and, ed, a very wide extension of the functions now performed by system That the voluntary system is deeply rooted in the ctions of the community cannot, I think, be seriously quesed, but even the voice of the people is sometimes helpless to i the tide of encroachment of Government departments in every c of life The Lord Chief Justice has given a humorous sketch hat he conceives may be the ultimate fate in the domain of law

when verdicts will be given, not by the bench of judges, but by 'an obscure Government department in a third-floor back.' There is, I submit, no activity of our modern national life in which the dominance of bureaucratic control would be more disastrous than in the administration of national health, and the menace to the voluntary hospitals which is at present in the air, if actually effective, would bring all sections of medical men working the Insurance Act under bureaucratic control, by which development all the present blots upon the National Health Insurance system would be deepened and intensified. It seems to me of such primary importance to avoid this catastrophe, and the improvement of the national health is so essential a need of our community, faced as it is by an ever-declining birth-rate, that no effort should be spared in devising the very best methods of prevention and cure of sickness that modern medical science supplies. In two letters to *The Times*—September 13 and 22, 1928—I have ventured to express the hope that a general inquiry may forthwith be set on foot into the methods of improving the national health services, whether by the medium of a Royal Commission, which is the fashionable method of investigation at the present time, or by other means, I do not feel competent to decide, but that such inquiry is called for I have no doubt whatever.

E GRAHAM LITTLE

HOW LONG WILL REPARATION LAST?

If anyone knew how long German reparation payments will last, or what total capital sum Germany will pay in discharge of its reparation debt, he would have in his possession the pass key to the immediate future of international finance. Mr. S. Parker Gilbert, the Agent-General for Reparation Payments, in his report of June 7, 1928, has put his immense influence behind the suggestion that such a key should be made. 'The fundamental problem which remains,' he writes, 'is the final determination of Germany's reparation liabilities.' It is his belief 'that it will be n the best interests of the creditor Powers and of Germany alike o reach a final settlement by mutual agreement "as soon," to ise the concluding words of the Experts, "as circumstances make his possible"'

Not the least evidence of Mr. Gilbert's adept perspicacity is hat he raises this fundamental remaining problem at exactly he right time On September 1, 1928, Germany began payment f the standard annuity under the Experts' (Dawes) Plan. The nly question as to ability to meet the increased payment to ,500,000,000 gold marks lay in the budgetary quota, which in he previous annuity was already assured because the revenues ssigned to meet it were yielding more than twice the amount of he required budget contribution. The testing period of the Plan ad thus met expectations. Only increases in payments due o operation of the 'prosperity index' are henceforth possible. he present is, therefore, both the earliest and the most appropriate time for determining how many annuities Germany shall ay or, alternatively, what the capital sum of the reparation ebt shall be.

Recognition of the ripeness of the moment for a new consideration of the problem came without delay. The negotiations t Geneva of the interested States during the Ninth Assembly of ie League of Nations, but outside its purview, resulted in a esh step on September 16. Then it was decided really to seek settlement of the problem of the occupied regions in the direction anticipatory evacuation. By the Treaty, fixation of the paration debt is a *sine quâ non* of evacuation. The agreement

between Belgium, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, anc Japan was to open negotiations on the evacuation of the Rhine land and

2. On the necessity of a complete and definitive regulation of th problem of reparations and of the constitution for attaining this objec of a commission of financial experts, appointed by the six Government

The question of evacuation of the Rhineland has for some tim been the most important sentimental demand of a great Europea country. Fixation of reparation is the most important out standing economic question They are tied together in thei origin by the Treaty of Peace. To consider them together is th best method of reaching a solution of each, for simultaneou negotiation on both is calculated to facilitate decisions in eithe direction.

The long period of political tinkering with reparation befor economic common sense was applied in the Experts' Plan, and th London Agreement of August 31, 1924, left a mass of undigeste decisions which must be revalued or reconciled before the fina fixation of Germany's reparation liabilities can occur In th presence of reparation complications even the precision of high grade economic thought frequently loses its way, so that it is nc unreasonable to assume that this remaining problem—which largely political—will be considerably obfuscated by the tenaciou clinging to pet theories To state the elements of the problem a they now lie is the purpose of this paper

In order more clearly to direct attention to the single proble of determining the total German liability, it is not intended her to give any consideration to various problems which have bee much discussed It is assumed that Germany can pay th annuities in the future as it has in the past, and that the pro portional increase due to operation of the 'prosperity index may play the part contemplated by the Dawes Committee. I is assumed that the recipients can take the money or deliverie in kind or capital acquisitions representing their quotas of th annuities. It is assumed that reparation is the one internation debt least likely to be scaled down as a matter of accommodatio and that it will be regarded as an underlying fixture in an adjustments of inter-Allied debts. The solution of those problem is collateral with the examination of the specific question unde discussion.

A surprising number of people are of the opinion that repara tion will run over a period of sixty-two years, being coextensiv with the life of the settlements reached as to the inter-Allie debts. Many even are under the impression that the sixty-tw years debt period, which is common to both the American an

non-American settlements, was borrowed from the reparation system. As a matter of fact, that period in connexion with international indebtedness was hit upon for actuarial reasons by the Washington Government in adjusting its own settlements, and was copied by other creditor States in order to keep their arrangements in step with the American dominating decision. Doubtless the reason for its generalisation was the obvious one of facilitating reconsideration of the whole network of indebtedness, if or when the United States would agree to such a step. But a sixty-two years period has no standing whatever with respect to reparation annuities, and it will be seen that there are reasons for concluding that it is scarcely practicable to apply it to reparation.

In order to get an authentic view of the time element of reparation, which will have to be decided in due course, a brief review of the official contradictions which exist will prove to be informatory.

The first indication as to length of time over which reparation payments are to be spread is the fourth paragraph of Art. 233 of the Treaty of Versailles. The article provides that the Reparation Commission shall consider claims and notify ' the findings of the Commission as to the amount of damage defined as above ' to the German Government. The fourth paragraph continues:

> The Commission shall concurrently draw up a schedule of payments prescribing the time and manner for securing and discharging the entire obligation within a period of thirty years from May 1, 1921. If, however, within the period mentioned, Germany fails to discharge her obligations, any balance remaining unpaid may, within the discretion of the Commission, be postponed for settlement in subsequent years, or may be handled otherwise in such manner as the Allied and Associated Governments, acting in accordance with the provisions laid down in this Part of the present Treaty, shall determine

By the next article the Commission ' shall have discretion to extend the date, and to modify the form of payments . . . ; but not to cancel any part, except with the specific authority of the several Governments represented upon the Commission ' It is the clear intention of this language that the reparation debt shall be either fully discharged or fully secured by May 1, 1951 However, the English text is slightly stronger than the French, where the word *acquittement* conveys a hint of both ' securing ' and ' discharging,' without exactly expressing either thought. But 1951 is just as clearly not an absolute date. Any balance unpaid may be postponed to ' subsequent years ' by the Commission, which also may ' extend the dates,' by which, one gathers from the French text, is meant ' *la période* ' of thirty years.

The Schedule of Payments of May 5, 1921, which purported to fix the capital amount of the German obligation, throws

further darkness on the problem of the total sum. If the Schedule actually had fixed an amount, all would be plain sailing, and only the relatively easy problem of determining whether payment represented principal or principal *and interest* would have remained.

But the Schedule of Payments provides several puzzles. It stipulates that 'the total fixed in accordance with . . . the Treaty of Versailles' is 132,000,000,000 gold marks, *less* and *plus* amounts to be determined later by the Commission. The *plus* item is the Belgian debt to the Allies, fixed by December 31, 1922, at 5,624,000,000 gold marks, and this is being liquidated as a prior charge under the Experts' (Dawes) Plan, ranking after external debt, personnel and occupation charges. The deductions in the Schedule were—(1) the amounts already paid 'on account of reparation,' (2) the value of State property in ceded territory not then credited, and (3) 'any sums received from other enemy or ex-enemy Powers in respect of which the Commission may decide that credits should be given to Germany.'

No adequate determination of the significance of the last clause exists, but several facts bearing upon its meaning are available The first article of the reparation part of the four Treaties of Peace says :

> Germany [Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria] accepts the responsibility of Germany [Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria] and her allies for causing the loss and damage to which the Allied and Associated Governments and their nationals have been subjected as a consequence of the war imposed upon them by the aggression of Germany [Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria] and her allies.

By the second article of the respective parts, 'the Allied and Associated Governments recognise that the resources of Germany [Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria] are not adequate . . . to make complete reparation for such loss and damage.'

It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the 132,000,000,000 gold marks of the Schedule of Payments represent the reparation debt, not only of Germany, but also of Austria, Bulgaria, and Hungary. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the claims on which the Schedule was developed, submitted to the Reparation Commission as of February 12, 1921, included loss and damage incurred by the other three belligerents, and possibly, in the case of Greece, by Turkey as well. Moreover, the Reparation Commission has ruled—and the Allied Finance Ministers stipulated in their agreement of March 11, 1922—that, under the Schedule of Payments, receipts from reparation debtors other than Germany shall serve to cancel bonds of series C.

By the Schedule of Payments Germany delivered bonds as follows to the Reparation Commission :

A. On July 1, 1921, coupon bonds for 12,000,000,000 gold arks, against which 6 per cent. annually (720,000,000 gold marks) hall be paid,' of which amount 5 per cent. interest on outanding bonds is payable, 'and the balance to sinking fund for e redemption of the bonds by annual drawings at par.' (Amorsation would require some thirty-seven years)

B. On November 1, 1921, coupon bonds for 38,000,000,000 ld marks, against which 6 per cent. annually (2,280,000,000 gold marks) 'shall be paid,' of which amount 5 per cent. interest on outstanding bonds is payable, 'and the balance to sinking fund for the redemption of the bonds by annual drawings at par.' (Amortisation would require some thirty-seven years.)

C. On November 1, 1921, bonds, without coupons attached, 'for 82,000,000,000 gold marks, subject to such subsequent adjustment by creation or cancellation of bonds as may be required under Art 1,' which specifies the additions and deductions noted above *These bonds 'shall be issued by the Commission as and* when it is satisfied that the payments which Germany undertakes to make in pursuance of this agreement are sufficient to provide for the payment of interest and sinking fund on such bonds,' which would presumably amount to 4,920,000,000 gold marks.

It will be noted that the stipulated service on series A and B bonds amounts annually to 3,000,000,000 gold marks, which is 500,000,000 more than the standard payment under the Experts' Plan. Since the payments under the plan are currently reduced by nearly 350,000,000 marks annually for expenses and prior charges, it follows that the actual German contribution to eparation liquidation now effectively meets only two-thirds of what is in reality the Treaty stipulation, for the Schedule of Payments is technically a part of the Treaty of Versailles. As things now stand, Germany falls behind from year to year theoretically. That, of course, is an impossible situation, considering that Germany, according to the terms of the effective Experts' Plan and all its subsidiary machinery, is actually solvent and paying n full 'all amounts for which Germany may be liable.' Obviously his contradictory condition requires another bit of thinking.

Fortunately the condition is theoretical only. To be sure, the Reparation Commission holds 132,000,000,000 gold marks' worth of German bonds, of which 50,000,000,000 are technically issued, piling up theoretical interest and subject to amortisation. As a natter of fact, the issued bonds are not being liquidated. Immediately after their issuance some 400,000 gold marks' worth of hem were drawn for cancellation, but were not actually cancelled. Both series remain intact with the Reparation Commission, according to latest available reports. In terms of the bonds Germany *has been paying reparation since 1921 without*

taking the receipt of cancelled bonds. Both Germany and the Reparation Commission have been wise enough economically not to establish a record on the basis of the Schedule of Payments. As a consequence, the amount and terms of series A and B bonds under the conditions of the Schedule do not provide a practical and fiscal basis for computing either the amount which Germany will pay or the time in which it will be paid.

The amount of series A and B bonds that could be cancelled is considerable. As of September 1, 1928, official Reparation Commission figures enable us to make the following table of credits to Germany for the whole period of reparation:

	Gold Marks
Value of ceded property	2,553,905,000
Years 1920 and 1921	3,970,835,000
Year 1922	1,402,685,936
Ruhr period, January 11, 1923—August 31, 1924	894,230,569
First annuity, September 1, 1924—August 31, 1925	1,000,000,000
Second annuity, September 1, 1925—August 31, 1926	1,220,000,000
Third annuity, September 1, 1926—August 31, 1927	1,500,000,000
Fourth annuity, September 1, 1927—August 31, 1928	1,750,000,000
	14,291,656,505

The last published balance-sheet of the Reparation Commission, that of December 31, 1922, shows 'pre-reparation obligations to April 30, 1921,' as amounting to 3,535,868,000 gold marks. Assuming, rashly, that no further adjustments have taken place in that account, the total paid by Germany since May 1, 1921—that is, applicable for the cancellation of bonds—would be some 10,756,000,000 gold marks.

If it were of record that such a sum had been applied to amortisation of German Treasury bonds of series A, a definite answer to the question of how long reparation will last might be found. But no such record exists. In the statement of the capital debt on December 31, 1922, A bonds 'due to be amortised as at May 1, 1922,' were deducted to the amount of 120,000,000 gold marks, or 1 per cent. However, no amortisation was effected Moreover, that statement included 3,070,095,000 gold marks as 'balance of debt not covered by bonds,' the final closing of which was to be 'either by further C bonds or by a part of those already issued.'

The operation of series A and B bonds is the device for finally settling the German debt which is at once the most normal and easy to use, subject to adjustment of the total amount. The bonds are issued under treaty, so that basing the settlement on them would involve a regularity of procedure especially attractive to some of the creditors. The two series have a nominal total

f 50,000,000,000 gold marks, which 5 per cent. interest in-
eases. If the reparation already paid were credited to reduce
is total, the remaining bonds could probably be completely
anaged, interest and sinking fund, with the income from the
xperts' Plan.

As already stated, series C bonds, unissued, were earmarked
the Schedule of Payments for the liquidation of 'any sums
eceived from other enemy or ex-enemy Powers in respect of
hich the Commission may decide that credits should be given
o Germany.' Though the Commission has not officially gone on
ecord to that effect, the presumption is clear from the treaties
hat reparation is a joint liability of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria
nd Hungary, and not solely a German liability. The Bulgarian
eparation is fixed by the Treaty of Neuilly at 2,250,000,000 gold
rancs, and is being amortised Austrian reparation was granted
twenty years moratorium in 1922 Hungary enjoys a partial
noratorium, but is paying a minimum of 200,000,000 gold crowns
n the twenty years 1924–43. The Austro-Hungarian, the
Austrian, and the Hungarian pre-war secured debts have been
dentified by the Reparation Commission as amounting to about
3,500,000,000 pre-war crowns, and the Austrian and Hungarian
unsecured debts to about 14,500,000,000 crowns, presumably
paper Most of these amounts have been allocated among the
succession States, but no final record of the Austrian and Hun-
garian net obligations is available

Art 11 of a financial agreement between the Finance Ministers
of the Allies signed at Paris, March 11, 1922, provided that 'the
Reparation Commission will fix the reparation debt of Austria
and Hungary' at not less than the total value of the properties
transferred by them under the Treaties of St. Germain and
Trianon 'plus six milliards of gold marks' When series C bonds
'have been created,' bonds equal to the nominal value of the
total Austrian, Bulgarian, and Hungarian debts shall be 'dis-
tributed among the Powers participating in reparation in pro-
portion to' the Spa percentages. The change of the total from
a joint liability to a series of several liabilities is apparently
provided for

At one time there was a general disposition on the part of the
Reparation Commission to credit against series C bonds accounts
in dispute which had finally been settled. The Allies claimed
damage for shipping losses at about 890 gold marks per ton;
they credited receipts from Germany at around 160 gold marks
per ton. The Reparation Commission re-figured the credit due
to Germany at an average of 346 marks per ton. The Allied
Finance Ministers in their agreement of March 11, 1922, accepted
the revision, but stipulated that the difference between their

own and the Commission's figures should be credited to Germany in series C bonds.

Series C bonds represent 164 per cent. of series A and B, which is more than Germany is now liquidating. Any final settlement must reduce this financial elastic in the reparation programme to a practical and clearly defined amount.

There are several time limits implied in the Experts' Plan. The 800,000,000 gold mark German external loan of 1924 is to be redeemed in twenty-five years. It is an integral part of the Dawes system. Though its proceeds made possible the establishment of the present Reichsbank, the receipts from it constituted four-fifths of the first annuity A loan held in ten *tranches* on the nine principal financial markets of the world so distributes public interest in its successful liquidation that it is inconceivable that any interested party would jeopardise it. Notwithstanding that the total service of the loan is only about 4 per cent. of the present total annuity, nothing could shake confidence in the whole system quicker than any attack on so widely distributed a debt

The standard annuity consists of contributions from the German budget and receipts from the transport tax, together amounting to 1,540,000,000 gold marks. The remaining 960,000,000 gold marks are derived from interest and amortisation on the German industrial debentures and the German railway bonds. Both securities amortise at the same rate.

The nominal amount of the industrial debentures is 5,000,000,000 gold marks, contributed by some 60,000 industrial undertakings, bearing 5 per cent interest. The 1 per cent sinking fund has operated from the beginning of the fourth annuity year, and will serve to amortise the debentures about the year 1965 Contributors to the debenture fund have the right to pay off their quota at any time, and there is a confident expectation that they will use this right extensively as soon as the money market in Germany makes it profitable for them to do so.

The German railway bonds are in a nominal amount of 11,000,000,000 gold marks, bearing 5 per cent. interest and 1 per cent. sinking fund, due to amortise about the year 1965. Payment of them can be anticipated, though not the same business interest attaches to their liquidation as does in the case of the industrial debentures.

These two sets of securities represent a capital amount recoverable by the reparation system of 16,000,000,000 gold marks, all of which is destined by the Plan for sale to the public The placing of some 3,809,524,000 dollars' worth of appropriate securities on international markets is therefore one of the practical

ext steps in the solution of the reparation problem and has been he basis of various plans. Assuming that the sinking fund rovisions, which are already operative, would remain undisurbed, the stipulated 5 per cent. nominal yield would indicate hat the securities could be sold only at a considerable discount utside of Germany. One suggestion made is that the reparation reditors should divide the securities on the basis of their reparaion percentages and market them internally in their own counries Another conceivable method would be for the creditor to ise his quota as security for an internal capital loan, to be liquilated proportionately by the German receipts Whatever scheme night be adopted, it is fairly certain that the 1 per cent sinking und will remain, and that this portion of the reparation debt vill consequently continue in some form of existence for something over thirty-seven more years

The most definite time limitation in the reparation system—one specifically stated and not subject to financial anticipation—s the limit to the life of the Reichsbank As a bank of issue, according to the Experts' Plan and the Reich law of August 30, 1924, it continues for fifty years No one can doubt after reading Section VI. and Annex 1 of the Experts' Plan that the Reichsbank s a basic element in the whole scheme of reparation payment as now constituted 'The definitive act of the German Government n meeting its financial obligations under the Plan' is the payment in gold marks or their equivalent in German currency into the bank of issue to the credit of the Agent for Reparation Payments.' The bank is the Government's fiscal agent and depository, the reparation funds being kept by law in a special account subjected to elaborate safeguards. To examine in detail the prescribed functions of the bank would only multiply the evidence that, as established, it is an integral part of the reparation system, which could not continue without it

The fifty years' life of the Reichsbank is very effectively fixed by the law, which gives it 'for a period of fifty years the exclusive right to issue bank notes in Germany' After the lapse of this right 'the Reich shall be entitled, subject to one year's notice, to dissolve the Reichsbank' Obviously a bank of issue without a right to issue could not exist, and it is to be noted that, though the Allied reparation authorities revised the draft law before approving it, they left the dissolution of the bank entirely in the discretion of Germany, without attempting to give themselves any say in the matter. The Germans thus have the full right to make the Reichsbank solely a bank of issue after fifty years.

It may therefore be safely contended that the legal life of the bank is a fundamental limitation of the period during which reparation will be paid. It is inconceivable that the German

Government in 1974 would consent to re-enact the present law or provide indirect substitutes for its essential provisions. In fact, it is more than probable that, long before that date, some special provisions for reparation in the Reichsbank statute will have fallen into abeyance. Revival of restrictions would present a far more formidable legislative problem than their mere continuance

It is here pertinent to summarise the time indications in the present reparation situation:

1. The German external loan (800,000,000 gold marks), representing the most general and popular international concern in reparation, is due to be paid off in full in 1949.

2. The Treaty of Versailles provides that the entire debt shal be secured or discharged (*acquittée*) by May 1, 1951.

3. The railroad bonds and industrial debentures (totallin 16,000,000,000 gold marks) are due to be liquidated by sinkin fund by 1965 or thereabouts.

4. The central pillar of the reparation system, the Reichsbank will not be available for use as at present later than August 30 1974.

According to these time indications—all of which are derive from prominent features of the existing reparation system—th standard annuity payments of 2,500,000,000 gold marks (dis regarding the effect of the prosperity index) might continu twenty-one, twenty-three, thirty-seven or forty-six years. Th total payable in those periods would be from 52 5 to 115 billio gold marks, or from 12,500,000,000 dollars to 27,381,000,00 dollars. Fixing the capital debt at any but the lowest of thos figures surely would have an appearance of unreality, unless resor is had to the device of 'present value,' or interest on inter governmental indebtedness is reduced below 5 per cent., o sinking funds of more than 1 per cent. per annum provided.[1]

If the time elements lead us nowhere in particular, the pro spects of arriving at a total sum may be examined. Two majo considerations should be noted in this connexion. The decisio which must be taken is that of the Governments concerned, s that the Schedule of Payments will probably play a large part notwithstanding its present abeyance. The standard annuity o the Experts' Plan (plus the unknown effect of the prosperity index) is the maximum payment possible in the future; not that 38 04 per cent. of it is already in capital form and bein amortised in the railway bonds and the industrial debentures.

[1] A fixed annual payment with sinking fund beginning at a given rate amortises as follows—5 per cent.: 1 per cent amortisation, 36·72 years, 1¼ per cent amortisation, 32·94 years, 1½ per cent. amortisation, 30 54 years, 2 per cent amortisation, 25·67 years, 4½ per cent interest 1 per cent. amortisation, 38 7 years; 1½ per cent amortisation, 31·49 years, etc.

Mr. George P. Auld, formerly Accountant-General of the Reparation Commission, is the only qualified person who has attempted to figure the final settlement total. In *The Dawes Plan and the New Economics* he arrives at a conclusion of 37,800,000,000 gold marks, or roughly 9,000,000,000 dollars, payable in an initial period of twenty-five years, but actually extending to forty years. He uses 4 per cent. as the interest rate, assuming that it will be the going rate between Governments. Adding the interest, the total capital and interest would amount to 9,225,000,000 dollars, or 72,745,000,000 gold marks, which could be met by the standard annuity in 28 18 years.

That is a very interesting forecast, for it is based upon sound premises and meshes extraordinarily well into stubborn features of the reparation system It has been pointed out that the Schedule of Payments is an integral part of the Treaty of Versailles Consequently its provisions, even though now disregarded, must be seriously considered. The tabulation above shows that at the beginning of the standard year, under the Experts' Plan, Germany may be said to have practically paid the equivalent of the series A bonds, amounting to 12,000,000,000 gold marks. A few adjustments of the early books could wipe that series off the slate by perfectly good accounting methods. There would then remain issued and ready for conversion the series B bonds, amounting to 38,000,000,000 gold marks, almost exactly the sum arrived at by Mr. Auld

Reparation creditors will not readily give up any advantage they have so long as they are paying on inter-governmental debts of their own It may be ventured as a generality that the adjustment of those debts cannot well be made until the underlying reparation debt is fixed. At the very least, until the reparation debt is finally fixed in amount there is no firm basis on which to estimate the inter-relation of other inter-governmental debts. New conditions affecting the whole situation would then appear. It may well be that the United States Government would be sensitive to such new conditions and would exhibit business sense in the premises. France, the majority (52 per cent.) reparation creditor, has recently put its financial house in order, and in the standard annuity year is due to receive on reparation account over 1,250,000,000 gold marks, or 7,500,000,000 stabilised francs. This is enough to meet French debt payments and much reconstruction expense besides. France, then, is fairly well satisfied with the present situation.

To settle the total of reparation a conference of the interested Governments will be required, since the decision is by treaty outside the jurisdiction both of the Experts' Plan organisation and the Reparation Commission. At such a conference the Govern-

ments—probably the Finance Ministries—will have a concern, to save their faces, to make the decision square with what they have already agreed to. That is the human nature of the matter.

On the evidence of the past record the decision would seem not to be as difficult as many decisions now part of history. The way is paved to abolish series C bonds of the Schedule of Payments by cancelling the amounts already credited against them on the German account, transforming the necessary amounts into individual obligations of Austria, Bulgaria and Hungary, and destroying the rest, which have long been recognised as representing nothing but imagination of a past date.

There would then remain:

German assets: Annuity of 2,500,000,000 gold marks plus the product of the prosperity index, and minus various charges amounting to about 350,000,000 gold marks, or 2,150,000,000 gold marks *plus*.

German liabilities: (*a*) Series A bonds, 12,000,000,000 gold marks nearly or wholly offset by payments prior to the standard annuity year; and

(*b*) Series B bonds, 38,000,000,000 gold marks, requiring for service of 5 per cent interest and 1 per cent sinking fund 2,280,000,000 gold marks annually.

In other words, if the value of series B bonds is determined as the present total of the German debt, the present receipts will to all intents and purposes pay 5 per cent. interest and 1 per cent sinking fund on the debt. That would liquidate the entire debt in the year 1965.

Many favourable factors would accelerate payment. Fixation of the total would give Germany an added incentive to clear its debt. The machinery of the Experts' Plan is recognised in informed German circles as of great value to the Reich, which prefers its continuance for the sake of dividing the risks of reparation payments. The railway bonds and industrial debentures, when transformed into a capital payment, from the creditors' point of view, by sale to the public, will doubtless be issued on diverse bases and will have a diverse history as to liquidation If the remaining obligation, capitalised, were similarly dealt with, its parts would undoubtedly liquidate differently from each other. The result would be a leeway which would enable Germany to accelerate payment. If 1965 proved to be the agreed end of reparation, it would seem its actual end could easily come by 1960.

DENYS P. MYERS.

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE BALTIC

The many and great changes which have taken place in the map of Northern Europe since the Great War have given rise to a Baltic situation, comprising a series of international questions of the first magnitude, which is engaging the serious attention of the Scandinavian and Baltic countries, even if it is receiving little consideration from the British public. But the fact that the British public is not particularly interested in what is taking place, or is likely to take place, in the Baltic region by no means implies that this comprehensive question does not concern Great Britain. It is not only of the greatest importance to our maritime interests in the Baltic, but it seriously affects our Continental policy and directly concerns the prospects of European peace.

Before examining the factors which go to make up this situation and their relationship to one another, it is as well to enumerate the principal changes which have taken place in the Baltic since the Great War. These are—the advent of the Soviet *régime* in Russia; the independence of the Republic of Finland; the establishment of the new republican States of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania; and Poland's access to the sea. These changes have given birth to such complicated questions as those of Vilna and the Polish corridor, while all the new States bordering on Russia are submitted to perpetual pressure, internal as well as external.

The background is, as before, to be found in Russia, where there is in force a political system which bewilders and stupefies those who try to analyse its true significance. Revolutionary in its methods and Russian in its inconsistency, this strange *régime* has for ten years dominated 130,000,000 people spread over an area of 7,000,000 square miles. From Archangel to Baku and from Petrograd to Vladivostok this revolutionary philosophy, giving rise to the most grotesque and unbalanced policies, has ruled supreme; and there is as yet not one solitary sign that holds out any reasonable prospect of change. To gain anything approaching an accurate insight into the present conditions of Russia is practically beyond the scope of human competence, and it is as dangerous to generalise on the subject of this vast area as it is to study the reports emanating from the Tass

Agency in Moscow and from the news factories of Reval and Riga. The conditions existing in the Ukraine may be separated from those prevailing in Northern Russia by a gulf no less formidable than that which separates the south of Spain from the north of Scotland; and it is a known fact that the communications in the interior of Russia are so bad that while in some parts corn has to be used for fuel through want of wood, in others the people are reduced to eating the bark of trees through the failure of the local harvest. Russian news is a commercial commodity as well as a political instrument. The Russian Foreign Office co-operates, when it is in its interests to co-operate, with the Third International to give the world such news as is considered beneficial to Russia and the progress of Communism; while the foreign news merchants in the Latvian and Estonian capitals vie with one another to produce the most saleable material for Press consumption.

Yet, in the matter of general Russian policy, it is possible to give some indication of the truth underlying the pall of camouflage and falsehood which hangs heavily over the country The whole Russian political system is enveloped in a cloud of words and expressions which represent practically nothing, and it looks as if the interpretation of Russian policy were to be found in a simple formula based on ordinary psychology modified by the characteristics of the Russian mind I am inclined to believe that Russia has not changed fundamentally, but that the present *régime* is merely another means of wielding power in a country where some form of autocracy is a fixed political precept. As far as foreign policy is concerned, I think that the same principle holds good and that we should regard that policy as Russian rather than Bolshevist. The Russians are simply making use of the fact that Bolshevism is a political power in their country in order to pursue their ordinary and time-honoured lines of foreign policy, and there is little doubt that Russia must always play the same *rôle* in international affairs, irrespective of the form of government prevailing in Petrograd or Moscow, as long as her geographical integrity remains unimpaired. It is, indeed, a fallacy to imagine that the re-establishment of an imperial *régime* would to any great extent modify the position of Russia *vis-à-vis* the nations of Europe and Asia.

While Russian foreign policy has its well-defined objectives in Southern Europe, in the Persian Gulf, in India, and in the Far East, it is only necessary to consider that policy in so far as it affects the Baltic. Russia has been deprived of the important Baltic ports of Reval, Riga, and Libau, on which, under pre-war conditions, she largely relied for her export trade in the west, and a glance at the map is sufficient to indicate the position of

new countries in which these ports are situated. Although ›resent Russia is economically diseased and has little need of tic ports, there is no reason to believe that this will always he case. It seems, moreover, only natural that the Russians uld wish to retrieve these ports for strategic as well as nomic reasons, and should make an effort to do so as soon as y feel the urgent need of these outlets and are in a position to y out their designs. Control of the Baltic has long been one he leading axioms of Russian policy, and there is every reason believe that her present policy is gradually to restore the *us quo ante bellum* in so far as it is possible with the resources her disposal. At the same time, it is a mistake to conclude t the Russians necessarily contemplate a course of military ression. They have other weapons at their disposal. By oking the aid of the Third International they can oppose the leavours of these new countries to settle down to peace condi-is, and can pursue a policy tending to bring them into conflict h one another.

Now let us turn to the position of the northern countries inst which Russia may have aggressive designs in some form mother Separated from Scandinavia by the Gulf of Bothnia, l by the Gulf of Finland from the European mainland, Finland upies an independent position in the Baltic. For centuries has acted as a buffer State between Sweden and Russia, and he owes a considerable measure of her culture to Sweden, that ›t has been fully paid in Finnish blood. Before the Great War iland was an autonomous grand duchy, with her own institu-ns, her own language, and her own culture. She was never a ssian province, and consequently, when the time came in 17 for her to declare her independence, she only had to create a nistry of Foreign Affairs and a Ministry of Defence, and was in avourable position to start life as an independent sovereign ite Now, after eleven years' experience, Finland has thrown any Russian influence which existed under the grand duchy d is progressing fast in the most auspicious circumstances. rtunately, the geographical position of the country and the ge number of forests, lakes, and rivers of which the interior is gely composed render Finnish territory particularly suitable defensive purposes, while the national characteristics of the ıns form an equally strong protection against the inroads of volutionary propaganda. Further, although the Finnish ports connected by rail with Petrograd, they by no means fall der the same category of importance to Russia as the Estonian rt of Reval and the Latvian ports of Riga and Libau. It may erefore be assumed that, owing to their strategic advantage d national characteristics, as well as to the inferiority of their

seaports from the Russian standpoint, the Finns are comparatively secure from any immediate danger of aggression.

When, however, one investigates the conditions prevailing in the Baltic States, a sufficiently marked contrast at once becomes apparent. But before judging these conditions in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania it must always be remembered that, unlike Finland, these territories formed an integral part of the Russian Empire, were completely under Russian domination, and had no autonomous institutions of any kind. The people were not even permitted to use their own language, their culture was suppressed, and they were submitted to every form of oppression. Those who did not suffer at the hands of the 'Baltic barons' were under the heel of the Russian officials, so that, when at last they found themselves free, they had little initiative and no experience for the creation of the entirely new machinery of independent States. The difficulties, financial and otherwise, with which they had to contend were sufficient to tax the strength of the most resolute people. It is therefore impossible to compare on an equal footing the conditions prevailing in the Baltic States with those existing in Finland, and still more impossible to compare them with those of Sweden or any of the older civilisations of Europe.

As far as Estonia is concerned, there is no possible doubt that the condition of the country before the Great War and on the conclusion of peace was, to say the least of it, deplorable, and that, taking this into consideration, the Estonians have achieved a very considerable measure of progress since they obtained their independence. It is, indeed, surprising that they have made so much headway, but there is still room for a great deal of improvement. Although decreasing, the Russian influence still exists in no small degree, and it is difficult to see how the present generation can completely throw it off; in fact, it looks as if Estonia will remain more or less under that influence until a new generation comes which never knew the conditions of Russian domination The people show unmistakable signs of the conditions to which they had to submit for centuries, and it is too much to expect a complete transformation in the short space of ten years. Yet Estonian industries are gaining ground, and much has been done, with the help of a British financial adviser, to set the country on a sound financial basis. The foundations of prosperity undoubtedly exist, the country is one which lends itself to development, and the will of the people is on the side of progressive endeavour; but the lack of funds and the necessary expert advice in technical matters stands in the way of a strong forward policy. Estonian enterprise exists in a somewhat conspicuous degree, and it only needs

support and encouragement of others to set it running on ind and profitable lines. Railway improvements, roads, town nning, urban and rural development, public works, and build- are among the departments calling for urgent attention ; and re is ample scope for those seeking new openings, provided it the Estonians themselves see the necessity of encouraging ernal help.

The Estonians are essentially optimists, and, although their imism has in many ways been to their advantage, it has haps led them into an over-estimated sense of security. uated on territory which is geographically an extension of ssia and forms a natural sea outlet for Russian trade, Estonia n an awkward position, which is not improved by the fact that guards with Finland the approach to Petrograd and the va and is the weaker of the two Powers. As far as internal airs are concerned, the Estonians assured me that Communism s almost a negligible factor in their country, and that when it erted itself it was suppressed with the utmost vigour. While s quite possible that the latter part of this statement is accurate, former part is scarcely in accordance with the precise facts of case. Communism is undoubtedly a factor in Estonia, and ssia's eyes are never off the port of Reval, although she has immediate need of it for export purposes The Estonian people ve many good qualities. They are honest, straightforward, triotic, and hard-working people, who have since the war uggled to overcome the most formidable difficulties ; but their ographical position places them at a disadvantage, and it is ficult to see how, with justified confidence, they can face the rms of the future, relying entirely on their own strength and ources.

The Republic of Latvia, as ' key of the Baltic States,' is in a ll more difficult position In character the Letts differ widely m the Estonians, and, although with the meagre resources at eir disposal they have to some extent succeeded in their agri- ltural policy and in certain other departments, their national ortcomings are making their task one of no small difficulty. e German families seem to form the backbone of the country, ile the Letts are impregnated with certain racial qualities ich make good government difficult of achievement, render country liable to external pressure, and encourage the ivities of foreign commercial adventurers. The Russians are rking with great energy in Riga, an empty shell which appears be a distinct national debit, and one which may prove too rdensome for this young State to bear. Deprived of its mense hinterland, Riga has the appearance of a dead city. e factories are for the most part idle, vast quantities of

machinery having been removed during the war; the great transit trade of the port has dwindled to almost nothing, so that only a very few ships lie alongside the wharves of the Dvina. The city is burdened with a heavy debt, contracted before the war, which it is now unable to meet; foreign enterprise is at present rather discouraged by the Latvian authorities, who fail to see the short-sightedness of their policy; and a considerable section of the people is inclined to Communism. Although a high currency[1] has been maintained, the present financial methods of the Latvian Government, as well as those of Lettish business firms, are scarcely calculated to inspire confidence, so that this country is finding it impossible to obtain credit to carry out reforms of primary importance. Yet, with all these odds against her, Latvia is making an effort to 'set her house in order,' and, although the Government have made grievous mistakes involving financial losses which they can ill afford, there is a marked change for the better since the days of Russian rule But if Russia has one eye on Reval, she has both eyes on Riga, which was formerly one of the most important cities of the whole Russian Empire and her chief port on the Baltic; and not only is this the case, but the conditions existing in Latvia in general,[2] and in Riga in particular, are such as breed discontent and Communism. It therefore seems that Latvia is at a serious disadvantage, and that Riga is unlikely to retrieve its prosperity unless as a city much reduced in size and with the help of foreign endeavour.

But the conditions which I have described by no means extinguish the hope of a prosperous Latvia if foreign capital and enterprise are introduced into the country. There are sufficient openings to induce foreign firms to establish themselves if the Latvian Government recognise the necessity of adopting a more attractive policy, and are prepared to accept external advice and some measure of financial control until the country is able to work out its own destiny

Perhaps the most hopeful feature of the situation in Estonia and Latvia is the fact that, while Russia is at present waning in political and economic strength, these two Baltic States are slowly increasing in vigour Their great opportunity lies in consolidating themselves before a new situation arises which may make their task more difficult; and it is impossible to over-estimate the immense benefit which would accrue to them from the political and economic support of some foreign Power or Powers, in whose interests it would be to establish stepping-stones to the Russian market of the future. With the assurance

[1] 25 lats = 1*l*

[2] Latvia's dependence on Russia for her trade is reflected in the recent commercial treaty between the two countries.

ecurity and the ways and means of material progress, there ns no reason why their misfortunes of the past and their ertainty of the present should not lead to prosperity in the ıre.

While Estonia and Latvia, which are bound by a political ıty, can be considered more or less together on account of ır geographical positions as well as their political interests, huania must be regarded as a separate entity, partly owing to past history and partly to her different orientation. Lithuania the appearance of being rather a negative country, possessing y little of anything. While her cultured classes are an exceed-ly pleasant and refined people, about 80 per cent. of the ple are peasants, many of whom are illiterate; and, although country round Kovno is fairly fertile, there are practically industries and few means of converting such produce as exists marketable goods. I have a keen sense of sympathy for se poor people, who have few friends in the world. The will progress is present, but the materials are absent. The Lithu-ans are working hard and deserve a better fate, but the Vilna estion is absorbing all their energies, and most of their small ources are devoted to defensive measures. But they have important advantages in that there is practically no Com-nism in the country and that their territory holds out few ucements for Russian aggression. Their source of danger, wever, lies in another direction.

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania form a chain of buffer States ween Germany and Russia, and it is important that they uld develop as sound political structures independent, if ssible, of Russian and German influences. But the backward nditions at present prevailing in these countries make them ource of weakness, and in many respects Lithuania is the most ckward of all. Moreover, Lithuania occupies a political posi-n in Northern Europe which makes it impossible to disregard her her internal condition or her relationships with Poland over question of Vilna Her chief danger is to be found in the sceptibility of the Lithuanians to the cultures of their more werful neighbours—Russia, Germany, and Poland. The exten-n of Russian or German influence across the frontier of Lithu-ia might convert the country into a bridge for uniting these o nations, and a Russo-German combination is a political ssibility which can only be viewed with the strongest disfavour m the point of view of European peace. While it is not natural that Russia should seek an opportunity to re-establish rself on the coast of the Baltic, it is not unreasonable to assume at Germany, stripped of her former colonies, is looking for some itable line of expansion in a northerly direction; and it is quite

hazards of war. Although it is of the utmost importance to Finland that Estonia and Latvia should maintain their independence, Finnish interests seem to lie in adopting a policy of detachment, in keeping on friendly terms with all her neighbours, Russia included, and in leaning towards Scandinavia with the prospect of continued peace.

Although these Baltic countries have the good-will of the Great Powers and are members of the League of Nations, they are in a state of the utmost uncertainty as to what support, if any, they could expect in the event of aggression. That a Russo-German *entente* would seriously affect British policy in the Baltic, which harmonises with that of the Baltic countries, is a foregone conclusion, and, when the circumstances which have been enumerated are taken into consideration, it is obvious that Great Britain could not tolerate the formation of a policy which would transform the Baltic from a *mare apertum* into a *mare clausum*. Nor could Great Britain possibly stand aside and watch the evolution of a policy destined to threaten the very existence of the Baltic States and to control at will the great timber trade of Finland. As it is a matter of great importance that Germany should not occupy a position of political influence in the Baltic States which would encourage her to draw closer to Russia, it is strongly advisable that such support as has been suggested should be given soon by one of the Great Powers, which supported the independence of these States and made their independence possible. British support is indicated, partly because it would be more acceptable on account of the power and prestige of the British Fleet, and partly because Great Britain has greater interests in the Baltic than any of the said Powers. Finland is already able to stand firmly on her own feet for reasons which have already been given, but I cannot help thinking that the Finnish Government would be well advised to attract British capital to their country to enable them to carry out some of the primary improvements (such as railway and road construction, forest development, and defence measures) which they have in contemplation, and at the same time to increase British interest in the security of their territory.

It may be argued that we have already too many foreign commitments—an argument which is usually put forward when any new feature of foreign policy is proposed. But are we, as a great world empire with world interests and with our important prestige in the Baltic, prepared to forsake our principles of protecting small nations to whose independence we have largely contributed, even when it is clearly to our own advantage to do so? It cannot be said that there is any part of the world which is not our concern, and we would not have it otherwise. We have

good friends in the Baltic, who may be valuable friends in years to come; and it is a moral obligation as well as in our material interest to support them, letting it be clearly understood that they can rely on British assistance in case of need.

This brings the subject to the last, and perhaps the most important, consideration—the position and present policy of Germany. There are many circumstances which point to the fact that Germany is at present in doubt whether to throw in her hand with Russia or to go with the Western Powers. She would prefer the latter, but is doubtful whether she can obtain British friendship, which is the great determining factor. It seems that we have it in our hands to draw Germany away from Russia, and there are other reasons why an understanding between Great Britain and Germany would be desirable. Whether such an understanding is possible depends on the British attitude towards the *status quo* in Europe If the British people intend to consider the *status quo* as a *res immutabilis*, then there is no basis for an understanding But if, on the other hand, they are prepared to regard it as subject to modification in course of time, then there are sufficiently good prospects of an eventual Anglo-German *rapprochement*, which might well be regarded as an object of political endeavour in forthcoming years If Great Britain can see her way to accept the latter view, there is a great opportunity, not only of depriving the Baltic situation of its more serious aspect, but also of ensuring a safer and brighter future for Germany, and making a very substantial contribution to a firm and practical foundation of European peace.

E. W. POLSON NEWMAN.

THE NEW TURKEY

Nine years have elapsed since Mustafa Kemal, on June 21, 1919, first enunciated at the Congress of Sivas the programme of nationalist Turkey, five years since the international acceptance of that programme received its formal sanction by the Treaty of Lausanne, and five years also since the proclamation of the Turkish Republic announced to the world that the Ottoman Empire, with its long line of sultans, had come to an end.

Meanwhile the rulers of new Turkey have lost no time in pushing their policy to its logical conclusions, whether in the sphere of international relations or that of social and religious reform. In both these spheres of action the new *régime* has shown an uncompromising adherence to the principles of extreme nationalism which called it into being. No concessions have been made, even in cases where weighty considerations, of an economic nature for instance, might have been expected to militate in favour of a less vigorous application of the nationalist doctrine.

Although it is as yet too early to pass final judgment on a policy the fruits of which will only become apparent after a period of some years, it is not without interest to study some of its main tendencies and take stock of the results achieved up to date. Needless to say, the development of new Turkey is being keenly followed by a host of observers, both at home and abroad, some of them sympathetic, others sceptical or openly hostile. I do not propose to associate myself either with the panegyrists or the critics, with the optimists or the pessimists. All I will try to do is to indicate what are the principal *leit-motivs* of the remarkable revolution—a revolution much more radical and thorough than that of the Young Turks in 1908—of which Mustafa Kemal Pasha has been the initiator.

The two fundamental principles of the new Turkish State—principles which are constantly being affirmed in the public utterances of the Ghazi and his chief collaborators—are: First, the complete political and economic independence of Turkey, and, secondly, the creation of a homogeneous Turkish nation, as opposed to the policy of the old Ottoman Empire, which was based on the recognition of the political and economic privileges

of the European Powers and on that of the separate ethnical and religious status of the non-Turkish races living within the empire. The Capitulations—that is, the judicial and economic privileges which Europeans settled in Turkey enjoyed by virtue of treaties of which the earliest dated back to the sixteenth century—constituted a limitation of the sovereignty of the Ottoman State which was none the less galling for having been originally self-imposed. Also, the communal and religious liberties enjoyed by the non-Moslem races, which had been originally granted by Mohammed the Conqueror himself, had made it possible for those races to retain, through the long centuries of Turkish domination, a separate national consciousness, thus saving them from assimilation with their conquerors and at the same time forming an obstacle to the creation of a homogeneous Turkish nation.

Hence the feeling of deep resentment—I do not think the words are too strong—which new Turkey nourishes against the old *régime*

So pronounced is this feeling that those sultans who were formerly regarded as having written the most glorious pages in Ottoman history are to-day branded as little short of traitors to the cause of Turkish nationalism.

The two Ottoman sovereigns who come in for the roughest treatment at the hands of the Neo-Turks are Mohammed II. (the Conqueror) and Selim I. The former is criticised for having, immediately after the capture of Constantinople in 1453, granted to the subject races—Greek, Armenian, and Jewish—religious freedom and communal autonomy under the headship of their religious chiefs, instead of making them forcibly adopt Islam, in which case assimilation with the ruling race would have automatically followed. I remember this theory first being stated in an article published in 1908 in the *Tanin* by the well-known Young Turkish journalist Hussein Djahid Bey, in which he violently assailed the Conqueror for his lack of political foresight on that occasion.

Selim, on the other hand, is made responsible for giving to the old Ottoman Empire its predominantly theocratic and Islamic, as opposed to national and Turkish, stamp, when, after the conquest of Egypt and the other Arab countries, he assumed the title of Caliph. This line is taken in an article which recently appeared in the *Stamboul* over the signature of Djelal Noury Bey, a well-known deputy and publicist, in which he ascribed to Selim the strong Arab and Pan-Islamic influences which subsequently permeated the Ottoman sultanate, to the detriment of its original Turkish character.

The above theories cannot be said to be sound, historically speaking. Neither the Conqueror nor Selim I. could reasonably

be expected to have [illegible] the fifteenth and sixteen[th] centuries, the nationalist theories of the nineteenth and twentie[th]. The idea of the homogeneous national State was not born, ev[en] in Western Europe, till comparatively modern times. The Con[queror], to do him justice, when he recognised the Christian an[d] Jewish communities, was only following in the steps of the first caliphs, who, in turn, had based their action on the direct precept of the Prophet himself. The new interpretation of Turkish history, unhistorical though it may be, is, however, important as illustrating the attitude of mind of new Turkey.

Scarcely less heinous, in the eyes of the Kemalist Turks, was the granting by the sultans of judicial and economic privileges to foreigners domiciled in Turkey. The diplomatic victory gained by Ismet Pasha over the representatives of the Allied Powers at Lausanne in securing recognition of the suppression of the detested Capitulations is regarded by the Turks as a triumph in no way inferior to the military victory gained over the Greeks in 1922.

Mustafa Kemal's hostility towards Western influence is, however, confined to the political and economic sphere. As far as Western civilisation is concerned, the Ghazi has shown himself to be an out-and-out partisan of Western thought, customs, and methods and of their introduction into Turkey in place of the old Islamic life and ideas As a social innovator he has gone much further than any of his predecessors in the path of reform—for predecessors there have been, even among the sultans—and one cannot but admire the courage with which he has swept away institutions, customs, and ways of thought based on age-long racial and religious prejudices. In this respect Kemal must rank as one of the greatest reformers in history

Certain of his reforms, such as his emancipation of the Turkish woman and the substitution of the Swiss *code civil* for the old Moslem law, or *sheriat*, are bound to exercise a profound influence not only on Turkish society, but on other Islamic countries as well. By raising the position of woman and removing certain abuses which were bound up with the old Mohammedan law, such as, for instance, the extreme facility with which Moslems could divorce their wives, the moral and intellectual level of Turkish family life is bound to improve and so, ultimately, react favourably on the character of the whole nation.

Outside Turkey more attention has been paid to certain other innovations for which Kemal's claim to originality is less absolute. In obliging the Turks to wear hats instead of fezes he was only going one step further than Sultan Mahmoud II., who in 1826 suppressed the picturesque old Turkish official costumes and head-dresses and replaced them by the frock-coat and the fez. It was

d, too, who, in the face of the greatest opposition on t of the janissaries, introduced European uniforms and ns into the Turkish army. This reform earned for Mahmoud ickname of 'Giaour Sultan' (the Infidel Sultan). Mahmoud to face revolts in Bosnia and Albania, just as the recent innovations of Kemal had to be imposed at the point of the sword on the reactionary population of Kurdistan and the Eastern Vilayets.

In the same way, Kemal's closing of the *tekkés* (Dervish convents) had been partly anticipated by Mahmoud, who, after the mutiny of the Janissaries in 1826, suppressed the Order of the Bektashi Dervishes, until then all-powerful throughout the empire owing to their close connexion with the Corps of Janissaries.[1]

Contrary to what might have been expected, the closing of the *tekkès* and *medresès* (religious schools) was received by the Turkish public with almost complete indifference. There were no demonstrations of sympathy such as those that, for instance, accompanied the expulsion of the religious orders from France under the Combes Ministry. The reason for this apathy is to be found in the fact that the Dervishes and *softas* (religious students) had long ago sunk very low in public estimation, being looked upon as a lazy lot of wastrels and vagabonds. Nor can it be said that the closing of the *tekkés* violated any fundamental principle of Islam, on the contrary, the Dervish orders had always been regarded by the official Moslem Church as unorthodox, their existence being a direct contravention of the Prophet's injunction 'Lâ rahbânîata fîl Islâm' ('There shall be no monasticism in Islam')

Thus Kemal can rightly claim not to have touched the essentials of religion, but merely to have removed certain accretions due to the superstition of later ages.

Next in importance, after his religious reforms, comes his reform of education Under the sultans the education of the Moslem section of the population had been greatly neglected. Whereas all the other communities—Greek, Armenian, and Jewish—possessed an efficient and widespread school system—elementary, secondary, and technical—the Turks themselves were far behind in this respect Illiteracy was much commoner among the Moslems than among the Christians or Jews. The latter also took greater advantage of the educational facilities provided by the numerous foreign schools—American, French, German, and Italian—established in Turkey. The new *régime*

[1] The Bektashis were subsequently allowed to reopen their *tekkés*, but they were placed under the control of another order—the Nakshabandis—and never again officially recognised.

recognises that this disdain of education is one of the greatest mistakes committed by the Turks in the past and has placed them at a disadvantage as compared with the other races. The Government is now trying to make up for lost time. New primary and secondary schools, as well as technical and commercial colleges, are being started in large numbers. Special efforts are being made in the direction of technical instruction, in view of the fact that the emigration of the Greeks and Armenians has deprived the country of many thousands of skilled artisans and professional men.

Kemal Pasha himself never misses an opportunity of layi stress on the importance of education He has pointed out aga and again what a fatal error it had been to leave to the no Turkish elements the practical monopoly of commerce an industry, and has been at great pains to combat the point of vie at one time so ingrained in the minds of all Turks, that certa professions, such as banking and commerce, were only fit for th subject races.

Perhaps the boldest of all Kemal's innovations, and one whic is bound to have the most far-reaching effects, is the projecte substitution of the Latin in place of the Arabic alphabet for th writing of Turkish. This will be the final step in the series measures which he has already taken in order to sever Turkey connexion with the Islamic world and bring her completel within the orbit of European civilisation. The common use of th Arabic alphabet has for centuries constituted an importar cultural link between the various Islamic countries—Turke Persia, the Arab countries, Central Asia, and India—just as th Latin alphabet has constituted a similar link between the countri of Western Europe. By the suppression of the Caliphate, an by his other religious reforms, Kemal has shown how slight a importance he attaches to the continuance of that connexion.

The Arabic alphabet, besides suffering from many practic disadvantages, is ill adapted to the writing of the Turkis language, and has long been regarded by many Turks as a seriou obstacle to education. The idea of replacing it by the Lati alphabet was originally due to Enver Pasha, the celebrated Youn Turkish leader and Minister of War during the European Wa Nothing, however, came of it, and the matter was dropped unt Kemal took it up again. A commission was recently appointe to report on the best system of transliteration. Kemal Pasha ha shown great personal interest in the matter and indicated hi determination to carry this reform through as soon as possibl His views on the subject were voiced in an address, delivered no long ago in the Ghazi's presence, at the Stamboul Casino by Fali Rifky Bey, a deputy and one of the keenest advocates of the pro

posed change, in which the Arabic alphabet was declared to be the principal cause of the prevalence of illiteracy—80 per cent.—among the Turkish people.

The question is often asked: Is not Turkey bound, as a consequence of all these innovations, to lose the prestige and influence she enjoyed under the sultans as the principal Islamic Power? How can Moslem India and Egypt continue to look up to a country which is breaking further and further away from Islamic tradition?

The reply to the above question, I think, is the following:

The influence of Turkey as a Mohammedan Power is bound to diminish, but the loss will be more than counterbalanced by the prestige she has gained and is gaining daily, first, as the successful champion of Eastern nationalism against the political encroachments of the European Powers, and, secondly, as the pioneer of Oriental modernism. For in all Eastern countries to-day, side by side with the old fanatical and reactionary element, there is growing up a younger generation, frankly secular in its views and modernist in its aspirations, whom the example of Turkey is encouraging to clamour for the introduction of similar reforms in their own countries. These reformers are looking to Turkey for moral support—in some cases, like Afghanistan, for actual instruction. The influence of Turkey's example is already becoming apparent in Persia (where the use of the hat is about to be introduced), in Afghanistan (where the king himself heads the modernist movement), and in Egypt (where the students of the famous mediæval seminary of Arab learning, the El Azhar at Cairo, at one time a centre of religious fanaticism, are about to exchange the flowing robe and turban which were the distinguishing costume of the Moslem divine, or *âlim*, for the trousers and fez of the Europeanised effendi).

Another equally fundamental part of Kemal's programme is the development of Anatolia. Under the sultans the provinces were neglected in favour of Constantinople Now the tables are turned It is Anatolia that is the spoilt child of the Government and Constantinople that is the Cinderella Whereas in the older days the revenues of Anatolia went to the capital to be spent by the sultans on magnificent buildings and extravagance of all sorts, to-day Stamboul pays tribute to Anatolia and sends the greater part of her revenues to Angora to be expended on roads, railways, and public works.

The Turkish dictator's view, repeatedly expressed in his speeches, is that the future of Turkey lies in Anatolia. The day of Constantinople, which for centuries has battened, like a parasite, on the rest of the empire, is over. As for Eastern Thrace (the only part of European Turkey still left), recent history has shown that its tenure is far too precarious to make it worth while

wasting much money on its development. So much is this the general feeling that no Turk will buy land or settle in that part of the country, if he can help it. At the last census (1927) the population of Eastern Thrace (exclusive of Constantinople) did not exceed 255,000. At the census taken by the Greek Government in 1920 (when Eastern Thrace was temporarily under Greek occupation) it had a population of 513,000. The difference speaks for itself.

Great pains are being taken by the Government to spread the new ideas among the Anatolian peasantry, who have always represented the most conservative and backward element in the country. This could only be achieved by frequent and close contact between the people and those who are at the same time the most authoritative and convinced exponents of the new policy Members of the Government are constantly touring the country for purposes of propaganda, and the party organisation known as the '*Turk odjaghi*' (the Turkish home) has its branches in every town and hamlet of any importance. In this way it is hoped to counteract the influence of the *hodjas* (Moslem priests) and other reactionary elements whose attitude towards the reforms is naturally none too sympathetic.

Equally characteristic is the determination of the new *régime* to make of Angora a city worthy of its position as the capital of new Turkey. Angora, as one of the best-known Turkish publicists of to-day, Younous Nady Bey, recently wrote in the *Djoumhouriet*, symbolises for the present generation of Turks the idea of independence. To give up Angora and transfer the capital back to Constantinople (a suggestion which apparently finds favour with not a few Turks who dislike the infinite discomforts and inconveniences of residence at Angora) would be tantamount to betraying the ideal which originally induced Kemal to prefer a wretched hamlet buried amid the dreary wastes of the Anatolian plateau to the historic splendours and numerous attractions of the ancient capital.

It is not the first time in history that the removal of the capital has marked a new era in the life of a nation. Peter the Great, the founder of modern Russia, abandoned the Oriental isolation of Moscow and built himself a new capital amid the marshes and mudflats of Lake Ladoga, in order, as he said, to have 'a window on the west.' Kemal, on the contrary, for all his passion for Westernisation, prefers the remoteness of Angora to Constantinople, because the former is much less accessible to the political pressure which the Western Powers had always found it so easy to exercise on the sultans at Constantinople.

Angora as a capital is going to cost Turkey quite a pretty penny. It will require some 3,000,000*l.* alone to provide the city

a proper water supply, and other large sums will have to be spent on roads, drains, and improvements of all sorts. It is a heavy price to pay for the mere satisfaction of a political ideal, especially for a country as poor as Turkey, but there can be no doubt of the intention of the present Government to carry its policy through regardless of cost.

Attempts are also being made to re-colonise Anatolia, which to-day is very sparsely populated, by inducing Turks from other countries to emigrate there. There is plenty of room for new settlers, for, according to the last census, the population only averages seventeen per square kilometre. Some 350,000 Turks from Greece have already been brought over under the terms of the Lausanne Convention for the exchange of populations. The Moslems of Serbia—particularly those living in Serbian Macedonia—are also showing a tendency to emigrate owing to the unsatisfactory conditions prevailing there The Turkish Government anticipates that it will not be long before the bulk of this population has been transferred to Turkey.

A prominent Turkish statesman recently told the writer that it was also hoped later to attract large numbers of Turks and Turkomans from the Russian provinces of Central Asia. These people are racially and linguistically akin to the Turks and, it is thought, would be easily absorbed The idea is to settle them in the Eastern Vilayets, which to-day are practically depopulated (the last census gives an average of eight inhabitants per square kilometre for this part of the country)

It is in the domain of economics and finance that the policy of the new *régime* has been least successful and has called forth the strongest criticism, both among foreigners and Turks

The diplomatic victory won at Lausanne has left Turkey emancipated from her old economic shackles The foreigner's privileges in the matter of taxation have been abolished, the restrictions on the Turkish Government's liberty of action in such matters as the raising of the customs tariff removed, and the international control of the administration of the revenues ceded in guarantee of the public debt service has disappeared.

In spite of these successes the Turks are still haunted by the fear of economic bondage to the foreigner. So great is this fear that they are inclined to push the dogma of economic and financial independence to extremes.

Under the old *régime* foreign capital had flowed into the country under the system of guarantees and international control of the revenues. Railways, roads, ports, quays, all had been built by foreigners with foreign money. Banking, insurance, and navigation were also predominantly in the hands of foreign firms, which, in the nearly complete absence of Turkish firms to compete

against them in these branches, found a favourable outlet for their activities. Thus practically the whole of the economic edifice of the country was built on foreign capital.

To-day the situation has changed entirely. The refusal to grant guarantees—a point on which the present *régime* has adopted an uncompromising attitude—constitutes an almost insuperable obstacle to the provision of fresh capital from abroad.

It is true that the Government has entered into arrangements with one or two foreign firms to run certain State enterprises, such as the spirits monopoly, the matches monopoly, and the construction of the new railways in Anatolia. These contracts have intentionally been given to representatives of countries which are not in a position to bring serious political pressure to bear on the Turkish Government Thus the spirits monopoly was given to a Polish syndicate, the matches monopoly to Belgians, the railway contracts to Swedes.

It illustrates the spirit of suspicion towards all foreign capitalists which is to-day ingrained in the minds of the Turks that none of the above concerns have been able to get on and that their promoters have all found themselves in serious difficulties with the Government. The Poles have already retired after suffering heavy losses, the Belgians are claiming damages, and the Swedes have come to a standstill The language of the Press is consistently hostile towards foreign capitalists and companies; the articles of prominent writers, such as Falih Rifky Bey, Mahmoud Bey, and Younous Nady Bey, reflect the general tone.

This attitude naturally makes a foreign loan out of the question. The Government is therefore trying for the moment to finance all its schemes of development out of its ordinary resources All the expenditure on roads, railways, and other works is being met out of the ordinary budget An outsider may at first express surprise that this should be possible The explanation lies in the fact that Turkey since the war has suspended the payment of her foreign debt, an economy which leaves her free to devote large sums to other purposes. One naturally wonders what the Turkish Government will do when the payment of the foreign debt is resumed. The agreement recently arrived at with the bondholders provides that payment shall be resumed in 1929, the first instalment having been fixed at 2,000,000*l*. sterling, or approximately T. 19,000,000*l*.

When next year arrives the Turkish Government will inevitably be faced with one of three alternatives: either increasing taxation, or reducing expenditure on public works and armaments, or else raising a foreign loan. Taxation, according to general admission, has already reached its high-water limit, beyond

which it would be both dangerous and uneconomic to go ; there have been numerous failures ; businesses are closing down ; commerce is stagnant ; the peasantry, owing to a bad harvest, have no money. On the other hand, suspension of the much-advertised public works in Anatolia or reduction of the military expenditure would be highly distasteful to the Government and will be avoided at all costs. One is therefore inevitably led to the conclusion that, sooner or later, Turkey will ask for a foreign loan. This was also the opinion of the late Djavid Bey, the most distinguished Turkish financier and economist of the present generation. This will, however, necessitate a change of front on the part of the Government, as it is unlikely that foreign capitalists will agree to lend money to Turkey without substantial guarantees. Although the old form of control through an international Public Debt Administration will certainly not be revived, some form of guarantee acceptable to the lenders will have to be devised The present rulers of Turkey have shown themselves sufficiently adaptable to circumstances to make such a change of front, when the time comes, not improbable.

Finally, a word on the position of the minorities in Turkey.

The attitude of the new *régime* towards its non-Turkish citizens —after making all due allowance for the legitimate requirements of the new nationalism, such as, for instance, the compulsory teaching of Turkish in the schools—cannot be regarded as satisfactory, by whatever standard it be judged. There is no attempt at equality between the Turkish and non-Turkish elements of the population. Under the empire there was also inequality between Moslems and Christians, but inequality of rights was to a certain extent compensated by inequality of obligations Until 1908 the Christians and Jews were exempted from military service —a very great privilege, given the conditions that prevail in the Turkish army

In the Turkey of to-day the minorities have all the duties of the Turkish citizen without the privileges. They pay the same taxes and serve in the army, but are excluded (not legally, but practically) from public office, and even from a great many positions which are not Government posts Further, they have no political representation—there is not a single Greek, Armenian, or Jewish deputy in the Turkish National Assembly. They are also subject to certain disabilities of a peculiarly vexatious nature, such as, for instance, the prohibition of travel in the interior (nearly the whole of the non-Turkish population to-day inhabits Constantinople). A Jew, a Greek, or an Armenian may not go to Adrianople or Angora—they are all cooped up inside the city of Constantinople, as in a sort of Ghetto.

Thus the Turkish Constitution, which establishes complete

equality between all Turkish subjects, without distinction of race or religion, is, in this respect, a completely dead letter.

The Government makes no secret of its avowed purpose to run the country in the exclusive interest of the Turkish majority. Quite recently the Minister of Justice, Mahmoud Essad Bey, in a public speech delivered at Aintab on July 26, and reported in the *Stamboul* of July 28, 1928, used the following words: 'The fundamental character of our Government is nationalist, and it derives its strength and power from the nation. Friends and enemies alike should realise the fact that in this country the non-Turks shall never enjoy equal rights with the Turks.'

This certainly does not sound very encouraging for the non-Turks, especially considering that it comes from a member of the Government. Need one, therefore, be surprised if the minorities are showing a tendency to emigrate in ever-increasing numbers? The Greeks of Constantinople, against whom the nationalist programme of Angora, in its most vexatious forms, is more particularly aimed, are flowing in a steady stream to Greece Lately also the Jews, who have always been regarded as the most 'loyalist' of all the minorities in Turkey, have begun to feel the pinch and started emigrating to France and America

It is a somewhat melancholy but incontrovertible fact that, in spite of the League of Nations and the treaties for the protection of minorities, the plight of the minorities in Turkey, as indeed in most other countries as well, is appreciably worse to-day than what it was a quarter of a century ago.

A. A. PALLIS.

THE CASE FOR MODERNISM

In my Noble Lectures delivered in Harvard University 1925–1926, and published in this country by the Oxford University Press under the title *English Modernism, its Origin, Methods, Aims*, I have stated the case for Modernism at some length. Here I must present that case much more briefly

The first point I would stress is this, that the Modernist, whether he be misguided and heretical or clear-headed and essentially orthodox, is a religious man He believes in religion. He does not deny the truth of that great line of Lucretius :

> Tantum relligio potuit suadere malorum

But there is another and a more significant aspect of religion. At any rate, the Modernist believes in religion for two reasons which he regards as scientific—that is, they can be maintained as the result of impartial scientific research during the last seventy years in the vast sphere of human religion

The first reason is this . religion is universal. World-wide historic research and pre-historic research also have failed to acquaint students with tribes or communities or nations without a religion That is the verdict of anthropology. The religions which such studies bring to light are in some of their aspects grotesque, barbarous, hideous, and, judged by our modern ethical standards, grossly immoral, but they are always there. As we follow up the evolution of man we observe that his religion evolves also. In its evolution it passes through many stages—naturism, animism, polydæmonism, totemism, fetichism, monolatry, polytheism, euhemerism, monotheism—but it is always there ' *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*' Its evolution illustrates the truth of Aristotle's great dictum : ' The true nature of a thing is that which it is when its becoming is completed ' Auguste Sabatier has summed up this conclusion of our students of religion in a single phrase : ' Mankind is incurably religious.' If this be so, can we assent to the thesis of J. M. Guyau's book *The Non-Religion of the Future?* Must our civilisation as its pace accelerates divest itself of every vestige of religion and reach its goal starkly and nakedly secularist ?

The Modernist believes the answer to be in the negative, and for this reason. Man has been defined as a cooking animal, a tool-using animal, and, as Aristotle calls him, a political animal, but he is also a worshipping animal. Human nature is in its constitution as definitely religious as it is rational, moral, and æsthetic. Hence, as the Modernist visualises the religious issue, 'the *live* option' for him—to use the phrase of William James—is not, Will you have a religion ? but, What kind of religion will you have ? Shall it be magical, superstitious, obscurantist, or shall it be increasingly moral, rational, spiritual ? Your Utopia has got to have a religion ; shall it be like that which Sir Thomas More pictures, or like Caliban's cult of Setebos as described in Robert Browning's poem ? This question the Modernist regards as of profound importance—as worthy, indeed, to rank with those economic, industrial, social, sexual, and political problems which beset the thoughtful modern man, and are perpetually about his path and about his bed. Indeed, the Modernist regards this problem as more profound and important than any of them, because it underlies and permeates them all, and can assist in their solution.

This brings me to the Modernist's second reason which he believes also to be scientific. Religion plays a most important part in human history It is, as Tiele described it, 'one of the mightiest motors in the history of mankind.' Its representatives, be they magicians or medicine-men, priests or prophets, augurs or sages, are potent in their communities The greatest figures in human history are the founders of religions ; the most influential movements are religious movements ; the most enduring organisations are religious organisations ; the most ruthless of wars have been religious wars. When its activities are examined, religion is seen to play an important part in social evolution. Benjamin Kidd's words are worth recalling :

> These [religious] systems constitute the absolutely characteristic feature of our evolution, the necessary and inevitable complement of our reason It is under the influence of these systems that the evolution of our race is proceeding : it is in connection with these systems that we must study the laws which regulate the character, growth, and decay of societies and civilisations.[1]

Herbert Spencer, in his *Study of Sociology* (p. 313), expresses the same conclusion, but less eloquently : 'A religious system is a normal and essential factor in every evolving society.' The Modernist would stress the word *evolving* in this quotation.

If a society be stagnant or decadent, its religious system will

[1] *Social Evolution*, p. 318 f.

be found to be disintegrated and its sanctions doubted or denied. Wherever a society is vigorous it has a vital religion. The present writer has collected scores of definitions or descriptions of religion, but one of the most significant for the modern sociologist is that coined by a Scotch professor, Allan Menzies, 'the inside of civilisation.' The Modernist holds that the truest, because the most fundamental, way in which to define a civilisation is in terms of its religion. What Clough wrote of Christianity is true of every great religion, and of all religion, not for 2000 but for more nearly 200,000 years:

> The souls of now two thousand years
> Have laid up here their toils and fears,
> And all the earnings of their pain,—
> Ah, yet consider it again!

It is in mankind's religions that all that is deepest, most inscrutable, most potent, in the heart of man is revealed—the *mysterium, tremendum, fascinans*, to use Professor Otto's three terms for describing 'the numinous.'

As human evolution advances this religious emotion becomes more and more rationalised, moralised, and spiritualised. Of course there are many setbacks and regressions: in some cases the rationalisation is so drastic as to enfeeble, if not kill, the religious emotion; in other cases religion is identified with ethics; in other cases it is so spiritualised into an individualist ascetic mysticism as to lose all social influence.

It is, however, the conviction of the Modernist that religion meets an indispensable human need If St. Augustine's words be profoundly true for every individual—'O Lord, Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it rest in Thee'—it is no less true of our social and political systems. Without a vital religion, by which we mean a progressive religion ever making fresh adjustments to a changing environment, a civilisation must decay In all the higher religions there is a very close connexion between religion and morals. Mr Lowes Dickinson, who would not be regarded by many as favourable to the claims of religion, has written: 'A profound ethical intuition would seem necessarily to depend on a profound religious insight.'[2] The influence of the Hebrew prophets, Gautama, Zarathustra, Mohammed, and Jesus Christ on the ethics of mankind sufficiently supports this contention.

The Modernist desires to preserve and conserve all those values in our personal and social life, whose loss from English society Wordsworth so poignantly deplored in 1802:

[2] *Religion a Criticism and a Forecast*, p 66

> **Plain living and high thinking are no more:**
> **The homely beauty of the good old cause**
> **Is gone: our peace, our fearful innocence,**
> **And pure religion breathing household laws.**

This conservation can only be effectively achieved in one way—through our religion. This is the Modernist's second conviction.

Besides these two convictions, which I have described at some length, the Modernist has two others. The first is this. The Christian religion marks the highest point in what the student of comparative religion would call the religious evolution of humanity. The Christian Modernist desires to make no odious comparisons with other existing religions. He recognises much that is profoundly true and good and beautiful in the teaching and lives of the founders, prophets, and saints of non-Christian religions. The histories of some of these religions are free from the horrid blots which stain the history of the religion of Christ; nevertheless the religion of Christ in its ideal form does contain a combination of values and potentialities vouchsafed to none other of the religions of mankind in the same degree.

There are two tests of a religion. First, its Deity. This was the supreme test which that remarkable man Ramon Lull applied when he determined by argument to convert Mohammedans to the Christian faith while the Crusaders were engaged in slaughtering them. Having learnt Arabic, he developed an apologetic system known as the Art of Ramon Lull. Lull's first position was this: That must be the truest religion which presents us with the highest and noblest conception of God When we examine Islam we see that Allah is presented as Eternal Power and Righteousness, but Christianity unveils to us the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ as redeeming, self-giving Love This is a higher conception than the other, therefore we ought to accept the religion of Christ and to worship the Deity it reveals. The Modernist accepts that conclusion. There is no Deity in the very varied Pantheon of humanity's religion who stands on the same moral and spiritual height as 'Our Father' of the Lord's Prayer.

The second test of a religious system is the ethical ideal with which it is united. Now the Modernist regards the Christian character as the very highest type of human character, and the Christian ethical standard as the noblest. The ethics of Christianity are closely united to the Christian theology. There are immense intellectual objections to both. Nevertheless they are more capable of defence than anything lower and less ideal. This is not the place for such a defence The Modernist, however, is convinced that the Christian religion is not only the highest product of religious evolution, but that it is in the main line of such evolution. The Christian religion, with its wonderful

vitality and many-sided power of adaptation, expressed in its doctrine of the Spirit, and its claim that it is the religion of the Spirit, not of a code, or a ritual, or a book, is capable of infinite progress. The same is true of Christianity's ethical standards. Moreover, the further humanity advances the more clearly will this be recognised. When Max Müller—next, perhaps, to Sir James Frazer the greatest of our students of religion—hailed Christianity as 'the religion of humanity,' he was making a claim for it which, if its adherents are only true to its real character, may well be justified, and in no distant future

The other conviction of the Modernist is that the Christian religion is not simply an unveiling of the Divine nature in the personality, spirit, words, and acts of Jesus Christ: it is not even this combined with an ethical ideal and body of ethical principles. Christianity is more than a matter of cultus and conduct Christianity claims to be a fellowship which is both divine and human. 'If,' said one of its early teachers, 'we walk in the light as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another.'

Hence from very early times Christianity has consisted of a society which preserves and propagates its convictions and ideals Indeed, without such a society the Christian idea and ideals would have been lost The association of an idea with a society is always a hazardous proceeding It is like uniting a spirit to a body of flesh and blood there are strange reactions The ideal of this Christian society, which becomes known quite early as the *ekklesia* or Church, is set forth in the New Testament document known as the *Epistle to the Ephesians.* There it is called the Body of Christ, of which He is the Head · it is the *organon* through which He carries on His work for humanity This society is ideally the recipient of Divine gifts and graces to enable it to accomplish its mission, and its mission is one which is world-wide in its scope. It is nothing else than to unite all mankind—to break down the divisions, 'the middle walls of partition,' which separate religions, nations, classes, individuals It attempts this more than herculean task in no violent or anarchistic fashion. It does not break in pieces with a rod of iron the barriers which separate; rather it dissolves them—dissolves them by the operation of Light and Love. Moreover, the human unity which it seeks to achieve is no easy unity—no unity on a low level. It is not primarily an economic unity, nor a political unity, nor some programme of social equality, nor a universal ecclesiastical organisation. It may include all these, but it is more, for it is primarily spiritual and moral It is the union of mankind on the highest moral and spiritual level—what St Paul, or whoever wrote the Ephesians, describes as 'all one *in Christ.*'

This is the mission of the Christian Church. This constitutes

the fourth conviction of the Modernist: he believes in the Christian Church and its mission for mankind. In this he differs from some other Christian reformers. He is no individualist: he is no sectarian; he is a Catholic Christian: he believes in the Universal or Catholic Church of Christ; and therein he is like Bishop William Temple, who said on one occasion: 'I believe in one Holy, Catholic Church, but regret that it does not exist.' The Catholic or universal Church of Christ exists so far only in ideal: it is the mission of the Modernist to devote himself to its creation as an actuality. As he views the Christian world of to-day it appears to him to be a congeries of sects more conspicuous for obscurantism, exclusiveness, and conservatism than for the Spirit of Christ.

I have dealt somewhat fully with these four fundamental convictions of the English Modernist, because he is freely charged with being entirely negative and destructive in his theology. How can anyone be charged, in the face of modern criticism and scepticism, with being negative and destructive who makes these four great positive convictions the working hypotheses of his life and teaching? They who make these charges are living either in ecclesiastical backwaters or in a world of mediæval ecclesiastical dogmas and practices, and not in the modern environment of scientific research, historical criticism, and metaphysical speculation, in which in many cases what our forefathers regarded as infallible dogmas and bedrock facts are discredited. In this day of the shaking of the heavens, he who can hold fast, and affirm when 'altars tilt and temples tumble,' these four Modernist working hypotheses may rightly claim to be a man of faith, and to have something positive and constructive to offer to his fellow-men.

There is, however, a destructive and negative side to Modernism, though the Spirit of Modernism be not the Spirit which denies and destroys, but affirms and creates. The Modernist recognises that modern science has dealt its death-blow to the Old Testament chronology, cosmology, and anthropology. It is necessary to abandon the old ideas of creation by Divine fiats. Adam and Eve and the Garden of Eden and the Fall are allegory, and not history. Yet with the elimination of the Fall from human history serious results follow for a Christian theology which makes its doctrine of Atonement dependent on the Fall. When Professor N. P. Williams pushes back the Fall beyond the flaming ramparts of the world and makes it pre-mundane, he does not really ease the situation: a pre-mundane Fall involves for the scientific mind, with its belief in Traducianism, as serious difficulties as the literal acceptance of the Paradise story. After all, man's ascent and his animal ancestry,

as Tennyson taught in *In Memoriam* (which preceded the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*), sufficiently account for that in man's nature which Christian theology had attributed to original sin. As for the doctrine of the Atonement which regarded the death of Jesus on the Cross as an offering made to the Divine Father as an expiation for the sins of mankind, it is seen to be as much in conflict with our sense of God's love as of God's justice. The same may be said of the traditional dogma of everlasting torment. These doctrines found one of their main supports in the belief in the infallibility of Holy Scripture due to its plenary verbal inspiration. Our higher and historical critics have so riddled that view that Dean Burgon's enunciation of it seems as amazing as it is incredible: 'The Bible is none other than the voice of Him that " sitteth upon the Throne." Every book of it, every chapter of it, every verse of it, every word of it, every syllable of it, every letter of it, is the direct utterance of the Most High.'

No Modernist denies that there are considerable historical elements in the Old Testament, but he reads it as he would read any other ancient literature, and does not expect it necessarily to exhibit a higher degree of accuracy than he may find in Herodotus or Livy. So with the New Testament, it must be studied critically like any other book. It reveals the great principles of the moral and spiritual life, but portions which our fathers regarded as history are myth or didactic narrative akin to Rabbinical Haggadah. Much also which they believed to be true predictions of the future history of mankind on this planet and of the end of the world the Modernist knows to be the unreliable dreams of Jewish apocalyptists.

As for the miracles of Christianity, which were regarded as proofs that it was a Divine revelation, they have become the main problem of the traditionalist Christian apologist. The dogmatic scheme of traditional Christianity, whether that of Aquinas or Calvin, lies in ruinous heaps. The Modernist recognises this fact and tells his fellow-Christians that it is sheer folly to hope to hold the traditional entrenchments; that if the Christian position is to be held at all, they must shorten and straighten the line. For this he is freely denounced as a traitor. He bears these denunciations with equanimity. If his conviction that the truth must prevail were not sufficient support, he would seek further consolation in the lessons of Church history. In its light he may see that what is regarded as heresy to-day may prove within the next few years to be the new orthodoxy. Such things have happened before in the history of the Christian Church.

The Modernist feels in all sincerity the greatest sympathy for

Lord Halifax and those who stand with him, whether Anglo-Catholics or Evangelicals. He believes them to be good men, but he is sure that their Church policy must lead very largely to the secularisation of English life and the grievous moral and spiritual loss which must attend that process. Renan asked: 'Entre une religion inintelligente et un matérialisme brutal, âme poétique et pure, où serait ta place?' The Modernist's answer is clear: 'Thy place, O soul, can only be found in an intelligent Christianity which takes into serious consideration all assured results of scientific research and historical criticism, and strives to see and present the Christian faith and life in the light of this new knowledge.' Yet to do this the Modernist does not feel that it is either necessary or desirable to abandon the Christian communion to which he is bound by ties of love and loyalty. Mrs. Humphry Ward has well described the Modernist's task, and he is content, in the face of not unnatural misunderstanding, alarm, and irritation, to carry it out: 'Modernism is the attempt of the modern spirit, acting religiously, to refashion Christianity, *not outside, but inside the warm limits of the ancient churches*, to secure not a reduced but a transformed Christianity.'

In the article in the *Modern Churchman* (July 1927) a citation from which was used against me in the recent open letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, I had attempted to outline the task of the Modernist in the English Church. In that article, after dealing succinctly with various lies and legends which it was necessary to jettison, I proceeded to indicate the four stages of Modernist reconstruction and propaganda

(1) The first stage is to show the positive side to every Modernist negation, as a preparation towards the construction of a clear, simple, popular, convincing system of Modernist theology. Modernism must have a theology and a creed, but its theology must contain nothing which is discredited by modern scientific and historical research. Its creed should be mainly concerned with affirming the great spiritual ideals and moral obligations of the Christian religion. Such a creed I constructed from the writings of St. John It omitted all controversial issues between Christians, and I think that Christians of every denomination would have no more difficulty in uniting to affirm it than in saying together the Lord's Prayer, the Beatitudes, and the two great Commandments. This creed presents the Christian faith in its most essential and practical aspects to the non-Christian world. I venture to insert it here.

> We believe that God is Spirit, and they that worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.
>
> We believe that God is Light, and that if we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another.

> **We believe that God is Love, and that everyone that loveth is born of God and knoweth God.**
>
> **We believe that Jesus is the Son of God, and that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His Son.**
>
> **We believe that we are children of God, and that He hath given us of His Spirit.**
>
> We believe that if we confess our sins He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins.
>
> We believe that the world passeth away, and the lust thereof, but that he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.

I may add that the Modernist does not desire this Johannine creed to be used so as to exclude the traditional creeds, but as an optional alternative.

(2) The second stage, after having constructed such a Christian apologetic, is to win the Church authorities to recognise it as orthodox—that is, as a true and legitimate presentation of Christian truth, a right development demanded by a growing Christian experience. Modernist apologetic must obtain the hall-mark of orthodoxy. It must become the authoritative interpretation of Christianity because it is the supremely true and practical interpretation of Christianity.

(3) The third stage emphasises the need for Modernism to become in increasing measure a popular educational movement. Modernism has arisen as the result of modern research: if it is to fulfil its mission, it must seek to educate the alienated masses in essential moral and spiritual truth. This necessitates the modern training of clergymen in the theological colleges, the imparting of Modernist Christian teaching in the teachers' training colleges, the writing of simple, convincing manuals and text-books, etc.

(4) The fourth stage is concerned with Modernism in the foreign mission field. A Modernist Christianity will attract many converts from the educated Oriental nations where traditional Christianity is ineffective. It will facilitate Christian reunion among competing Christian sects, first abroad and then at home, for the spirit of Modernism is essentially a unifying spirit: it seeks to dissolve all artificial ecclesiastical barriers and to discover moral and spiritual syntheses.

The Modernist's task as here outlined may seem to some an easy matter. Where modernity is fighting mediævalism there can be no doubt as to the issue. Those who know anything of the history of religion, of the strength of religious conservatism and prejudice, of the materialists and reactionaries who readily support the religious obscurantists, of the temptations to shun all serious thought and endeavour on behalf of the higher values in human society, will perceive that the Modernist has his work cut out for him.

The deadliest enemy of the Modernist is what Lord Mac has named ' that august and fascinating superstition,' the C of Rome. Having crushed Modernism within its own bord is now intent on crushing it in the English Church.

It is only the immense need which the Modernist perceiv a Christian Modernism which leads him to undertake a task arouses so much suspicion, misunderstanding, and oppositi

Faced as our civilization is by the contending forces of secularis superstition, it is only Modernism which can unite in a higher syn the valuable elements in both. Equally it is only Modernism whic so re-adapt the traditional Christian heritage of Scriptures, do organizations, and rites, that they can still be made to serve the mor spiritual and intellectual needs of modern men and women The is tremendous: it is many-sided, it demands much more self-sac much more energy, much more faith and courage and patient perseve than many seem willing to give, nevertheless it is, to use a phrase Zarathustra, ' the heavy work of holiness ' to which we are called to d ourselves. (The *Modern Churchman*, July 1927, p. 175)

H. D. A. MAJ

THE BRITISH NAVY OF TO-DAY

For a number of years after peace had returned the habit of secrecy, which had rightly governed our naval activities in war, continued to prevail at Whitehall. Officially, the naval censorship had been lifted soon after the Armistice, but, while the raising of this ban enabled writers to comment more openly on naval affairs, it did not connote liberty to publish such information as the Admiralty, in former days, had been accustomed to impart freely enough. It looked, indeed, as though my Lords deliberately sought to discourage public interest in the Navy. To the non-official mind their attitude was the less comprehensible in view of the absence of any immediate challenge to our naval position. There did not appear to be any rational motive for the elaborate secrecy in which the doings of the Fleet continued to be veiled. There may, of course, have been cogent reasons, but certainly they did not leap to the eye, and to the public, at any rate, the Admiralty's post-war 'hush' policy appeared as a typical example of bureaucratic ineptitude.

That it had evil effects is undeniable. During the several years in which this policy remained operative popular interest in the Navy declined almost to zero point In such matters the Press is a reliable barometer, and from 1919 onward the Press devoted very little space to the Navy. Being kept more or less out of sight, it was gradually dropping out of mind. Then arose the battleship *versus* submarine-aircraft controversy, which revealed a sharp cleavage of opinion in the senior ranks of the service with regard to future shipbuilding policy and tactics. Admirals whose names had become household words were found denouncing the great ship as a costly anachronism. Others of equal repute championed the battleship and made light of the submarine and the aeroplane as naval weapons. This disagreement among the experts did nothing to restore the nation's confidence in the naval administration, and while it was still raging there was published, in February 1922, the report of the Geddes Committee, which, in effect, accused the Admiralty of squandering millions to no purpose. As the current Navy Estimates stood at 82,000,000*l.*, there did seem to be grounds for reviewing this

formidable expenditure. Thanks to the Washington Treaty, a 'cut' of 17,500,000*l.* was made in the year following, but in spite of this big reduction influential voices were heard demanding to know why the Navy should be costing nearly 65,000,000*l.* a year at a time of profound peace and complete absence of foreign competition.

Meanwhile the air enthusiasts were conducting a vigorous propaganda of their own, and as the controllers of their service, unlike the naval chiefs, did not scorn to employ legitimate arts of publicity, the conception of air power as a substitute for naval power, with the consequential supersession of the Navy as our first line of defence, began to appeal to the imagination of the public To attribute all this to the 'hush' policy then in vogue at Whitehall would be going too far. Publicity can do much, but it cannot do everything. Much of the interest now exhibited in national air progress is due to a sound appreciation of the changes, drastic though perhaps not fundamental, which the development of aviation has produced in the strategic situation of this country. For a time, however, the public's attention was undoubtedly monopolised by air propaganda, and had the Admiralty maintained its ill-advised policy of secretiveness there would probably have come, sooner or later, a readjustment of expenditure on the fighting services, involving the Navy's loss of that privileged position which it has held for many generations.

That other counsels eventually prevailed at Whitehall was fortunate for the Navy and, I venture to say, for the country. If air strength is only to be purchased at the expense of sea power, then the price is too high. It would not be difficult to prove that Great Britain needs, and as long as overseas trade is carried on by ships will continue to need, a Navy of sufficient strength to safeguard the main traffic routes leading to the heart of the Empire. That aircraft are not yet competent to undertake this duty is acknowledged by all save a few fanatics. Whether they ever will be competent is a question of no urgent concern. We have to deal with conditions as they now exist and as they are likely to exist for as long a period as human prevision may span. No people can afford to gamble with its security, as we should be doing were we to turn our backs on defence by sea and concentrate our energies on the building up of air power. This is not to say that our present standard of air strength is adequate, still less that air power is of minor importance. It may even be conceded that some revision of the Service budgets is desirable with the object of releasing more money for the Royal Air Force without, at the same time, increasing the total expenditure on defence. It would not be difficult to suggest measures of economy which seem in no way calculated to impair the actual strength or

efficiency of the Navy. That, however, is a subject that scarcely comes within the purview of this article, and I will only add that certain methods of keeping down naval expenditure which are now being practised, and of which examples will be cited, impress the onlooker as being false economy.

Within the past few years a marked and most welcome change has taken place in the relations between the Navy and the public. The 'hush' policy has been discarded, and within certain quite reasonable limits the Press is granted every facility for obtaining news about the Fleet and its activities. As a consequence the Navy is again coming to be regarded as a valuable 'news feature'—that is to say, a subject which, if properly handled, is certain to appeal to a wide circle of newspaper readers. This revival of interest in naval affairs is a matter of national gratification. An informed public opinion has always been the Navy's greatest asset. Times without number has public opinion frustrated the attempts of politicians, whether opportunist or well-meaning but mistaken, to reduce the strength of the Navy below the safety limit. It was the people, rather than any Government, that saw to it that the Navy was maintained at adequate power throughout the recurrent crises in Europe which culminated in the Great War If ever public opinion definitely loses interest in the Navy there will be an end to our strength on the seas

That interest can best be sustained by letting the public know what the Navy is doing Heavy as is the burden of naval expenditure, it will be cheerfully borne if the nation is satisfied that the money is being spent to good purpose. Excessive official secrecy is, on the other hand, a direct encouragement to criticism, because it at once suggests that there are damaging facts to be hidden. Nor must its irritant effect on international relationships be overlooked. For several years after the Washington Conference a certain section of the United States Press gave prominence to charges of bad faith against the British Government, which was alleged to be cunningly evading the rules of the Washington Treaty. Although these charges were utterly without foundation, the refusal of the British Admiralty to give out any information made it impossible to refute them in a convincing manner. This may seem a matter of small importance, but those who followed the course of the post-Conference naval agitation in the United States, and noted its reactions on Anglo-American relations, take a different view.

Nearly ten years have now elapsed since the British Navy, after fifty-one months of war, reverted to a peace footing. In view of the novel character of that struggle and of the vast store of experience it left in its train, one would expect to find striking contrasts between the Fleet of 1918 and the Fleet of 1928. Out-

wardly, however, there is little difference. The bulk of our present-day Fleet consists of ships that were in commission at the date of the Armistice. There are two or three new capital ships, half a dozen new cruisers, and a few lighter craft of recent construction, but the material of the Fleet as a whole remains pretty much what it was ten years ago. Has the Navy, then, *stood still all this time, retaining obsolete material and obsolete* methods, instead of making full use of the war experience it purchased at so dear a price? Anyone who merely looked at the ships we now have might be tempted to answer in the affirmative. Yet he would be grievously in error.

We owe it to the Washington Treaty that our battle fleet has undergone so few external changes since 1918. The immediate effect of that compact was virtually to suspend capital ship construction for a period of ten years. But for the Treaty we might have built twenty new ships between 1921 and 1931, in which case the composition of our battle fleet would have been entirely changed. As it is, during the period in question we have built, and shall build, only two ships in all, with the result that old vessels which in the normal course of events would ere now have been scrapped, or at any rate placed in reserve, continue to represent our main fighting strength. Cruisers, it is true, are not subject to numerical limitation under the Treaty, but an unwritten though none the less effective restriction on the building of such ships is imposed by their staggering cost—2,000,000*l* per ship. Furthermore, reasons of foreign policy have constrained us to limit the output of new cruisers, with the result that only seven of the British cruisers now in commission date from the post-war era. Among the lighter craft there is a much greater predominance of the old over the new. At the present moment we have in service but two destroyers and four submarines that were laid down since the war. The navies of the United States, Japan, and France contain much higher percentages of new material, and, as age is an important element in estimating relative power, a mere tabular statement of the respective fleets is liable to give an exaggerated impression of British naval power. It is true we possess in our long-service, highly trained lower-deck personnel an incalculable but great advantage over all other navies, and one that cannot be ignored when comparing relative strength, though it does not lend itself to arithmetical computation.

It is an axiom that 'men fight, not ships.' At the same time, under modern conditions of sea warfare quality of material counts for much. Judging from experiences in the late war, superior skill, discipline, and devotion rarely avail to overcome the handicap of obsolete or defective material. This was tragically demonstrated at Coronel, and also to some extent at Jutland.

If, therefore, we have the best naval seamen in the world, it is surely our duty to see that they are provided with the best possible material. In the modern Navy there is a constant striving towards perfection in the design of ships and fighting equipment. Progress is retarded by the limited funds available, particularly in regard to research and experimental work. But the country may rest assured that the few new ships we have represent the highest standard of combatant efficiency so far attainable. Remarkable advances have been made in gunnery, torpedo work, anti-submarine operations, signalling, and engineering. A great deal of what has been done in these matters is of necessity confidential, but the results speak for themselves.

As it has been my privilege to make several cruises with the Fleet this year, it may be of interest to record some impressions gained at first hand To begin with, the Navy afloat is doing its utmost to curtail expenditure. Rigid economy is the rule, even when, apparently, it involves some sacrifice of efficiency. Whenever the Atlantic Fleet is reported as having sailed on its spring, summer, or autumn cruise, as the case may be, the general public imagines, no doubt, that it has gone to spend two or three months at sea. That, however, is by no means the case. Owing to the slender allowance of fuel the actual time spent in cruising is very limited, and for every day the ships are steaming at sea they have to put in several days at anchor This, of course, does not mean that time is wasted So far as routine training is concerned, it is immaterial whether a warship is at anchor or under way. Nevertheless, there are certain forms of training, and those the higher forms, which can only be practised at sea. The comparatively limited time now spent under steam gives our flag-officers few opportunities of handling fleets and squadrons, an art of which the supreme tactical importance requires no emphasis. In these circumstances it is difficult to see how the standard of manœuvring skill which was reached during the war can be maintained.

The cost of both oil and coal remains at a high figure, and any substantial increase in the Navy's fuel allowance would necessitate a large addition to the Navy Estimates unless it were balanced by corresponding reductions in other Votes. Yet it is certain that with more fuel to burn the Fleet would gain in efficiency In time of war ships and squadrons travel, as a rule, at high speeds. Even a layman can appreciate the difference between manœuvring a squadron at 14 knots and 21 knots respectively. At full power a ship may display vagaries under helm of which she gives no indication at low speed, and for the perfect execution of a tactical manœuvre it is essential that the behaviour of every unit under all conditions should be known beforehand. Yet

nowadays it is only on the rarest occasions that the bridge is able to signal 'full speed ahead' to the engine-room. So far as the capital ships are concerned, steaming at full power is indulged in only twice or three times a year, and then but for a few hours. This being so, it is the more remarkable that such successful results should be attained. Last March I was present in one of the Atlantic Fleet battleships while she was carrying out a full-power trial. This ship was completed as long ago as 1914, and owing in part to the exigencies of war, and in part to the post-war policy of retrenchment, her machinery had never undergone a thorough refit. Yet on this occasion, after fourteen years of continuous service, including four years of particularly arduous war cruising, she came within the merest fraction of her designed speed of 21 knots. The credit for this wonderful performance must be equally divided between the craftsmen who built her machinery and the naval engineers to whose devoted care its excellent condition, after so many years of 'rack and stress and strain,' was due.

Having suggested that the Navy's fuel allowance might with advantage be increased, it is but fair that I should point out the difficulties in the way Practically all modern warships are designed for very high speeds, and it needs but a smattering of technical knowledge to grasp the fact that every advance in a ship's speed entails a quite disproportionate increase in horse-power, and therefore in fuel consumption. The battle-cruiser *Renown* can stow about 4290 tons of oil Steaming at economical speed, which may be approximately 14 knots, she could probably cover a distance of 9000 miles without taking in fresh supplies. But if she travelled at full speed her bunkers would be empty after a run of 3500 miles When it is remembered that the prevailing market price for fuel-oil is 3*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* a ton, the Admiralty's ban on high-speed steaming, save on very special occasions, seems not unreasonable The further development of the internal combustion engine, which promises to be much more economical than steam machinery in fuel consumption at high speeds, may eventually provide a solution for this complex problem.

Motives of economy are responsible, in part, for the system under which the Third Battle Squadron (Atlantic Fleet) is now manned. On paper this squadron of four battleships appears to be fully manned and in a state of immediate readiness for action. Actually, however, it is not One-third of the company in each ship consists of boys, who are, of course, not equal to seamen in training, physical strength, or endurance. The Third Battle Squadron is, in fact, primarily a training squadron, and must therefore be considered unready for war. As there are not sufficient trained seamen on board to provide full complements

for all the fighting stations, including gun-turrets, it would be necessary to augment and reorganise the personnel of these four ships before they were fit to take their place in the battle line Consequently the Atlantic Fleet is less powerful than its array of ships would suggest.

In spite of the drawbacks involved, however, the system of training boys in sea-going battleships has given such admirable results that it will probably be continued indefinitely. Joining the Navy at the age of sixteen, they spend the first year and part of the second at one or other of the great training centres at Shotley, Devonport, or Forton, near Portsmouth. From there they are drafted to the Third Battle Squadron for six months, during which they make two cruises. Besides attending school on board, they have their share in the routine duties of the ship, which they carry out under the supervision of trained men. These youngsters show the keenest interest alike in work and play, and although of necessity under naval discipline, which is strict without being harsh, they have what may not unfairly be called 'a good time.' Guns and torpedoes have a special attraction for them, and they soon learn to work the big 6-inch guns of the secondary armament in a way that excites the admiration of old hands. Thanks to living quarters which are roomy and well ventilated, an abundance of wholesome, well-cooked food, and regular calisthenics, they are always in first-class physical condition. It would, indeed, be difficult to find better specimens of the nation's young manhood than the 1600 boys serving in the Third Battle Squadron Although, as I have said, this squadron is not in the same state of preparedness as the other Fleet formations which are manned entirely by trained ratings, it is far from being inefficient. On the last spring cruise it exhibited a remarkably high standard in gunnery, torpedo, engineering, and general smartness. In view of its dual function as a training force and a unit of the battle fleet, a severe strain is imposed on the officers, warrant and petty officers, and senior ratings of the squadron, to whose devotion to duty no praise could do adequate justice.

It is now widely admitted that our pre-war standard of gunnery left something to be desired. The results of the Grand Fleet's shooting at Jutland were frankly disappointing, though this was largely the fault, not of our naval gunners, but of the indifferent quality of certain of the ammunition with which they were supplied. Lord Jellicoe has animadverted on this matter in his two books, his criticisms being much stronger than any layman would venture to express. Since those days, however, there has been a very decided improvement. From personal observation I am able to testify to the excellence of our naval gunnery at the present date. A full-calibre battleship 'shoot' witnessed in the

Mediterranean some months ago left impressions that will not readily fade. For this occasion the four battleships of the squadron, each mounting ten 13 5-inch guns, represented two separate divisions. The target in each case was the rear ship of each division. For this method of 'throw-off' shooting, as it is termed, the sights are actually laid on the objective, but the guns themselves are deflected a degree or so in order that their projectiles shall fall slightly in rear of the point of aim. It may sound a somewhat dangerous procedure, but in reality the element of risk is negligible, and although the gunner is deprived of the natural satisfaction of seeing his shot holes in the target, the system enables the results of the firing to be judged with great accuracy.

During the practice in question, which took place at distances approximating to those at which the Battle of Jutland was fought, I saw two battleships get the precise range of the target at the third salvo. Thereafter each broadside was a 'straddle,' which meant that some of the shots pitched slightly beyond and others slightly short of the target, indicating that the mean position of the target had been found and held But for the deflection given to the guns, one or more direct hits would probably have been scored at each salvo. Later in the same day I had even more striking proof of the deadly accuracy of the squadron's fire. By then our own ship had become the target for the opposing division, the two units of which were so far distant as to appear as tiny, indistinct shapes against the northern horizon. More than half a minute elapsed between the gun flashes and the arrival of the shells. Of the forty odd rounds that were fired, at least half fell in the actual wake of our ship, which at times showed a zigzag pattern as course was altered to starboard or port to confuse the 'enemy's' aim

To any layman who has witnessed the, to his mind, marvellous results of the combination of human intelligence and mechanical ingenuity it is no longer a puzzle why the great majority of naval men should continue to regard the big gun as the decisive weapon in warfare afloat, and therefore, by implication, the battleship as the key factor in naval strength. On the other hand, it must be confessed that the only people on board who seem thoroughly to enjoy a full-calibre shoot are the gunnery specialists and their minions. To everyone else in the ship it is a time of trial and tribulation. Owing to the tremendous power of the modern large-calibre naval gun, elaborate precautions must be taken to prevent damage to the ship's fittings by blast or concussion. Before the firing starts cabins have to be practically dismantled, doors and pictures taken down, and everything breakable stowed in a place of safety. There are certain positions on deck, and even

on the bridge, where it is dangerous to stand on account of the blast. When rapid salvoes are being delivered the noise and general commotion, it need scarcely be said, are prodigious. How much more nerve-racking, then, must such an experience be when one's ship is not only firing her hardest, but being fired at in return, when to the recurring crash and concussion of one's own guns is added the impact of enemy shells, which if they do not actually explode on board may drop sufficiently near to throw up lofty geysers that deluge the decks and interrupt vision by covering every optical instrument with spray. It needs but a slight effort of the imagination to picture the difficulty of manœuvring a fleet under such conditions, which prevailed in an intensive form throughout the Battle of Jutland—a point which arm-chair critics of Jellicoe, Beatty, or Scheer would do well to bear in mind. It is one thing for a general to direct a great land battle from the comparative seclusion and quietude of his room at G H.Q., miles behind the front; it is quite another thing for an admiral to control a great naval engagement from the conning-tower of a ship which is almost invariably in the hottest part of the fighting line, amidst the thunder and concussion of its own guns and, maybe, the shattering blows of enemy projectiles.

While there are, of course, no means of comparing the gunnery efficiency of the British Navy of to-day with that of foreign navies, it is a justifiable assumption that the experience garnered during the war has led us to adopt the most advanced and up-to-date methods of training in this vital branch of naval tactics. Here again, however, the work is gravely handicapped by the requirements of economy. Owing to the meagre allowance of ammunition, shooting under war conditions, *i e.* with full charges, can be carried out only at long intervals—about twice a year, I am given to understand As a result most of the gunnery training has to be conducted on theoretical and artificial lines. Were it feasible to double the present allowance of powder and shell, there is little doubt that the shooting of the Fleet, good as it is already, would become even better. This, it is submitted, is a matter of great importance, since the battle fleet, maintained at heavy cost, remains the chief agency of our naval power, and its preparedness for war is determined in the first instance by the quality of its gunnery. There is little point in building ships such as the *Nelson* and the *Rodney*, which essentially are floating platforms for the heaviest naval ordnance, if they are to be denied the opportunity of using their mighty weapons to the best advantage, and this they can only do by frequent battle practice. The excellent shooting made by the Germans at Jutland is often ascribed to the superiority of their range-finders and other mechanical contrivances, but it was certainly due in some measure to the larger

supply of ammunition at their disposal as compared with the British quota of pre-war days. The problem, however, is one of great difficulty. Modern naval ammunition is so expensive that any considerable increase in the present allotment would impose a severe burden on the Navy Estimates. Every full salvo fired from the nine guns of the *Nelson* costs 2100*l.*, and as there are 166 heavy guns in our existing battle fleet it is clear that any addition to the allowance of practice ammunition would entail a formidable expenditure. It must be left to the competent authorities to decide whether this additional outlay could be balanced by retrenchment in other branches of the naval administration.

As a rule, the civilian who has been privileged to make a cruise in one of His Majesty's ships goes ashore with an entirely new set of ideas about the Navy. To him it is no longer primarily a collection of ships, but a throbbing, human organism. Material values, such as the tonnage, speed, and armament of the ships, lose much of the significance with which they had, perhaps, been invested by the amateur naval student. He comes to perceive that the real strength of the Navy resides in its personnel. Not that its material is unimportant, but simply that at all times the man is, and must be, more than the machine.

It is infinitely to be regretted that for obvious reasons the actualities of naval life must remain a sealed book to the public at large. Had it been otherwise, the erroneous ideas engendered by the *Royal Oak* affair would never have taken root in the public mind. Contrary to what a great many people seem to imagine, the naval officer of to-day leads a life which has few of the amenities that his brother ashore takes for granted. Whether on or off duty, he is never free from the bonds of discipline Unless he be of very high rank he enjoys no real privacy. The officers' mess of a warship may be likened to a club, but a club from which there is no escape, irrespective of whether the atmosphere be congenial or the reverse. To meet daily at table and in the ante-room the same people for a period which may extend over years; to exhibit under all conditions a spirit of good fellowship and accommodation; to take an interest, however forced, in the conversational topics of the moment; to suffer, without conveying a hint of suffering, the company of all and sundry, regardless of differences in temperament or taste; and generally to do one's full share towards making the ship a 'happy' ship—such are the unwritten but none the less inexorable rules which govern the life of the naval officer when serving afloat. It is, perhaps, the supreme test of character, and the astonishing thing is, not that here and there an officer should fall short of the painfully high standard of self-discipline which service conditions must needs impose, but that such cases should be so extremely rare.

It is indisputable that the discipline and *moral* of the Navy have never stood so high as to-day. If a civilian onlooker can but dimly appreciate the traditions which play so pervasive a part in the everyday life of the service, at least he is able to see clearly enough the influence they exert. This reverence for tradition does not invariably operate for good. It tends to foster a spirit of ultra-conservatism, certain ill effects of which, in relation both to the personal and material aspects of the Navy, might readily be cited ; but in general its influence is beneficial. There is no place in the Navy for the egoist. The individual has not merely to subordinate his interests, but to merge them in those of the service, which are at all times paramount. In other words, the Navy exacts from each of its servants a selfless devotion. Preferment is slow, rewards come to the few, and increased work and responsibility are considered a mark of favour. This applies equally to all ranks and ratings.

At the same time, it must be acknowledged that the conditions of service have undergone notable improvement in recent years. Rates of pay, which before and even during the war were nothing less than a national scandal, have been placed on a more equable basis. Marriage allowances are now paid to all save the commissioned officer, who for some inscrutable reason is still denied this pecuniary aid, though his Army *confrère* has long received it. There is, indeed, a gross and wholly indefensible disparity between the emoluments of a Navy officer and an Army officer of equivalent rank. In berthing accommodation for the personnel the Royal Navy, so far as its newer ships are concerned, is second to none. The victualling system leaves little to be desired, and in numerous minor directions the lot of the man-of-war's man has been appreciably bettered since the war This fact is doubtless responsible in some measure for the higher standard of discipline now prevailing as compared with that of pre-war days, and which is reflected in the extraordinarily sharp decline in the yearly total of punishments inflicted. The country has good cause to take pride in its Navy There is certainly no other community or institution that sets a higher example of devotion to the service of the State.

HECTOR C. BYWATER.

THE ELIMINATION OF WAR

In the cycles of the rise, decline and fall of civilisation may be traced one constant—namely, the desire for peace, and all that peacefulness includes; this constant is the urge of war, the aim of which is to establish peace, maintain or change it. Throughout history there have been three forms of war—private wars, or feuds; social wars, or revolutions; and foreign wars, or invasions. In the first, man is the natural enemy of man; in the second, the minority is the natural antagonist of the majority; and in the third, one nation is the potential enemy of the other. As far as history can guide us, from the fragmentary knowledge we possess of the great civilisations, amongst which that of ancient Rome is the most perfect, it would appear that the constant of peace is sought along an invariable path: first private wars are eliminated, and social tranquillity established; next social wars are eliminated, and a national stability is formed; and lastly the elimination of foreign wars is aimed at through a general federation of nations

To-day the last-mentioned ideal bulks large in the world's thought. On the one side we have the social philosophers, whose aim it is to establish a creative state of peacefulness through Group Effort, and on the other the politicians voicing that vague and capricious factor, public opinion We are surrounded by an atmosphere of group minds, group organisations, peace pacts and anti-war treaties, all illuminating the constant like a beam of light, a mote of dust which, though invisible in itself, nevertheless reflects the light cast upon it. All is either black darkness or white light, for at present we possess no spectrum to disentangle the colours. Born of the greatest conflict of our age, peace to-day casts over civilisation a gigantic shadow in which the urge of war, that by-product of the constant, is obscured; otherwise, why so unpractical a political suggestion as the outlawry of war, which inconception is not far removed from that of the philosophers' stone.

War is not an enigma, but a fact, yet it is treated as an enchantment which can be destroyed by a spell, a formula written in ink and repeated by a circle of politicians. The idea that war

can be outlawed is obviously absurd directly it is grasped that war is nothing more than a fever begotten of peaceful diseases. Absurd though it be, outlawry is not a suggestion which should be set aside lightly, because it does show a desire, a wish and a hope, that wars should cease. The idea in itself is strictly progressive, yet totally impracticable until means are created whereby it may be transmuted into fact.

The masses do not like war, for it terrifies them. Once they did not like witchcraft or heresy, these also terrified them. What they hope for is an affluent lethargy, intellectual, moral and physical. Such is the driving force of humanity—an unobtainable goal.

The reasons for war are not constant, for from time to time they have changed their form. The Roman wars were largely slave hunts. In place of inventing labour-saving machinery they collected slaves by military force. To-day machinery collects workers through economic pressure After the fall of the Roman Empire the reason for war was plunder. The Christian Church set its face against slavery, then brigandage became the reason, and from about the year 400 to the outbreak of the Crusades wars were incessant. The Crusades, in which plunder as a cause of war was in the larger part replaced by something more desirable—namely, the conquest of the devil and his followers—brought barbaric and superstitious Europe into contact with the cultured and prosperous Moslems. Once again the reason for war began to change. The Crusaders returning to their sordid strongholds, which were little better than human sties, were discontented with their economic and social inferiority. The result was the general revival of trade and wealth in the thirteenth century. The imaginative spirit of the Church, the financial controller of Europe, now came into conflict with the economic spirit of the new-born burgher class. The so-called Wars of Religion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries followed, which were more correctly speaking economic wars, wars of liberation from papal financial control supported by spiritual force. When they ended in 1648 the religious reason for war was eliminated, just as brigandage as a reason had been largely eliminated by the Church 500 years before this date.

We now enter the modern period of European history. The economic class having ousted the religious, commerce became the reason for conflict. It was a reversion to the brigandage period of society, but organised and State-controlled in place of being chaotic and left to the individual. First of all secure military frontiers had to be established, and secondly secure economic frontiers; consequently their establishment became causes of war. In 1914 our frontiers were the sea coasts of other nations,

and the threat offered to them by the German fleet was the main military, or strategical, cause of the war. If Germany could only obtain command of the sea, the world was open to her legions. Alsace and Lorraine were quite minor frontier factors. Before 1914, by so-called peaceful penetration, Germany had carried by erosion, if not by assault, most of the economic frontiers of other nations. The result was an increasing host of tariff barriers, and, as these cannot normally be broken down by establishing similar barriers in retaliation, the outcome was an appeal to physical force.

Since the war, though several nations wish to rectify their military frontiers, few want to expand them to include hostile foreign minorities. Whilst 100 years ago the power of an illiterate foreign minority was negligible, to-day an educated, or even semi-educated, foreign minority is a perpetual anxiety. Consequently the present tendency is not to increase these minorities, but to eliminate them. We as a nation are the pioneers of this movement. Politically we have got rid of our Dominions, have got rid of Ireland and Egypt, and are trying to get rid of India. In political organisation we are the world's model, and it is probable that other nations will follow in our footsteps. If they do, the greatest military cause of war will disappear, and the only remaining cause of importance will be the economic.

What is, then, the future of world economics ? An answer to this question will carry with it an equivalent change in the war problems of the future when compared with these problems to-day.

The main economic tendencies to-day are without doubt the nationalisation of industry and the internationalisation of commerce. These two outlooks are antagonistic as long as industry is protected. Commerce, to flow freely, demands the obliteration of economic frontiers, and as finance is largely international it would appear that at no very distant date the economic ideal will be sought in universal free trade. Should such a condition be established, only such industries as can thrive without protection will remain national, and commerce being international—that is, free to circulate wherever a demand is created, or exists—the present economic cause of war will have outgrown its utility and have become absurd. What is now known as peaceful penetration will develop from a curse into a blessing ; taxation will be lowered, wealth will be increased, and the nations, to-day representing individual shops, will be merged into one international store. The freedom which trade gained from religion in 1648 will be repeated in the liberation of commerce from politics. Nations will remain autonomous politically, but economically they will be internationalised. Unless a new religious cause of war arises—and this is scarcely possible as long as society remain

organised—the final cause of war will be eliminated, and a world peace will be established, not because war has been anathematised, but because it has lost its utility. How long it will take the world to recognise the advantages of free trade it is not possible to say. Meanwhile there may be many great struggles before this realisation is reached.

If wars are to continue, will not their aim more and more be to gain industrial rather than political control; will not they become less destructive and more constructive? If monopoly of industrial power is aimed at, then is it not senseless to destroy the enemy's people and his resources which are essential to the strength of this monopoly? Further, as trade becomes more and more internationalised, to destroy the resources of the enemy will be to destroy what in part belongs to ourselves. Such an action is absurd, and consequently industrial wars of destruction are likely to be classed as such, because they will have lost their utility. Again, if armies become more and more mechanised, chemicalised and electrified, only great industrial countries will be able to wage war with any hope of success, because power to wage war will be based on industrial power and not man power. Small wars will be largely eliminated and the number of potential enemies considerably reduced.

There is nothing unlikely in this—in fact it is indicated by the changes wrought in naval power during the last 100 years. A century ago small wars on the high seas were still common, and they were called piracy. Two centuries ago they were of daily occurrence, and still a century further back they were highly profitable, certainly to us, seeing that our Empire was founded by pirates, just as the Greek city empire was about 2500 years ago. To-day piracy is practically extinct, for the mechanisation of the warship has killed it. In sailing-ship days pirates could thrive, in steamship days they cannot; and not only has the mechanisation of naval power eliminated guerrilla wars at sea, but it has rendered war at sea in any form almost impossible between the smaller maritime nations: it has, consequently, vastly reduced the number of potential combatants: in fact steam power has very largely eliminated naval warfare; and will not petrol power do the same for war on land?

Since the decline of religious intolerance the whole ethical outlook of the civilised world has improved. It was rational thought, and not spiritual speculation, which accomplished this change, not the hopes of the next world, but the facts of this one, not faith in things unseen, but knowledge of things examined. When the spiritual welfare of mankind hinged on rack, boot, and stake warfare was equivalently brutal. But to-day, when the bodily welfare of the people is guaranteed by almshouses, hospitals

and old age pensions, brutality has been largely eliminated from war.

The ethical tendency in war to-day is to reduce suffering, and if this tendency is carried to its ultimate conclusion it must end in the elimination of the causes of suffering—that is, not only war itself, but the causes of war. Yet there is another outlook. Is there not something in war which defies moral sentiment and intellectual balance, a glamour which blinds the reason, and an urge which at times will sweep a nation off its feet? By the coldly rational this may be called madness, but when strong emotions surge over a people the rational plays but a small part and frequently only that of a mute. It may be a foolish act for a man who cannot swim to plunge into a river and attempt to save a drowning fellow, but by universal consent it is a heroic act, and among the masses of a nation heroism is still a stronger stimulant than reason.

It is because fighting one's country's battles is so heroic an undertaking that the glow of war remains unextinguished in the heart of man, and above all in the heart of woman. She instinctively feels that the soldier is the protector of her home and of her children, as well as of her country. It is because of his heroism that she offers him her love, and these two have ennobled war in spite of its horrors and disasters. Eliminate heroism, and not only does war lose its soul, but it becomes to a great extent a senseless thing.

In the ancient days, the days when Homer wrote the *Iliad*, the heroism of war stood forth in all its brightness; it glittered in its brazen armour, and glimmered from its brass-tipped spears. But then all glory fell to one man, the fighting leader, the man who was not only chief among his men, but who fought their battles for them. Such a leader must have set beating many a woman's heart, and by so doing have glorified war.

The first great change came with the invention of gunpowder and the second with the introduction of steam power. The first to a large extent abolished chivalry and democratised war. The prowess of the individual was merged into the determination o the mass. Leaders became commanders, and by degrees disappeared from the actual battlefield to control their men from the rear. Steam power increased the physical power of armies and in naval battles the majority of a ship's crew became littl more than a human link between two pieces of metal—the she and the gun, or the bunker and the boiler.

In the recent World War the outstanding difficulty on lan was the human element—man and his limitations. As the wa proceeded it became obvious that, though the means of con trolling a battle left little to be desired, the instrument would n

respond: it was human, it possessed a soul, it could be terrified, it was apt to halt and not obey. Man, in fact, was an incumbrance on the battlefield; if only he could be replaced by a 'Robot' which would automatically respond to the general's will, this supreme difficulty would be overcome; fear would be eliminated, and incidentally with it heroism. The method of fighting would become perfect and absolutely diabolical. Such I believe to be the central idea in the mechanical theory of war.

To-day we are seeking to eliminate danger by armour—by tanks and kindred machines. But why halt here? Man is still a fearful creature, whether armoured or unarmoured. Weapons give blows, but men receive them. Why not eliminate the fighting soldier altogether?

As in religion the constant factor has been fear, and in economics greed, so in war the constant tactical factor has been the elimination of danger. It matters not what period of war we examine, tactical evolution has revolved round this constant. The idea of the elimination of danger was born with war itself; every weapon invented aims at eliminating danger on the one side by accentuating it on the other. Not long ago on the battlefield man faced man in mortal combat; to-day hundreds of paces, sometimes thousands, separate the combatants, and this separation is the child of this idea. The elimination of danger carries with it the elimination of war, since war without danger is an absurdity. Conversely, the accentuation of danger, until it embraces civilian and soldier alike, carries with it a similar conclusion. It is a case of extremes meeting, for universal danger becomes as absurd a means of lethal argument as no danger at all.

To-day the tendencies for these extremes to seek union would appear to be well established. We know that by means of a wireless apparatus we can control an unpiloted aeroplane, or an unmanned coastal motor-boat. We know that if an entire frontier were mined, or if all the bridges over a river were prepared for demolition, by pressing a button all the mines or charges could be exploded simultaneously. What have we done? We have eliminated man and have replaced him by a machine which will electrically respond to the will of one man, irrespective of distance, and all but irrespective of time. What we have done is to link up the brain of the general direct to a vast number of weapons in place of linking it to the weapons through a multitude of intermediary human brains. If it is possible to control a motor-boat by a wireless wave, it is possible to control a tank or 1000 tanks, an aeroplane or 1000 aeroplanes.

Such possibilities are not purely fantastic, for if in the next 100 years the rate of scientific progress of the last 100 is maintained, there is no saying what inventions may not appear. It

is not beyond the realms of possibility to imagine that a general may be seated in a flat in London, and yet be fighting a manless battle in Central Asia in which the civil population is the target. The soullessness of war, as well as its universal terror, will bring about its end—it will be killed by its own perfection.

Sufficient has now been said, so I think, to explode and yet justify the opinion that war can be outlawed. Illusion though it be, it is a great hope, and if it becomes a popular sentiment and above all a dire necessity that wars should cease, the spirit of civilisation will consciously and subconsciously direct human endeavours towards their elimination. Economics, politics and ethics, so I think, point this way, and, pointing, will converge and combine towards the ultimate extinction of war. Yet all this is largely hypothetical, and to found it on a base I will turn to history.

The recorded history of war will show that there have been two grand military cycles in Europe—the Pagan and the Christian. The first began about 1100 B.C., endured in all 1500 years, and ended in the *Pax Romana*. It was followed by two and a half centuries of chaos and anarchy, out of which the second grand cycle emerged. This grand cycle may be divided into three tactical periods—the cavalry, infantry, and artillery cycles.

Dates of initiation are always difficult to discover, because historical periods slowly emerge one out of the other. Probably the most satisfactory date to select as the birthday of the cavalry cycle is the middle of the seventh century A.D., when Mohammedan pressure was beginning to focus world thought on the East, and was about to draw Europe out of anarchy and consolidate her forces. To fix the end of the cavalry cycle is not so difficult : it ended about the middle of the fifteenth century, when gunpowder was beginning to transform war. In all, it lasted 800 years, the first four of which, from its initiation to about the date of the first Crusade, constituted a period of transition.

The infantry cycle began about 1450, the date of the battle of Formigny, in which gunpowder played an effective part, and lasted until approximately 1850, after which scientific inventions, such as steamships, locomotives, the telegraph and rapidly improving weapons, began to change the nature of tactics. Its transitional period ended about 1650, roughly, the date of the peace of Westphalia.

Accepting these figures as sufficiently correct to speculate upon, we arrive at the following conclusion : that the infantry cycle was in duration half the length of the cavalry cycle, and that their periods of transition were in like proportion. If now the Christian grand cycle is destined to end in a period of prolonged peace, as did its Pagan counterpart, and should it—and this is little more than guesswork—attain an equal length, then the

present war period has still a little more than 200 years to run Accepting this figure as a hypothesis to work on, and knowing that the infantry cycle was in length half the cavalry cycle, then the existing artillery cycle should last 200 years, and be followed by yet another cycle which will last half this time.

The term 'artillery cycle' demands some explanation. By it I do not mean that infantry suddenly disappeared, but that projectile weapons came more and more into use, so that the infantry soldier, who for centuries had been a cut-and-thrust fighter, became little more than a mounting for a piece of hand artillery; and, further still, improvement in field and siege guns was so rapid, that by the end of the nineteenth century the infantry assault had all but disappeared from the battlefield. The World War was purely an artillery war. Bullet-throwers, rifles and machine-guns (as artillery far more powerful than the cannons of 100 years before) endowed infantry with enormous offensive power when on the defensive, but with a marked insufficiency of protective power in the attack. The result was siege warfare and artillery warfare proper—guns of all calibres running into thousands, and expenditure of shell ammunition into hundreds of thousands of tons. Tactically, however, it was found almost impossible to develop mobility in any of the great artillery battles of the World War, the reason being that the gun is a static weapon as long as it is moved by horses. To overcome this difficulty the tank was introduced, the tank being nothing more than a mobile cannon protected by armour, a weapon automatically moved and simultaneously all but invulnerable to rifle and machine-gun bullets. This weapon during the World War definitely proved its superiority over the infantry arm and the infantry idea. Since the war, in spite of the conservative nature of military thought, it has been accepted as an essential arm, and yearly the idea of mechanisation of all arms is gaining force, so much so that it is fairly certain that the transitional period of the artillery cycle will be completed by about the year 1950. If, then, the artillery cycle endures until 2050—that is, a total period of 200 years, or half the length of the infantry cycle and a quarter that of the cavalry—by what type of cycle will it be followed?

Here we are faced by a problem which can be little more than guessed at, and, for want of a better name, I will call it the 'Robot' cycle. The weapon may be a land one, or a sea one, or an air one, but more likely it would seem that it will be one which can equally well operate on land, sea, and in the air. It may be chemically propelled and electrically directed; but all such possibilities are purely speculative, and the only solid fact we can build on is that as danger—the tactical constant—is unpalatable to man, man will, as far as possible, eliminate it, which means the elimination

of the soldier, or at least of the bulk of soldiers. Then we shall faced by the seeming paradox that the army which contains t fewer men is the more likely to win, since inversely the fewer t men the more perfect will be the machines. If this cycle follo what I will call the normal course, it will be initiated in 205 pass through its transitional period by 2100, and cease to useful in 2150, when, hypothetically, the Christian grand cycle war will come to an end, and, following in the footsteps of t Pagan grand cycle, a world peace will be established permanentl or for a period.

Since private wars ceased two war problems have continu to face mankind—namely, foreign wars and internal revolution and it is a curious and interesting fact that during the so-call Modern Age in European civilisation each 100 years has witness a great foreign war, or series of foreign wars, and a great revol tion, or series of revolutions, the former following on the footste of the latter. Consequently it would seem that unless man ca radically change his nature or improve his civilisation, he destined to spend much of his time in civil or foreign wars. Tl point of interest is, however, that the idea of the outlawry of w is valueless if it embraces foreign wars only It would appe that, as peacefulness is the normal desire of mankind, if outlaw is to be made effective it is wiser to begin with the elimination the causes of civil discontent. If by an act of legislation a perfe state of contentedness could be established, then the millenniu would follow, and foreign wars would be eliminated throu their causes being removed. As so sudden and radical a chan is scarcely possible, is it not more likely that the urge of war w run its predestined course ? And, again, accepting the length the Pagan grand cycle as a hypothesis, then the present revol tionary period should end about 1950, being transformed in another great war period culminating in the year 2000. In th war the artillery cycle will have reached its zenith, and will ent its decline during the next revolutionary period (2000–2050), be replaced by what I have called the 'Robot' cycle (2050–215c Still accepting the cyclical nature of conflict, then a 'Robot war should be fought about the year 2100, and be followed by revolutionary period in which the urge of war will disappear, become comatose until reawakened by some new and stupendou world force.

J. F. C. Fuller.

FIELD ARCHÆOLOGY AS A PROFESSION

THE growth of public interest in archæology has been very noticeable in recent years. Not only have the discoveries in this field been very remarkable—those of Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, Mr. Howard Carter in the tomb of Tutankhamen, and Mr Leonard Woolley at Ur standing out conspicuous among a multitude of others—but the notice given to them in the public Press has been both cause and evidence of the interest taken in them by the general public. The attendances at museums, the inquiries received by officials, and even the responses to appeals for money, all tell the same tale. At the same time the opportunities for archæological research are increasing. The harvest is ready and plentiful, but—and this is the consideration prompting the present article—the labourers are few.

The possibilities of archæological exploration will be denied by no one. Since Layard and Rawlinson opened up the first mounds of Nineveh, the stream of discoveries has been unceasing. Egypt alone has employed a succession of excavators—French, British, Italian, German and American—whose finds have filled the museum of Cairo, and in a lesser degree other museums, with treasures of Egyptian art from the sculptures of the Pyramid period to the jewellery and realistic portraiture of Tell el-Amarna. A whole new chapter of Greek literature and of Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine administration has been opened up by the discoveries of Greek papyri in the same country. The history of Hellenic and pre-Hellenic art has been extended backwards by centuries and millennia, first by the discoveries of Schliemann at Troy, Mycenæ and Tiryns, and then by Sir Arthur Evans' revelation of the Minoan civilisation in Crete At the same time, masterpieces of the best period have been brought to light in the Hermes of Olympia and the Charioteer of Delphi, to say nothing of the archaic sculptures from the Acropolis of Athens. In Asia Minor Winckler at Boghaz-keui and Hogarth and Woolley at Carchemish have recovered the art and archives of the great Hittite Empire, still to be worked out by the research of scholars. In Mesopotamia conditions were difficult in the later years of Turkish rule, but the work of Koldewey at Babylon, of the

Deutsch-Orientgesellschaft at Ashur, of Budge, Rassam, King and Thompson in Assyria, of the Americans at Nippur, kept the stream alive, and since the war the excavations of Hall, Woolley and Langdon at Tell el-Obeid, Ur, and Kish have shown how much still remains to be disclosed. These latter discoveries again link up with those that Sir John Marshall and his colleagues have been making in the Punjab and Scinde, which demonstrate an ancient connexion between the civilisations of the Indus and the Euphrates. In Persia long ago the French brought fine works of art from Susa and Persepolis, and though conditions of work there have latterly been unfavourable, it is not to be supposed that the field is exhausted. Further east, Sir Aurel Stein has written new chapters of Central Asian history and has revealed a wealth of treasures of early Chinese art; while the riches of China itself have only just begun to make themselves known. Not merely have new treasures of Ming and Sung and Tang and Han art been brought to light, but a pre-historic China, reaching back to the age of the dinosaurs, is beginning to dawn upon us.

The same tale comes from America Since the epoch-making (though long-neglected) discoveries of Maya sculptures by Maudslay, it has become increasingly evident that Central America was once the home of an important and well-marked civilisation, with extensions northwards into Mexico and southwards to Peru, and with its origins—who shall say where? That is one of the riddles which archæology still has to solve, and at which American and British expeditions are at work.

The field, then, is immense, the harvest already reaped rich beyond any conception of our forefathers, and the promise infinite. What are the conditions necessary to enable us to take advantage of it?

Principally two—suitable facilities for excavation, and competent men to conduct it; subsidiarily—but this will surely be forthcoming if the two principal conditions are satisfied—adequate pecuniary support from the public The conditions o excavation constitute a delicate and sometimes a burning question, and they differ in different parts of the world. Tw countries may at once be admitted as exceptional—Italy an Greece. Here the present inhabitants are the direct descendant of those who created the works of art which we wish to discove and study, there are trained archæologists able to undertake th research, and the Governments are ready to support then Italy therefore is entitled to say, as she does: 'We are able an willing to do the work ourselves; we welcome foreign studen of our discoveries, but we do not need foreign assistance i making them; and we keep all that we find.' Greece, th smaller country but with a great wealth of sites to explore, say

'We can do some of this work ourselves, but there is so much to be done that we welcome foreign assistance; but foreigners must be content with the honour and glory of discovery and the right of publication; the objects found must remain in the country.' With these conditions civilised countries are content, all the more since Greek and Roman art are already well represented in the museums and galleries of the world, to the glory of the ancient Hellenes and Romans and the advantage of modern Greece and Italy. But these countries, the cradles of so much of our civilisation, are exceptional, as has already been said.

In the other countries which are of most interest to the archæologist—Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia—the conditions are quite different. The present holders of these lands are for the most part not the direct descendants of the peoples who produced the objects of which the archæologists are in search. The present governing race in Egypt does not represent the kings who built the Pyramids and the palaces and tombs of ancient Thebes; still less is the Turk the legitimate heir of the Greeks, Hebrews, Hittites, Assyrians, Babylonians and Sumerians whose lands he holds or recently held. Nor have the modern Egyptians and Turks yet produced, except to a negligible extent, scholars and archæologists capable of excavating and scientifically handling the antiquities buried in their soil. In such countries the co-operation of the Western nations is essential, both for the benefit of the countries themselves and in the interests of science. The fundamental question now is, On what terms may this co-operation be fairly asked and given? Since the war, which placed the greater part of this area more or less under the tutelage of European nations, this question has become one of urgent importance; and considerable progress has been made in arriving at a satisfactory solution.

A century ago, when the Turks opposed no obstacles to archæological research, and when the best way of preserving ancient monuments was to remove them to countries where they were appreciated and cared for, wholesale removal was both legitimate and natural. At this time the British Museum and the Louvre, and other European museums, secured some of their most cherished possessions. Such a solution is not now either possible or desirable. The interests of the country of origin have to be considered, as well as the interests of those who bear the labour and expense of excavation. The rulers of every country, whether they are the descendants of its original inhabitants or not, ought to take an interest in its ancient history, and to secure a full representation of the relics of its ancient civilisation. On the other hand, since the co-operation of other nations is necessary if these relics are to be brought to light at all, and since

the modern peoples of Europe and America have a direct and close interest in the civilisations of the ancient East, it is in the general interest of humanity that these civilisations should be well represented in the museums of the Western nations. Some principle of division must be found which will satisfy the legitimate demands of both parties.

It is perhaps necessary to reiterate this point, since there is at first sight some plausibility in the doctrine that the antiquities of every country should remain in it. In fact, this doctrine is tenable neither in principle nor in practice. It is not to the advantage of any country, nor is it to the advantage of civilisation in general, that its art should be confined within its own borders. Greece and Italy, which, with Palestine, have contributed most to Western civilisation, have also benefited enormously, even from the material and political points of view, from the dissemination of their works of art throughout Europe and North America. Our own country has suffered in reputation because our art is most inadequately represented in European galleries; and so long as we retain a full representation of it in all its branches, there is clear gain in the fact that America should be able to see it in all its excellence and to strengthen the cultural bands which unite the Anglo-Saxon peoples. A country should be proud of making its contribution to the progress of humanity; and it will reap its reward in the respect and admiration of other peoples.

Except when a country can fully handle and deal with its own archæological past, a policy of exclusiveness is bad for another reason. If excavation and export of antiquities are forbidden, research by authorised societies and responsible scholars will cease, but illegitimate digging and unlicensed export will be encouraged. In this way both the country of origin and the interests of science suffer. The country of origin does not receive its share of the objects found, while science suffers from the inexpert handling of the objects and because the record of the circumstances of their discovery is lost. How much should we have lost if the cemetery of Ur, instead of being scientifically excavated by Mr. Woolley, had been plundered by native diggers? Many priceless objects, the salving of which has needed the most meticulous care, would have perished altogether. The rest would have been gradually disseminated over the collections of Europe and America, with no trustworthy record of provenance. Baghdad, it is safe to say, would have got none. Everyone would have been worse off, except the smugglers.

It is therefore to the interest of the country of origin to encourage foreign assistance, and to that end it must offer some inducements to the foreigner. Most excavations are supported by subscriptions, or by institutions which are themselves depen-

dent on private subscriptions or public funds. In both cases those who find the money expect to see some return for it. A museum cannot spend its money altruistically; it may be glad enough to make its contribution to the progress of knowledge, but it must also have objects to show in return for its expenditure. The exhibition of the results of excavations stimulates interest; interest brings in subscriptions; and subscriptions finance further excavations. On the maintenance of this rotation the continuation of exploratory research depends; and the country of origin benefits, not only by the constant flow of objects to its own museums, but by the interest aroused in it, which (as notably in the case of Egypt) swells the stream of financially profitable visitors.

The solution therefore at which educated opinion has arrived is this. In every country possessing antiquities of general interest these antiquities should be under organised control. The Government of the country should assert its authority over them. Unauthorised search for them should be forbidden, but the inhabitants should be encouraged to report anything that they may find, and should be rewarded when they do so. Licences to dig should be given only to qualified excavators, either known as such by their established reputation or vouched for by societies of recognised standing. Excavators so vouched for, and properly equipped with adequate staff and resources, should be encouraged to dig, on the understanding that at the end of the season the objects found, so far as they are removable, shall be equitably divided between the excavator and the country of origin. The country of origin has the first claim, and has the right to see that its own museums receive an adequate representation of the ancient civilisation thus revealed; but it is bound also to see that the excavator receives a fair return for his labour, skill, and expenditure, and if it claims some object of outstanding importance, it must be correspondingly generous in the allowance it makes of objects of lesser value. Readers of Miss Gertrude Bell's correspondence will have realised how difficult and even harrowing a business this may be; but with knowledge and good will on both sides experience shows that satisfactory results can be arrived at. The standard to be aimed at is that which long prevailed in Egypt and is still the law of the land there, though administration has found a way to evade it—namely, a half-and-half division between excavator and country of origin; and over a series of seasons it is quite possible to do justice to both parties.

These are the principles which have been formulated by the Archæological Joint Committee (a body set up on the initiative of the British Academy and composed of representatives of the principal archæological societies in this country), and which have been

indorsed by the representatives of foreign countries in the Union Académique Internationale. They form the basis of the Laws of Antiquities in Palestine and Iraq. Their satisfactory working depends wholly on the good faith and good will of the administration; but in these countries these qualities have not been lacking, and the results have been satisfactory. In Cyprus also, which for many years has been a standing example of the ill effects of a policy of exclusion, where authorised excavation ceased because no consideration was shown to reputable societies, and illicit excavation and smuggling flourished, the new Governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, has succeeded in introducing a new system based upon these principles, and scientific exploration has already been resumed and will, it may be hoped, be continued. In Egypt, after a period during which it seemed likely that the European and American expeditions which have done so much for the country would be forced to discontinue their operations, satisfactory assurances have recently been given, the implementing of which will be watched with anxiety, but also with hope. In other countries, notably in Turkey, this happy result has not yet been arrived at; but it is to be hoped that in course of time it will be realised that only on such terms can the assistance of foreign nations be obtained, and that it is to the interest of the country itself to come into line with the opinion of civilised nations on this point. If Mustapha Kemal could be induced to turn his very intelligent mind in this direction, it is probable that we should see a great revival of excavation in Asia Minor, to the no small profit of Turkey as well as of the world at large.

So much then for the conditions under which archæological research can be expected to flourish. It will be seen that large areas of the highest historical interest, in which before the war excavations could only be conducted under conditions which were satisfactory neither to the excavator nor to the interests of science, are now open to exploration on liberal terms. The field available for research is immensely increased; and with this opportunity comes the need for more men to cultivate it. This is the second requisite of which we spoke above.

Take only the countries for which we have a special responsibility. Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Cyprus are countries of the highest archæological promise. Until recently they were almost sealed to the archæologist. Scientific excavation was greatly hampered, if not brought entirely to a standstill; smuggling and illicit digging were rampant. They are now open, under approved conditions, to excavators of all countries; but the responsibility is primarily ours, and it would be a scandal and a reproach if we left the utilisation of the opportunity entirely to foreigners. A civilised Government has a duty towards the art and archæology of

the country which it administers; and though British Governments have not been forward to recognise such duties (and our country incurs some reproach thereby as being indifferent to the things of the mind), yet of late they have done so at home under the Ancient Monuments Act and the creation of the Royal Fine Art Commission, and abroad by encouraging the establishment of Departments of Antiquities in the countries for which we hold mandates. Pecuniary assistance from official sources, such as other countries habitually give, is not, it is to be feared, to be expected; but the opportunity is there, and is a challenge to our learned societies and the munificent friends of learning. It is to them that we must look to shoulder the responsibility which falls upon our nation in respect of these areas.

A similar responsibility rests upon us in the Western world in respect of our colony of British Honduras. Within its area are contained many sites, which promise to be important, of the Maya civilisation already known to us in Guatemala and Yucatan and elsewhere. The colony, under the sympathetic guidance of its Governor, Sir John Burdon, is anxious that its archæological inheritance should be placed under British control, and has invited the British Museum to take charge of it. This the Trustees would gladly do, provided that the resources at their disposal, which are quite inadequate to meet all the demands upon them, are supplemented by outside help, and if men can be found who are competent and willing to undertake the work.

Nor are these the only countries which offer opportunities to the British archæologist. The British School of Archæology at Athens always has sites placed at its disposal, and, though the products of its excavations do not enrich English museums, they afford valuable training and enable a young man to equip himself for the study of classical archæology. In Egypt, provided that the conditions of work are not made too difficult, there is still an ample field, and it would be lamentable if the Egypt Exploration Society, with its long and honourable record of work at Deir-el-Bahri, Abydos, Tell el-Amarna and elsewhere, were unable to continue its operations. There remains also Asia Minor, covered with the relics of Greek, Byzantine, and Hittite civilisations, to which explorers would flock if they were assured of treatment similar to that which they receive in Palestine and Iraq.

There is thus ample scope and demand for field archæologists for foreign service (of which alone I am speaking in this article); but it is the plain fact that the supply of them is lamentably scanty. Of those who have done good work in the past, Dr. Hogarth and Dr. L. W. King are dead, Sir Flinders Petrie and Sir Ernest Budge have passed the age at which they can be expected to work in the field, Dr. Hall and Mr. Campbell Thompson have

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world-wide recognition among scholars and those who are interested in the results of scholarship. How are men of first-rate ability to be attracted into it?

The great obstacle is the uncertainty of its outlook and the lack of pecuniary inducements. A young man who has just taken his degree, and thereby acquired the general education which is the essential foundation for leadership in research, must spend a year or two in obtaining technical training before his services will be sufficiently valuable to earn him a salary. He may obtain this training either by joining one of the Schools of Archæology at Rome, Athens, or Jerusalem, or by attaching himself to an expedition in the field. In the former case he will have to pay the fees of the school, unless he can obtain one of the scholarships or fellowships endowed by the universities which are tenable thereat. In the latter he can at most hope to receive his bare keep and travelling expenses for the first season or two. In either case he will need some moderate amount of assistance for some few years before he can even approach the state of earning his living.

This, however, is no uncommon position for a young man, and there are plenty of men of the right sort who could either provide for themselves or be supported by their parents over this initial stage if the prospects beyond it were sufficiently sound. Here is the difficulty which always confronts one when asked for advice by those who are contemplating a career in archæology or by their parents. The prospects are in fact, in my opinion, good, because the demand for trained archæologists is greater than the supply; but they are uncertain. No field archæologist can say what he will be doing, or what he will be earning, five years hence, or three years hence, or sometimes even next year. The excavation to which he is attached may come to an end, and though it may be, humanly speaking, certain that some other expedition will be glad of his services, he cannot foretell what it will be or on what terms he will be working. Further (since we are now considering the difficulties that have to be faced), the training of the field archæologist is somewhat exacting. He must have good health, he must be willing to rough it, he must acquire enough of the language of the country to be able to handle his workers, and he must have the gift of controlling and dealing with natives. This, however,

than every young official of the Indian or Sudanese ...erfully undertakes and does. But beyond this there ...ert knowledge of the archæologist, which may comprise ...ories of half-a-dozen ancient empires, with their art, ...ture, script and language. He must also be something of ...eyor and a photographer, he must know how to handle and ...erve fragile and perished substances, and he must make ...nself master of the technique of scientific excavation, which is ...ot a mere matter of digging holes in the ground and taking out ...hat is found.

On the other hand, what are the compensations and attractions? The very requirements that have been enumerated are in themselves an attraction, because they show that this is a high calling, worthy of the devotion of a life. It is not easy, as the life of a bank clerk or a subordinate in a business firm is easy, but it affords scope for the qualities of a man. Those who have read the delightful essays in Hogarth's *Wandering Scholar in the Levant* will have caught something of the charm, as well as of the hardship, and of the charm that lies in the very hardship of this calling. It is a life of travel, of adventure, of the open air, of dealing with men, with the excitement of the lucky-bag and the not infrequent delights of success. It combines the attractions of the explorer, the scholar, and the gambler. It demands initiative, enterprise, tact and judgment; and it has the reward of the glamour which surrounds the discoverer

Nor is the material outlook really unpromising, though it is not magnificent. As has been attempted to be shown above, the prospects of continuous employment are good, and when once a man has mastered the technique of digging and has enough Arabic to deal with his labourers, he is not likely to lack scope for his energies. Meanwhile his archæological knowledge of the special fields in which he works will grow, and he has every opportunity of making himself a recognised authority on his subject. Given the necessary competence and diligence, the possibilities of remunerative employment are not limited to the conduct of excavations. Departments of Antiquities in lands such as Egypt, Palestine, Iraq and Cyprus need directors, inspectors, curators of museums. Appointments in India have more than once gone to men trained in the countries round the Levant. There are occasional lectureships, readerships, professorships, curatorships in universities and museums at home. It is not in the least likely that a good man who has taken the pains to make himself master of his subject—the mastery of which holds so many fascinations by the way—will lack invitations to more settled posts when the time comes for him to retire from work in the field.

At present the demand certainly exceeds the supply. In-

quiries for inspectors, curators, leaders of expeditions come in every year, but it is always difficult and often impossible to supply them, because there are not enough trained men in existence. It is not mere willingness to live abroad, or knowledge of Oriental languages, that suffices. Training in archæology and the technique of field work is also necessary. But training sufficient for an inspectorship is not a long affair; and a man of ability and scholarship who can support himself for a few years is practically certain of employment.

It is surely not a drawback that something of the spirit of adventure is needed. The younger generation are surely not all playing for safety. One hears of plenty of public school men who are anxious to obtain a job in Nigeria or Kenya or Burma, or in lands less attractive than these. Nor is it the case that scholarship and enterprise are incompatible. The experience of war has shown the contrary; for practically the entire force of our trained field archæologists plunged with alacrity into the Intelligence Departments of the East, where Lawrence and Miss Gertrude Bell were by no means the only ones to earn recognition for enterprise and initiative, as well as for cultivated intelligence and a power of dealing with men.

I have no doubt at all that the material is available and that for the right type of man the prospects in everything except great pecuniary wealth are good. What is wanted is that the men and the opportunity should be brought together. The schools of archæology are available to give the required training; and the work is waiting to be done. What is needed is sufficient financial support, from societies, universities, colleges and private munificence, if it cannot be obtained from Governments, for two purposes: first to enable young men to live through the period of training, and secondly to secure continuity of employment by enabling societies and other institutions concerned with archæological exploration to send out expeditions regularly year after year.

England has an unequalled record in field archæology in the past, and it is an occupation which offers scope for many qualities which we believe to be typically English. The credit of the country is involved in seeing that a fresh supply of men is forthcoming to meet the increasing opportunities now opening before us.

FREDERIC G. KENYON.

DIANA OF THE EPHESIANS

THE Greek god Apollo, according to the fables, was born at Delos; but his twin sister Diana was born at Ortygia, and her shrine was removed from there, about the eighth century B C, to the plain a mile or so from Ephesus Her icon was one that 'was fallen from Zeus,' meaning that it was a meteorite whose fall to earth (probably at Ortygia) was actually witnessed, the time of its fall being before—perhaps two or three centuries before—the eighth century B C The representations of the Ephesian goddess—at least those sold by Demetrius the silversmith—were monstrous and many-breasted, quite unlike the other Greek figures of Diana, and perhaps were suggested by the appearance of the meteorite, it may well have been one of those described by the Gresham Professor of Astronomy as 'an iron pudding with stone plums' In his paper, 'The Image that fell down from Jupiter,'[1] Mr Hinks does not deny that this meteorite and others, altogether stone or altogether iron, did actually fall from the sky, but he urges that they must first have been ejected from the earth by its long-ago volcanoes. He does deny that meteorites and meteors have anything to do with each other, for the reason that some meteor streams do undoubtedly move in the same orbits as comets, and therefore cannot have been of earthly volcanic origin.

His line of argument may be put very concisely Meteorites, he says, can be analysed, but with puzzling results, and they must have been broken off from a large mass of the same kind of stuff, for 'It is no more possible that they can have condensed in this shape from random vapours wandering in space than it is possible for a slice of cold plum-pudding to be formed from the casual encounter of its ingredients in a tornado that has destroyed a grocer's store' Any third alternative seems outside his consideration. Though the handling of meteorites has taught us nothing, yet, as we cannot handle meteors, he says, we can know nothing whatsoever of them or their constitution, admitting only that they have a vague association with comets. He turns, therefore, to comets to see what they can tell us about these

[1] The *Nineteenth Century and After*, September 1928, p 363

matters. Comets, he argues, can have but little stuff in them, as they do not dim a star when passing over it; if they are composed of meteorites, such meteorites must lie at wide distances apart, and the comet's light cannot be due to their mutual collisions. Therefore, he deduces, there are no meteorites in the comet's nucleus. Neither, he says, is reflected sunlight sufficient to account for the brightening up of the comet as it approaches perihelion, but with a prudent want of logic he refrains from the similar deduction that there is no sun. Instead he passes at once to the consideration of cometary tails, citing the proceedings of the 1882 comet and the experiments of Nichols and Hull with regard to light pressure, following it up by the altogether wrong statement that 'the spectroscope seems to show that the comet's tail is luminous gas,' but 'the pressure of light is effective only on solid bodies and has no effect upon transparent gas.' We are told of the various vapours that come from the nucleus of a comet and the remarkable behaviour of the head of Comet Morehouse, and in some mysterious way we are led up to the conclusion that 'to explain a comet as having a nucleus of meteors leads us nowhere' Having already decided that the comet does not contain meteorites, it is not to be thought of that meteors have meteorites as their 'big brothers,' since meteors do follow, more or less, in the wake of comets, and therefore perhaps come from outer space He says again, 'these plum-puddings of iron and stone that were never formed by condensation of vapours or accretion of fragments meeting casually in space,' and so reaches his final conclusion that meteorites must be 'fragments of our own earth, ejected by something like volcanoes when the earth was young, and occasionally coming back again' Then, as a geographer rather than an astronomer, Mr Hinks considers the *finds* of meteorites as contrasted with the observed *falls*; and from the circumstance that 'nearly half the finds of meteoric iron have been made in the United States' he makes the deduction that 'extensive ploughing has probably more to do with it,' but especially that 'terrestrial volcanoes did not always succeed in throwing their projectiles clear of the earth, and that in continents where meteoric irons are disproportionally numerous we may perhaps recognise regions where the volcanoes were active in days very remote.' This last is his own contribution to Sir Robert Ball's hypothesis of the terrestrial origin of meteorites Mr. Hinks admits that 'iron meteorites are always found on the surface' and should rust away, but argues that they are largely composed of nickel-iron, and so have the properties of 'stainless steel.'

All the foregoing arguments are negative in character; they appeal only to the difficulties in the subject or to our ignorance. But Mr. Hinks has one positive argument:

Meteorites have never been found to contain any element which is not contained in the earth; but they do contain such compounds of those elements, and, in particular, some that can hardly persist within reach of an atmosphere containing oxygen. If, then, they came from the earth it was from far within, or before our present atmosphere was formed.

And he states definitely, 'Come what may, meteorites must be regarded as fragments broken cold and solid from large bodies.' The particular large body from which they have been broken off is the earth by means of its volcanoes. This theory, also, has its difficulties, which are positive, however, and not merely due to our ignorance.

Mr. Hinks is quite right in stating that the materials of which meteorites are composed agree closely both in quantity and quality with those in the earth's crust as well as with those in the earth's whole body But this is not sufficient to prove that meteorites are, of necessity, earthly in their origin, for the same agreement holds good with the atmospheres of the stars in general.

In the solar system there are a great number of small cold bodies, some no larger than meteorites. These are the minor planets and the small satellites revolving round the greater planets. The origin of these as given in Dr. Jeffreys' book, *The Earth*, is the one generally accepted by astronomers. When the solar system was formed from a filament drawn out from the sun by another star passing near it the greater planets were born gaseous or liquid, but the smaller bodies (those, at least, with a diameter under 500 miles) were born solid. Mr Hinks, however, rejects this form of origin specifically for meteorites and substitutes for it the breaking off of such bodies from a larger, by ejection from volcanoes especially There are serious mathematical objections to an explanation of the ring of minor planets by their being formed from the explosion into fragments of a bigger one; and we may take the case of Mimas, the innermost satellite of Saturn, to illustrate the difficulty of supposing that all the other small bodies have originated as Mr Hinks suggests. Mimas is only about 370 miles in diameter, and it has both the reflective power and the density of freshly fallen snow; and the inference is that it may be simply a gigantic snowball. How could a snowball either be disrupted from a planet or disgorged from its molten interior?

Mr. Hinks admits that the modern weakling volcanoes do not emit meteorites. Nevertheless they do emit volcanic dust which is of about the same size as meteors, and have always done so even in their strong long-ago past. The dust from Krakatoa which caused the red glows of 1883 and 1884 is a notable instance of this, and the dust was fine enough to hang in the rare air of our upper atmosphere for months. Mr Hinks therefore, on his

own hypothesis, should not refuse to recognise the relationship between 'big brother' meteorite and 'little brother' meteor.

The earth got its solid crust about 1,600,000,000 years ago, and since that time has had several severe spasms of volcanic activity. The process in these cases is simply this: a heating up of the magma at the base of the crust, probably by radio-active accumulations, which bring about great igneous action (earthquakes, volcanoes and the like); this is followed by cooling, shrinking of the crust, the downfolding and uplifting of mountains, and the occurrence of glacial conditions; this brings about denudation of the mountains, rapid at first during the Ice Age, and then more slowly through the long ages, and the continents are worn down until they are fairly level and only a little above the sea-level. Of these spasms we know the last four; going backwards in time from the present, the great mountain building epochs are: the Alpine (in the Pleistocene-Recent period), the Hercynian (in the Upper Carboniferous), the Caledonian (in the later Proterozoic), and the Charnian (in the early Proterozoic), at dates in the past of about 60,000,000, 240,000,000, 450,000,000, and 590,000,000 years respectively. Probably there were earlier spasms still which have left no recognisable trace. Mr. Hinks may choose whichever of these he considers best as regards his strong volcanic action. For strength we would recommend to him the Hercynian of 240,000,000 years ago. We can scarcely advise him to stick to his alternative of 'before our present atmosphere was formed' instead of 'from far within' the earth when meteorites were ejected, because at that time all our oceans were in the air; and, as he makes a point of it that his iron meteorites lie on the surface of the earth or only a few feet below it where they can be upturned by 'the plough,' he may decide to prefer the latest spasm, the Alpine Yet here is a point that I would like him to consider seriously. These iron meteorites, he says, did not leave the earth's atmosphere at all, but were simply ejected from volcanoes to lie upon the ground, from which they are upturned by 'the plough' But the Alpine revolution, when last the volcanoes were strong, occurred some 60,000,000 years ago, and between that date and our own the earth has been denuded rapidly during the Quaternary Ice Age; the mountains have been worn down to a fraction of their original size, and their sediment has been spread over the continents. Does Mr. Hinks seriously contend that meteorites which lay on the surface 60,000,000 years ago are still lying on the surface now?

After the great Hercynian mountain building, when volcanoes were very active, and, according to Mr. Hinks, meteorites must have abounded, our coalfields now being worked were laid down There has not been a single fossil meteorite found embedded in

the coal which has been mined, and upon this absence a theory has been put forward that no meteorites ever reached the earth until about 10,000 years ago. The evidence may indeed be counted rather weak in favour of this theory, but it counts very strongly indeed against Mr. Hinks' hypothesis.

The nickel-iron meteorites that 'have the properties of stainless steel' are those which come from 'far within' the earth. There is store in plenty of such, but it is far indeed within, for the earth's core is made up of iron or nickel-iron. But to tap this source the strong volcanoes must have had pipes of from 2000 to 3000 miles in length. Nature is inclined to be extravagant, but she is exceeding legitimate limits if she expends so great an effort in producing so small a result.

But there is an argument pertinent to Mr. Hinks which was published only last June.[2] There *are* meteorites far out in space, for they have been observed there. Density tracings of spectra in *very hot* stars show absorption (certainly unexpected) where cool stars show bands of cyanogen and lines of iron and magnesium. Such bands are shown by comets; iron meteorites reaching the earth are made up mostly of iron and magnesium.

The British Astronomical Association is a society of amateur astronomers scattered all over the world The members associate themselves in sections for the observation of different heavenly bodies, and one of the most useful of these sections is that for the observation of meteors, fireballs, and meteorites It is from the observations published by them that Professor Lindemann and Mr Dobson have deduced our knowledge of the upper air, and of that strange region, some scores of miles up, where the temperature appears to be that of a warm summer's day It is true, as Mr. Hinks says, that we cannot handle meteors, for they are consumed in the air, but nevertheless they tell us the density and composition of the air at heights where no sounding balloon can attain to At the meeting of the British Astronomical Association, held on June 27 last, Dr Harlow Shapley appealed to the members for still more observation, for it is now beginning to be shown that the 'dark nebulæ' in the heavens are meteoric rather than gaseous, and it is possible to observe the effect on the spectrum of the stars in the Milky Way by reason of the meteoric infall upon them; it is the composition of meteorites that is observed here, and it is suggested that the mass lost by a star through radiation is partly replaced by meteorites. One thing is certain—no star has ever owed its sustenance to the meteorites vomited out by the volcanoes of its planetary system.

ANNIE S. D. MAUNDER.

[2] Report of the Meeting on June 27, 1928 *B A A Journal*, Vol 38, No 8, p. 250, also *Harvard College Bulletins*, 856 and 857, and *Nature*, September 29, 1928.

DIABETES AND THE INSULIN TREATMENT

AFTER being absorbed from the alimentary canal the foodstuffs (the proteins, the fats, and the carbohydrates) undergo certain chemical changes in preparation for their assimilation by the tissues. Here they are either used for growth and repair or are oxidised so as to yield the energy necessary for living. Most of the assimilated food is used for the latter purpose, and there is accumulating evidence which indicates that both the proteins and the fats are transformed into carbohydrate, or some closely related substance, as a preliminary step to being oxidised. There seems to be little doubt, at any rate, that the fuel material used for muscular contraction is glycogen, or animal starch, which is a typical carbohydrate and is present in the muscles even after the animal has been subjected to long periods of complete starvation.

A study of the chemical changes accompanying assimilation is the chief problem of metabolism, and great advances have been made during recent years in the identification of the intermediary substances which are formed at various stages in the process But this process is constantly changing, and it is almost certain that the substances which we are able to isolate by chemical analysis of the tissues after death represent only a small fraction of those occurring in the body during life. In any case, it is clear that the actions and interactions of metabolism must be finely regulated and co-ordinated so that each organ and tissue may receive what chemical substances it requires to perform its peculiar functions and to repair its worn-out structures.

This regulation of metabolism depends very largely on what have been styled chemical messengers or hormones—that is, substances which are carried by the blood from one part of the body to another, and which have the function of retarding, or speeding up, or directing, the chemical processes of the different organs and tissues, according to the needs of the organism as a whole. Many of these hormones are produced by specially developed organs known as the ductless glands, or the glands of internal secretion. They secrete the hormones into the blood directly, and not to the outside of the body, as is the manner of

:retion of the sweat glands, or into the alimentary canal, as do : digestive glands.

One of the most important of the hormones is insulin, and the ctless gland which secretes it takes the form of small groups, islets, of cells, the islets of Langerhans, lying scattered among : much more numerous and larger groups of cells which compose the pancreas, or abdominal sweetbread, and which secrete the pancreatic juice through ducts into the intestine.

On account of this peculiar distribution of the insulin-secreting cells their presence can only be revealed by careful microscopical examination of the pancreas, but it is nevertheless probable that if all the islet tissue were massed together into one compact gland this would compare favourably in size with the thyroid or the suprarenal capsules, which are other, better-known examples of ductless glands In certain animals, indeed, such a massing of the islet tissue actually occurs For example, in many of the bony fishes, such as the devil-fish (*Lophius*) or the cod (*Gadus*), nodular, yellowish structures known as ' principal islets,' which may be as large as haricot beans, can readily be identified lying close to the gall-bladder in the body cavity They are composed mainly of islet cells, and, as we shall see later, very large amounts of insulin can very easily be extracted from them

The importance of insulin to the welfare of the animal is very clearly demonstrated by the fact that metabolism becomes completely disorganised when it is absent from the blood, as occurs after its source of supply has been cut off, either by experimental removal of the pancreas in laboratory animals or by destruction of the islets of Langerhans by disease in man. Metabolism runs riot, as it were ; its co-ordination breaks down completely, with the result that excess of sugar accumulates in the blood and overflows into the urine, fats come to be incompletely utilised, and proteins are broken down too rapidly The condition is known as diabetes, the chief objective symptoms of which are increase in the percentage of sugar in the blood (hyperglycæmia) and the appearance in the urine of sugar (glycosuria), and later of acetone and certain related acids (ketonuria) If the diabetes be left untreated, emaciation becomes pronounced, great bodily weakness and fatigue are complained of, and toxic symptoms leading to coma and death are likely to supervene.

In the experimental form, designated for convenience pancreatic diabetes, and which is best studied in dogs, the symptoms are very acute and death usually occurs in a couple of weeks or so. Only one thing can save the animal, and that is insulin. We must replace in the blood from without what can no longer be supplied to it from within the animal's body This can be done by injecting an extract of pancreas (insulin) into the blood stream

either directly through a vein or indirectly, by introducing it under the skin. Within a very few hours of the injection most of the diabetic symptoms become greatly ameliorated, and if the injections are repeated at intervals of about twelve hours all of them soon disappear entirely. There can be no doubt, even to an untrained observer, that the insulin injections restore the animal to normal health and behaviour, and even the expert, by chemical analysis of the blood and urine, can detect none of the symptoms of diabetes to which we have just referred.

A dog from which the pancreas has been entirely removed may be kept alive for years by injections of insulin, provided the diet is also regulated so as to allow for the absence of the powerful digestive juices which are secreted into the intestine when this gland is present This may be done most satisfactorily by the addition of raw pancreas (sweetbread) to the diet, although it may possibly also be done by careful selection of readily digestible food. These significant facts have been brought to light by observations on two dogs which lived in my laboratory at Toronto for over four years after removal of the pancreas At the time of death both animals were in perfect bodily condition—indeed were decidedly fat—and they died because of discontinuance of insulin, which was done in order to investigate certain problems concerning the nature of the diabetic symptoms

These observations in Toronto have been corroborated by Hédon in Montpelier, France, and, when we remember that the span of life of a dog is only about one fifth of that of man, the results indicate with tolerable certainty that a diabetic patient, even one suffering from the most acute form of the disease, would, under properly controlled insulin treatment, live for at least twenty years without any detectable symptoms He would almost with certainty live for very much longer, since, however severe the symptoms may appear to be, diabetes in man can seldom or ever be so complete as after removal of the pancreas In the latter case the islet tissue is entirely removed, whereas in human diabetes the disease process never involves *all* of the islets; a few capable of secreting a certain amount of insulin always remain.

In the light of these facts we are justified in defining diabetes as a disorganisation of metabolism due to the absence of insulin from the body. This disorganisation leads to death, either because of the poisonous action of certain substances—the so-called ketone bodies—which accumulate in the blood and tissues which cause diabetic coma, or because the organism, being unable to maintain a normal state of nutrition, falls a victim to some infection, such as that causing pneumonia or tuberculosis or gangrene.

But how, it may be asked, have these facts been brought to light, and what were the steps leading to the discovery of a method for preparing insulin ? The first step was taken nearly 300 years ago, when Brunner, a careful investigator of the functions of the digestive glands, observed that removal of the pancreas in dogs was followed by peculiar symptoms which, from his graphic description of them, are now believed to have been those of diabetes. It was really a step in the dark, and it was not until about the middle of the nineteenth century that physicians began to remark on the frequent occurrence of serious morbid changes in the pancreas in patients who had died of diabetes. This observation led several experimentalists to investigate the possibility that experimental destruction of the pancreas in animals might result in diabetes, but all attempts were met only by failure until 1889, when two German investigators, Mehring and Minkowski, achieved success by complete removal of the gland They, like Brunner, were not primarily interested in the problem of diabetes, but rather in the digestive function of the pancreas, and they removed the gland in order to find out whether the absorption of fat would be interfered with Their great discovery that diabetes occurred was, one might almost say, an accident, and it depended on the observation that the operated animal was extremely thirsty and was excreting very excessive quantities of urine To minds untrained to observe and to interpret the significance of symptoms this unexpected behaviour of the animal would probably have excited no attention, but to the trained mind of Minkowski it furnished the clue which led him to test some of the urine for sugar, and the great discovery was made that the animal was in a state of extreme diabetes With all possible care, and notwithstanding that the dog ate voraciously, it died in a couple of weeks or so

Intensive research, both by Minkowski and by numerous other investigators, during the next few years led to a clear formulation of the hypothesis that diabetes must be due to absence from the body of some hormone secreted by the pancreas, and, supposing that it must come from the islets, Sir E Sharpey Schafer suggested that the hormone be called *insulin*. But every attempt to treat diabetes successfully, either in man or in laboratory animals, by administering pancreas, or extracts of pancreas, met only with failure, and this led to the suggestion that the powerful ferments which are derived from the digestive secreting cells of the gland must be responsible for destruction of the insulin. Attempts were therefore made to obtain extracts of the islets uncontaminated by the pancreatic ferments Among these attempts may be mentioned the preparation of extracts from the principal islets of fishes, which we have seen are greatly enlarged islets of Langer-

hans. Rennie and Fraser, of Aberdeen, administered these glands, either in a raw state or as simple extracts, to diabetic patients, but with uncertain results. This is probably to be accounted for by the fact that they usually gave the gland by mouth instead of subcutaneously. While avoiding destruction by the Scilla of the ferments of the pancreas they encountered it in the Charybdis of the peptic juices of the patient, and although they administered the extract subcutaneously to one of their patients, in order to circumvent this latter danger, no definite success attended their efforts.

Although these researches, and others which followed them, did not attain to the discovery of insulin, they were nevertheless of great value in that they blazed the trail which ultimately led to it. Advancement in medicine, as in every other department of science, depends just as much on the apparently purely academic research that interests no one except the specialist as it does on the final experiment by which the long-sought-for discovery is made, and the work of Starling in this country, of Hédon and Gley in France, of Scott and Murlin in the United States, and of Zuelzer in Germany must never be forgotten in connexion with insulin. These observers showed that the hormone must be present in the pancreas, and they reduced the problem to finding a method by which it could be extracted without being destroyed in the process. This discovery was achieved in the physiological laboratory of Toronto University by F. G. Banting with the assistance of C. H Best. In order to get rid of the digestive secreting cells of the pancreas Banting and Best took advantage of the previously known fact that these cells undergo atrophy and disappear in several weeks after tying the excretory ducts The thus atrophied pancreas was removed from dogs, extracted with weak salt solution and the extract injected into other dogs previously made diabetic by pancreatectomy. Immediate amelioration of the diabetic symptoms was observed, the behaviour of the percentage of sugar in the blood and of the amount of it excreted by the urine being taken as objective, or, one might say, as quantitative indices of the effects. This result showed that insulin in an active condition *could* be extracted from the pancreas, and the next problem was to seek for a method by which this might be accomplished when the pancreas (sweetbreads) of abattoir animals was used instead of the atrophied residue remaining after duct ligation in laboratory animals. Acidified alcohol was tried as an extractive, since it was known that the digestive ferments cannot act in such a medium. The extract, after evaporation to dryness at a low temperature *in vacuo*, was then dissolved in water, and the resulting solution, on injection into depancreatised animals, was found to remove all the diabetic

symptoms. Some was also tried on a diabetic patient and with favourable results, although the injections could not be continued, because the extract caused considerable irritation at the site of injection. Further purification was necessary for human use, and this was accomplished by J. B. Collip, who separated the offending substances by fractional precipitation of the original extract with alcohol. The purified extract now became available in the clinic, where it soon proved itself to have all the same beneficial effects on diabetes in man as it had previously been found to have on diabetes in laboratory animals.

It would be of little interest here to trace further the improvements in method which soon followed through the collaboration of various biochemists in Canada, the United States, and Great Britain. As it is prepared to-day insulin is a clear, almost colourless solution, free of irritating substances, and, as far as can be judged, capable of being kept indefinitely without deterioration in strength. It can be prepared in extremely concentrated form, owing to the fact that the active hormone is precipitated either in combination with picric acid or by the process known as isoelectric precipitation In the hands of Abel and Geiling it has indeed been possible to prepare insulin in crystalline form, and analysis of the crystals has shown a highly complex molecule containing many of the amino acids which are characteristic of proteins. It is to be expected that at no very distant date it will be possible to show exactly how insulin is constituted chemically and thereafter to prepare it by synthetic means. Meanwhile, however, its preparation from abattoir sweetbreads is a comparatively easy matter. It is present in greatest concentration in the principal islets of fishes, and although many times more insulin can be extracted from these structures than from an equal weight of the pancreas of mammals, it is of no economic advantage to use this source of raw material, since the abattoir material is much more available.

Soon after insulin came to be used in larger amounts an unexpected difficulty arose. Several of the treated animals, although cured of diabetes, passed in a few hours into a peculiar form of shock, and it became evident that the cause of this would have to be cleared up before insulin could be placed in the hands of the physician as a safe remedy for the treatment of diabetes in man A clue to the solution of the problem was found in some experiments performed a few years prior to the discovery of insulin by Mann and Magath, who had observed a similar condition of shock to supervene in dogs in which the percentage of sugar in the blood was caused to fall by removal of the liver. Could it be that the insulin had reduced the blood sugar to such an extent as to cause the shock? A method for testing this

possibility was found in the fact that insulin has the same lowering effect on the blood sugar of normal rabbits as on that of diabetic dogs. This led to the use of these animals for the purpose of testing the strength of the various insulin preparations, and it was observed, as the work progressed, that many of the injected animals fell victims to convulsive seizures followed by coma, and that the onset of these symptoms was always associated with a reduction in blood sugar to about the same percentage as had been found by Mann and Magath to mark their onset in liverless dogs. One more experiment was required to complete the evidence. If reduction in the sugar of the blood, or hypoglycæmia, was responsible for the symptoms, administration of sugar ought to remove them, and such was found to be the case. Injection subcutaneously of a solution of glucose in water restored obviously moribund rabbits to normal within a few minutes

This discovery made it possible to use insulin with safety in the treatment of diabetes in man, for not only did it show that the dangers of overdosage could be avoided by administration of glucose, but it furnished a basis for working out a method for assaying the strength of the extracts A unit of insulin was originally defined as the amount required to bring the blood sugar of a normal, full-grown fasting rabbit down to the level at which symptoms appear, but, for practical reasons, it was later reduced to one third of this amount. The processes of manufacture of insulin are not the same in different countries, and this exposes it to the risk of variability of strength To guard against this danger the assays are now carried out by comparison with a dried precipitate of insulin (hydrochloride) which is under the safe keeping of the Standardisation Committee of the League of Nations. It is the official yard-stick for all measurements The standardisation is made in the first instance by the manufacturer, but before the insulin is actually put on the market it is reassayed by some controlling authority—for example, in this country by the Medical Research Council, and in Canada and the United States by the Insulin Committee of the University of Toronto, which originated and organised this method of control of dosage.

Many problems of great physiological importance lend themselves to investigation by means of insulin, and progress is steadily being made in their elucidation, but it would be of little general interest to discuss these here. It may suffice to state that insulin, besides removing the symptoms of diabetes, also causes pronounced changes in the general metabolism (*e g.*, in the consumption of oxygen) of the animal as a whole, and influences the formation of glycogen, or animal starch, in the liver and muscles Further investigation of these effects is steadily going on in the confident expectation that the results will lead to a penetration

of many of the secrets of bodily nutrition. Insulin is one of the most powerful of the hormones which regulate metabolism, and to what extent its action is associated with that of other hormones, such as thyroxin from the thyroid gland, or pituitrin from the pituitary body, or is dependent on other nutritional factors, remains a question for further research.

Instead of entering further into these at present academic problems, let me in the space that remains say something about the value of insulin in the treatment of diabetes.

Until insulin became available the treatment of diabetes was a matter of restriction of food In the milder cases, which are common enough beyond middle age, the withdrawal of carbohydrates, such as sugars and the starchy foods (potatoes, bread and cereals), was all that was necessary in order to free the urine of sugar, and by strict observance of the physician's directions the patient usually became practically free of the disease and capable of a full day's work without any serious loss in body weight. In more severe cases in which the diabetes persisted despite restriction of carbohydrates the proteins had also to be curtailed, with the consequence that the patient lost seriously in weight, and, through inadequate consumption of energy-producing foodstuffs, became unable to perform muscular work without great fatigue Even with the most skilful treatment combined with faithful observance of all the restrictions put upon them the patients ultimately fell victims to the disease, death ensuing either as a result of coma—a condition of general poisoning due to the ketone bodies to which we have already referred—or of intercurrent disease, such as pneumonia, tuberculosis or gangrene But the most distressing cases of all were those in children Few survived for more than two years after the disease had got a hold and nothing could stem its progress Diabetes meant death within a year or two, and all that could be hoped for, even by the most rigorous control of diet, was a staving off of the fatal issue for a few months

The introduction of insulin has entirely changed the outlook for the diabetic. Coma is now very much less common as a cause of death in adults, and the duration of life has already trebled in the case of children. To quote a well-known authority who has had a unique experience with the disease both prior and subsequent to the introduction of insulin : 'Diabetes is no longer fatal and the diabetic has ceased to die of his disease' (E. P. Joslin). Statistics are wearisome, but I cannot refrain from quoting, again from the same authority : 'Of 245 children alive two years ago, or seen since, only 7—2·9 per cent —have succumbed to the disease, which is hardly more than 3·4 times the incidence of childhood mortality in the community at large,' and 'whereas in

the Naunyn era (*i.e.*, prior to the introduction of insulin) abou 60 per cent. of the diabetics died of coma, to-day this has bee reduced to 10 per cent.' Striking as is the evidence which thes figures afford of the life-saving effects of insulin, still more so i the visible improvement which anyone can see in the patien himself. The diabetic child used to be an object of pity to all now under insulin treatment it is indistinguishable from one i perfect health: the diabetic adult, previously depressed an inactive, is now full of hope and vigour and able to perform hi daily duties without undue fear of being suddenly cut off in th midst of his days.

But it must not be imagined that the use of insulin remove the necessity of dietetic control The two methods of treatmen must be carried on side by side, and the patient must be instructe as to the nature of his disease and as to how to regulate his diet Co-operation between physician and patient is essential if the bes results are to be obtained, and there are now available numerou excellent small books from which any intelligent person ma obtain useful guidance. The experience with the two depan creatised dogs that lived for over four years on insulin treatmen justifies the expectation that a diabetic patient, however grav his case may be, should live out the normal span and enjoy life a fully as his fellows, but to do so he must become a physician unt himself under the tutelage of his doctor, and he must also lear something of the nature of the metabolic disturbance which i responsible for his condition.

J J. R. MACLEOD.

LORD CURZON

THE *LIFE*; AND SOME MEMORIES

No one could have written a better Biography of Lord Curzon than that by Lord Ronaldshay.[1] It is a marvel of completeness and yet of compression. It is quick, but never hurried As a picture of the man, I know no modern biography to put beside it save A C. Benson's life of his father. In both we see not only illustrious careers recorded, but we see a picturesque figure, not faultless, but in his habit as he lived.

Lord Ronaldshay avoids the pit into which so many biographers fall. He tells us nothing of the ancestry of his subject. But his family connexions are not without interest. His father, Alfred Lord Scarsdale, the fourth baron, for sixty years lord and rector of Kedleston, was most justly described by his son: 'Just and unblemished in his commerce with the world, whose vanities he held of no account, faithful in his stewardship of the ancient inheritance, he rests at length beside his wife in the place which they loved.' Blanche his wife was most beautiful, most charming and most good She died in 1875, her husband not till 1916. Alfred's brother George Nathaniel died before their father, the second lord, and Alfred succeeded his uncle, the third lord He married Sophia Holden, who lived to be eighty-seven and died in 1890. She was a very handsome, stately lady, strong in quietness, and beloved by her kinsfolk Her grandmother was Mary Anne Drury-Lowe, of Locko, who lived to her hundred and fourth year, and certainly left the impress of her character on several of her descendants (The cavalry general Drury-Lowe was Alfred Scarsdale's first cousin) Her only child made a Gretna Green marriage with a then impecunious captain, Robert Holden, who afterwards succeeded his uncle in Darley Abbey and Nuttall Temple. The window by which stood the post-chaise that carried her off was shown to us in our childhood by her severe but not altogether unsympathetic children: there were thirteen of them,

[1] *The Life of Lord Curzon*, being the authorised Biography of George Nathaniel Marquess Curzon of Kedleston, K G. By the Right Hon. the Earl of Ronaldshay. 3 vols (London · Ernest Benn, Ltd) 1928

so Alfred Scarsdale had a crowd of first cousins and George an infinity of kindred of a later generation. The Holdens were certainly a remarkable family—sound, steady folk for the most part, but inclined to be inquisitive and domineering. From the Curzon line, too, came characteristics, but perhaps not such strong ones. They were able and conscientious county magnates. They are traced back to the twelfth century at least and a knight who, if I remember aright, had some concern in the persecution of Becket It may be as a memory of this, there was a window in Kedleston Church representing St. Thomas. It had perished, and George, the Marquis, replaced it by a window of the same subject.

The Curzon family thus goes far back: their traditions of honourable service flowered into genius in the person of the Viceroy of India (That one of the Holden's ancestors was a regicide was not emphasised in the family)

From the first George was the leader of his brothers and sisters There is a delightful family photograph of the children sitting on the steps at Kedleston, where he, no more prominent than the rest, is quite clearly the dominant figure among them All were handsome, he the handsomest Lord Ronaldshay's first volume shows what a clever and amusing boy he was, and all his talents came into bloom at Eton. There the influence of 'O.B.' was formative. That extraordinary and often ridiculous egoist, who was driven from his post not a little through his kindness to young Curzon, was *au fond* a man of most beneficent and generous enthusiasm He had a passion for helping boys, especially, but not exclusively, if they were clever The impression he made on Curzon was indelible He taught him to care for everything that men wrote or did or thought. And generously all through his life did George remember it 'O B.' tells that he once said to his wife. 'I owe all I am to Mr Browning.' Even Oscar the egoist saw the hyperbole in this, but none the less there was a real truth in it. There is no influence more lasting in all the world than that of a man who will give his powers freely to help and develop a lad who has brilliant ambitions, even germs of genius Oscar Browning certainly helped to make George Curzon a good man as well as a great public servant.

So, then, from Eton to Oxford. If his interests were, for a boy, remarkably wide while he was at school, they expanded very greatly at the University. Letters and memories show that from Eton days he delighted to amass information on all sorts of subjects and to form opinions as to the right course for others as well as for himself. One instance of this I can never forget. I was at breakfast with him in Balliol (he was not up when I arrived, and kept me a tremendous time waiting), and he asked me what I intended to be I had for a long time determined to be a barrister,

that I had quite recently changed my mind, and, without any outside pressure, decided to take holy orders. When I told him this, he said: 'Then of course you must go to a theological college.' This was remarkable advice from a lad of twenty to another of eighteen. I received it rather coldly, and I remember that in my heart I thought: 'What confounded impudence! What in the world does he know about it?' But he was perfectly right, as I came before long to see, and my time at Cuddesdon was the happiest and most useful of all the years of my education

Lord Ronaldshay gives a vivid description of Curzon as an undergraduate. The memory of those who were not at Balliol has little or nothing to add. We heard him speak at the Union or the Canning (but I was not then a member of that club), we met him, a notable figure, in the streets. We had a meal with him now and then, or he with us, when he would look eagerly over our books. He congratulated us, with a faint air of surprise, when we won a University prize. But except to his intimates, mostly Etonians, he bore rather an Olympian air, not of pride, though, but of preoccupation. We knew that he was incessantly at work. That he did not obtain a first in 'Greats'—and this he told me in 1901, for he never forgot it, was due solely to the fact that his own tutor was one of the examiners and could not vote for him—was a life-long disappointment When he went in for the All Souls fellowship every one outside knew that it was hopeless to contend with him and Charles Oman; and one candidate at least withdrew from the examination after a paper or two. Curzon and Oman were of course elected—the most distinguished election of our time. There are interesting points about his success in winning two University prizes—the Lothian on Justinian and the Arnold on Sir Thomas More. The former essay, from the point of view of the historian, was rather superficial, but it seized all the important points and expressed them brilliantly. The latter has never been published; I, who had a special interest in it, have always wondered what it was like and what became of it. The delay in announcing the result that year was most unusual. The competitors give mottoes, not their names, to their compositions The prize can only be awarded to one who has actually taken the B A. degree. When Owen Edwards was adjudged to have written the best essay he had not taken the degree, and the prize went to C. L Kingsford. Before the announcement in Curzon's case was made he suddenly returned to Oxford and took his degree. The next day he was awarded the prize. Lord Ronaldshay thinks that he had seen A. H. Hawkins one day in the Bodleian at work on the Arnold subject. Sir Anthony denies this, and is quite right. It was I whom he saw and talked to that day, and I told him I was entering for the

prize: he went in and won, and I was *proxime accessit.* My essay became a book which has had two editions: I always wish I had had the advantage of seeing what he wrote.

In the following years few months were spent in Oxford, though he was a most loyal and companionable member of All Souls. We heard of him in society, in politics, in a most remarkable series of travels, eventually in Parliament, and then in the Ministry. All this is most admirably told by Lord Ronaldshay. When we read or heard his speeches we knew that his style was being pruned and matured. The Scriptural phrases which garnished his Union speeches gradually disappeared. When E. T Cook had been one of the jubilant disciples who had met Mr. Gladstone on his return to London from, I think, the Midlothian campaign, Curzon had described the 'G O M.' as labelled: 'This is the man whom the president of the Palmerston Club, New College, Oxford, delighteth to honour.' These boyish witticisms were now abandoned. He had always taken himself seriously in public life; now everyone took him seriously too So no one was surprised when he reached the goal of his ambition, the Viceroyalty of India, and went out with a more complete knowledge of the Empire and its needs than any of his predecessors except Warren Hastings had possessed In the interval before he went out he made many striking speeches The farewell dinner at the Royal Societies Club was a really brilliant gathering of men of science and of learning, and the Viceroy was at his best in moral appeal and in delicate wit A remarkable feature of the evening was the stream of honeyed rhetoric poured out in placid and continuous flow by the historian Lecky; Curzon could hardly conceal his amusement, and it was natural that he should inject into his own speech a suggestion that Indians and Britons could be drawn together by, more than anything else, a sense of humour This in himself was unfailing. What was long a favourite family story has never been fully told. Lord Scarsdale, George's father, and Mr. Bradshaw, of Barton Blount, who had married his aunt, travelled together to Scotland to shoot. They stopped at York and inspected the cathedral, Alfred with minute interest. Mr Bradshaw was entirely silent till all was seen and they paused at the west door to look up the great expanse. Then he opened his mouth and said, 'Long shot for a partridge,' turned on his heel, and went away.

India gave him his time of greatest achievement—perhaps, too, his time of most strenuous work.

Very few knew till his death that he had suffered since he was a boy from curvature of the spine, which often caused excruciating pain. He had to spend quite an appreciable part of his life in bed. When this became known there was astonishment at his

unbroken courage and his remarkable achievements. But those who have had similar experience know that illness which does not actually disable often acts rather in stimulus than in depression. What can one do in bed? Why, one is left alone, and reading and writing and undisturbed thought can be indulged in to the heart's desire. An active-minded man can work with his brain as well in bed as elsewhere. Only a lazy man yields to idleness. And Curzon was most emphatically not a lazy man. He was intensely and incessantly active. No doubt this eventually sapped his vitality and made his overworked heart fail at the last

But so long as he was in India he was able to fight his recurrent illness with the strength of an unspoiled youth. His wife was with him and bore a very full share of his labours. Everyone who saw her at some State entertainment or in the constant round of hospitality will remember this. And he had chosen a devoted body of helpers in his household. Round the Viceroy were men on whom he could rely, and who entirely relied on him. Let me remember a few of them—Sir Walter R. Lawrence, generous and indefatigable, candid and sagacious, whose strength and consistency could always be depended on; Evelyn Baring, haughty and handsome, doing the work very well but always rather as if it bored him; Clive Wigram, absolutely the ideal A.D C, energetic, calm, utterly unselfish, and invariably efficient; Lord Suffolk, most amusing of companions and kindest of men.

Of his work in India there is no need to speak now. Lord Ronaldshay, with intimate knowledge, has admirably summarised it. One may say that its motto was that of his leaders a quarter of a century before: 'Peace with honour' The amount of personal work he did was stupendous When I was with him, two years after he landed, he told me that he had not yet had a day's shooting The correspondence—and whenever it was possible he wrote everything with his own hand—was enormous. The social engagements hardly ever ceased The questions of policy were critical and persistent, and his treatment of these has left a deep mark on history. Yet events have moved very rapidly since his day. Afghanistan has changed indeed; is not that partly due to him? Tibet, where he followed the policy of Warren Hastings, is no longer a closed and mysterious land. Frontier lines and defence have become more coherent and natural. The Persian Gulf has almost become an English lake. As to local and central government, since here the revolution came after his Viceroyalty, the Muse compresses her lips. Persia, where he had a wise and statesmanlike policy, has since his time drifted into chaos, and his prophecy that intervention has only been postponed will certainly come true.

That the partition of Bengal has been a failure by no means

proves that it was wrong when it was undertaken. But the rock on which his policy split was the perennial contest of soldiers and civilians. Lord Ronaldshay tells the story very fully and honestly. We learn—what his generous reticence has kept secret till now—how ably and honourably Lord Midleton dealt with a difficult, even an agonising, situation. Those who read this book will almost certainly see the errors of Lord Kitchener and believe that Lord Curzon was in the right (though an eminent general tells me exactly the opposite).

So he left India, not in disgrace, but for his honour's sake, and English and Indians united in tributes of respectful admiration. Many Englishmen have come to love India as much as their own land. No one loved the country and the people more or worked more zealously for their good, than Curzon. Says Lord Ronaldshay:

> India had been the romance of his youth, the consuming passion of his prime, the unforgettable memory of his declining years. When, soured by disillusionment, he sometimes spoke bitterly in later days of the trials and disappointments of public life, it was to India that he always turned for his ideal of what public life and work should be. 'In India,' he wrote one day in 1921, 'I was magnificently served. The whole spirit of service there was different. Everyone there was out to do something.'
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> And it was to India that his thoughts reached back once more when he lay a grievously sick man, stricken even unto death. For it was in India, he believed, if the full story of his administration was ever told, that he might be held by his fellow-men to have laboured not altogether in vain.

These are great matters of statecraft, and well are they dealt with in Lord Ronaldshay's book. But the change in England's relation to India is patent to every eye. History, archæology, art, are now the care of the Government. The Philistinism of Macaulay or the organisers of pomp in 1876 has passed, one hopes, into oblivion. The ancient beauties of India are now as much the care of Englishmen as of Indians.

Politics apart—and nowhere more than in them does the scene seem to shift so quickly as in the India of the last thirty years—it is almost impossible to imagine any man leaving the trace of his footsteps on those sandy plains. Yet Curzon did so. As you passed through the country while he was still in power you often saw the impress of his hand. The dry bones had risen and come to life. Arts and industries revived from sleep. And, above all, the noblest relics of India's past, Hindu or Jain or Muhammadan, of Asoka or Akbar or Shah Jehan, came to life again with something of the freshness of their youth. Fatehpur Sikri, Ahmedabad, the Taj Mahal, owed to the genius of an Englishman the restored beauty of their glorious past. To one

who sees them to-day their romance comes home through the enthusiasm of a great Viceroy.

The four volumes, bound in black and gold, which he gave to his friends preserve the speeches he made during the period of his Indian rule, and when at home he spoke on the same subject. They reveal the man. What he was is to be discovered not so much from definite achievements in Europe or the East as in the steady concentration of purpose, in aims of justice and an ideal of duty which have seldom if ever been surpassed. If sometimes the rhetoric was flamboyant, it was always the reflection of a soul which was ardently romantic and chivalrous. It is significant that he was so great an admirer of Tennyson: he might himself have been one of his knights He did not wear his heart on his sleeve, but sometimes a window seemed hastily to be opened on it, and as hastily shut, and you saw the passion for righteousness within. Greatness and nobility of soul thrilled him; his soul spoke when, at a dinner of the Literary Fund, he summed up a eulogy of the gallant Belgian king by saying: 'He is a man among kings and a king among men.'

Lord Curzon as a young man was remarkably handsome, and the more thought and endeavour were stamped upon his features the more handsome he became The period during which his 'good looks' reached their climax was certainly that of his Viceroyalty. Few can ever have seen more perfect expression of thoughtful dignity and faultless beauty than those who saw the Viceroy and his wife at a levée or a State ball in Calcutta. And I can shut my eyes now and see that handsome pair, with the two lovely children, as we sit on the deck of the Viceregal launch coming back from Barrackpur one Monday morning to Calcutta Lord Curzon was one of the very few persons whose likeness Mr. Max Beerbohm has been unable to secure Thus his caricatures (both, rather surprisingly, included in this serious biography)—the one dwelling only on a physical expansion and the other lost among a herd of persons, now unrecognisable—never catch the actual features or the characteristics Here he is surpassed by the French cartoonist, who in 'Lord Curzon and Ismet Pacha at Lausanne' has really given a recognisable exaggeration of the actual features and expression.

Lord Ronaldshay brushes aside the view that he had too high an opinion of himself—that he believed himself, in Beeching's words, to be a most superior person. He quotes a private note written in later life.

> I have, and always have had, opinion of my abilities and accomplishments, such as they are I am never in the society of able men without recognising their intellectual superiority I have no opinion at all of what are sometimes alleged to be my powers of speech When I 'carry away'

a big meeting no one is more astonished than myself. . . . To say that I have a high estimate of myself makes me, who know the reality, smile.

His appearance, his manner, his way of considering public questions and private persons, was undoubtedly open to misconstruction. If it is true that he was a proud man, why, there are many different kinds of pride. His pride was not arrogance, and it certainly was not conceit. Even those who spoke of megalomania would, I think, now be ready to admit this. A friend, most close for thirty years, with whom on public matters a disagreement, never perhaps quite overcome, arose in later days, wrote to me when he died . 'One only wishes to remember his brilliant gifts and courageous battle with all his difficulties.' Indeed, I do not think that anyone who had loved and admired him ever ceased the admiration and the love. And the admiration which he won in India was certainly shared with her who supported him till her last illness—often, one feels, at the sacrifice of her health—all through his days of strenuous work and exacting social engagement The life they spent together has now its permanent record of remembrance When a memorial was made of Mary Victoria it took a magnificent and beautiful form. A southern chapel was added to the church at Kedleston, and in it was placed on a marble tomb the exquisite effigy of that most beautiful lady. Sir Bertram MacKennal has done no finer work It is worthy to rank with the tomb of the Constable at Burgos Beside his wife lies George in the robe of Grand Master of the Order of the Star of India. He followed the wise course of erecting his memorial in his lifetime, certainly from no ostentation, but from the desire of his intense affection to lie beside one whom he so deeply loved. 'Qui jampridem amabat, hodie amat, cras amabit, in æternum amandam' He knew that if he left it to his heirs to preserve his memory words of eulogy might be used which he would deprecate. Simple facts, with a prayer, should be the only record over a grave. Placed side by side, the two marble figures have toned and coloured alike ; and so will they endure, preserving the memory of a deathless affection.

On November 18, 1905, Lord Curzon sailed from Bombay It might have been supposed that political or national honours would be given him so soon as he reached England. But the tangle of politics prevented this for years. Meanwhile there came an honour which he very likely prized more highly than any. His University made him their 'honoured Lord and Chancellor.'

On the death of Lord Salisbury we had a meeting at St John's, and Curzon's name was put forward. Sir William Anson, no doubt with sagacious foresight, deprecated the choice. Lord Goschen, who was quite half a Liberal, was chosen and readily

accepted by the electors. When he died the affair was not so easy. Christ Church, with its many voters and its enthusiastic and popular Dean, threw its whole weight on to the side of Lord Rosebery.

The election to the Chancellorship was not nearly as certain as the biographer seems to consider. I still possess the cards which made, for one college, a pledge to vote; but few knew what happened outside their own gates, and Liberal special trains were running throughout the day, though I believe that one of them contained only a single passenger. However, the result was a conclusive triumph, won by very laborious organisation The announcement was made by the senior proctor in the dim obscurity of the Sheldonian Theatre, lighted by two silver candlesticks brought hastily from outside. Two of Lord Curzon's most ardent supporters hurried to telephones to give him the news. He was ill in bed. He told the story of how it reached him. 'My valet came to me and said, "I have a telephone message from Oxford, my lord." "What is it?" said I. "Lord Rosebery"—I groaned—"has been defeated by a large majority"' His servants were not so much in awe of him as people fancied.

As Chancellor Lord Curzon proved to be the most potent influence which had affected the University for centuries. No Chancellor since Laud made so many changes in the system of government and of education Lord Ronaldshay shows how this personal intervention was to a considerable extent caused by a speech of Bishop Gore in the House of Lords in which he seemed to represent the Oxford colleges as mainly the resort of the idle rich, and urged for a Commission to clean and purify the place. Lord Curzon threw himself eagerly into the defence of the ancient institution by reformation from within Scores of pamphlets and two or three important books carried on the fight. The results may be very briefly summarised as these. Greek was abolished as a necessity for an Arts degree; women were admitted to full membership of the University; when a Commission was appointed its objects had been met half-way, and what it has done further no one yet, I think, really understands Not everything that has been done was in accord with the Chancellor's wishes. He drew a distinction between degrees and votes for women. This could not be maintained. Doubtless he did not foresee the enormous influence which women exercise at Oxford to-day. But the whole series of changes has been carried through, it would seem to outsiders, without anyone being a penny the worse, except in the shocks to the sensitive which the streets afford to-day. The cry about poor men was clearly unjustified. It was said that 'The last thirty or forty years have seen a wide extension of the benefits of the University to classes which in the

preceding century did not enjoy them, with the result that Oxford has become more representatively national than at any earlier period, except the most remote.' I do not think that this is historically true. There are more poor men at Oxford now than in 1700 or 1750, but there are also more rich men. I do not think that anyone who studied the matriculation register, or went carefully through such a book as Foster's *Alumni*, would assert that 'representatively' there are more poor, or more men of 'an inferior social position,' than in the days of Anne or George III. In the view of the Hebdomadal Council—

> There will probably always be two classes of opinion as to an entrance examination—namely, those who wish to open the University to all students, whatever their previous education or needs, and those who think that the time has come for excluding school studies from the curriculum of the University, and requiring all matriculated students to have reached a minimum standard of general education In adopting the latter view we believe that we shall be acting in the best interests of the University by helping to maintain a proper standard in the schools which prepare for it, and by declining to spend our resources in teaching the elements which should be learnt at school

If we do not now adopt this view, we may be allowed to plead that we adhere to the old ideal of the University as closing the gates of learning to no one who earnestly desires to enter. A stiff and uniform entrance examination would tell just as much against the struggling poor student as against the idle rich. Nor is there any reason why an idle rich man should not be taught if he will obey discipline and learn to be industrious. However, this is past history, and it is only mentioned here to illustrate the minute interest the Chancellor took in everything concerning the University. Before he sketched his reforms he stayed some time in the Judges' lodgings, the fine house built for the great Marlborough in St. Giles's. He saw everyone worth seeing: he listened patiently to all sorts of harebrained schemes and allowed the authors to think that they had converted him. One notable person formed a habit of saying 'I and Curzon.' 'Ego et rex meus.' He showed how well he remembered the Oxford and the persons of his undergraduate days. He induced the most beautiful lady in Oxford to abandon for the moment the retirement in which she lived and come with her husband to luncheon at his house. He was advised at every step, and sometimes guided, by an able and tactful man, whom later on he made Principal of Hertford. He succeeded in revolutionising Oxford: Sir Herbert Warren, in his most valuable chapter in Lord Ronaldshay's book, would prefer to call it an evolution. Anyhow, the old Oxford is recognisable still.

We come now to the political work at home, always difficult,

of a returned Viceroy. Some have sunk into insignificance and neglect; some have seen their reputations dwindle, and, though they may have been painted in India to look like iron, have turned out at home to be no more than lath; some have turned to pleasure, some to diplomacy, some to finance. But it has been an achievement almost beyond the power of man to sustain the energy of action and the greatness of soul which they have unquestionably shown in the East. We might think that when Curzon returned home, after months of disappointment and listlessness (yet he was never listless), he became little more than a Governmental drudge. Certainly whenever there was hard work to be done it was given to him, and he did it with all his might But with what marks on history, what permanent success? It is not easy to say, nor will it be for another twenty or forty years. Lord Ronaldshay enables us to peep behind the scenes and see what some of the difficulties were, and how in some cases, not at first sight obvious, victory was really won So we read of Sèvres and Locarno and Lausanne. But the full tale is not yet; so let us be silent and wait

Though he did many other things in politics during and after the Great War, his chief work was of course at the Foreign Office Of this his biographer says

While Lord Curzon had always appreciated the value of ships and guns as an adjunct to diplomacy, his conduct of affairs as Foreign Secretary showed that his real greatness as a force in world politics lay in his instinctive recognition of the power of moral rectitude in the field of international relations The righteousness and justice of the cause, the honesty and single-mindedness with which the cause itself was pursued—these were the things to which he clung with an almost blind tenacity, derived from his primitive but deep-rooted belief in the Divine control of the universe, to which reference has previously been made It was upon this fundamental trait in his character that rested the acts of moral courage which marked his administration as Viceroy of India, and upon which was built up the lofty idealism which history will recognise as the real source of his greatness throughout the seven years of a brilliant, albeit stormy, Viceroyalty And in these dolorous days, when England, with her armour laid aside, was called upon to play a pacifying part in the affairs of a maimed and sorely harassed world, it was upon these intangible but trustworthy weapons once more that he relied Our policy, he explained, when reviewing the five years of troubled peace which had rolled by since the signing of the Armistice, had been one not of sensation but of sobriety

'It is not one, I think, of which we have any cause to be ashamed We have endeavoured to exercise a steadying and moderating influence in the politics of the world, and I think and hope that we have conveyed not merely the impression, but the conviction, that, whatever other Governments or countries may do, the British Government is never untrue to its word, is never disloyal to its colleagues or its allies, never does anything underhand or mean, and if this conviction be widespread, as I believe it

to be, that is the real basis of the moral authority which the British Empire has long exerted and, I believe, will long continue to exert in the affairs of mankind.' [1]

Those words to the Imperial Conference expressed his deepest convictions.

Patience would hardly be considered by those who knew little of him to be one of the virtues conspicuous in Lord Curzon, and the trials which he underwent in at least two of the Ministries in which he served during the war must have been specially irksome. Again and again Lord Ronaldshay tells how affairs which belonged to the province of the Foreign Office were taken over, often secretly, and without warning, by the Prime Minister This can hardly have been done without grave and unfortunate results. He was asked to serve on the Ministry of Munitions, but he 'was never asked to go inside the place or made a party to any of the proceedings.' It seems that this was a trick not unusual for a Minister who wished to pacify critics, but to remain in sole authority. When complaints were made about ecclesiastical appointments, the Prime Minister asked the objectors to breakfast and told them that he would always act on the advice of three persons, of whom Lord Robert Cecil was one and, I believe, Lord Curzon another. But their advice was never asked So it was often in foreign affairs, and Lord Curzon was placed in an extremely uncomfortable position. The fact is that during a certain period things which we say 'are not done' were very frequently done, and the Foreign Secretary had to deal with the consequences of rash decisions which until too late were quite unknown to him. This must have been trying enough in regard to general European politics, but exasperating in regard to the Mediterranean.

From the time of his early travels he had taken a keen interest in the problems of the Near East. He was familiar with the politics of Turkey and of Greece. He had been Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs in the earlier war between the two countries He told me once that when the Powers were trying to put pressure on Greece to make peace because she could not hold her own, the question arose how, if she were recalcitrant, should the Athenian Government be made to submit. The Kaiser telegraphed to London: 'Bombard the Parthenon.' That is one of the illuminations in history The difficulties were greater when the Great War ended.

A grievous disappointment to him was the failure to effect a reasonable and permanent settlement of the vexed question of Constantinople. It had been agreed that the city should fall to Russia; the Revolution made that impossible. The Greeks were

[1] *Life of Lord Curzon*, iii, p. 244.

not strong enough, the Bulgarians too barbarous. The Americans would not rise to the glorious opportunity. The *condominium*, a free city in charge of representatives of all the Powers—a plan of which the veteran Sir Edwin Pears, the man who knew Constantinople and the Turk better than anyone since the death of Professor Van Millingen, told me that he approved—came to nothing. Jealousy, muddle and dilatoriness prevailed, and the problem is left to our descendants to settle, and is only too likely to turn up in a form which will break to pieces the League of Nations, just as it broke up the Holy Alliance nearly a century ago. And hardly had the treaty of San Remo been signed when its futility was shown by the massacre at Smyrna, for which England must bear no small part of the shame. What Curzon felt is shown by a passage in a minute he submitted to the Cabinet:

> The Turk at Constantinople must have very different measures meted out to him from the Turk at Konia He will retain a sovereignty which will have to be a mere simulacrum, and those who have saved him will, unless I am mistaken, presently discover that his rescue has neither satisfied him nor pacified Islam But beyond all I regret that the main object for which the war in the East was fought and the sacrifice of Gallipoli endured—namely, the liberation of Europe from the Ottoman Turk—has after an almost incredible expenditure of life and treasure been thrown away in the very hour when it has been obtained, and that we shall have left to our descendants—who knows after how much further sacrifice and suffering?—a task from which we have flinched [1]

The whole truth is certainly not yet known about Mesopotamia and Irak, Bagdad and Damascus, Lawrence and the Arabs. But in Mr. Robert Graves's striking book a tale is told as from 'a late member of the Foreign Office staff who wishes to remain anonymous.' It professes that, in a meeting of the Cabinet, Lawrence had to listen to a long speech from Lord Curzon, and when it was over told him that he 'did not understand yet the hole you people have put us all into.' Then, says the story-teller, 'a remarkable thing happened—Curzon burst into tears, great drops running down his cheeks, to an accompaniment of slow sobs.' I do not believe a word of this. There are many myths about Lawrence, but that is no reason why they should be spread to include Lord Curzon.

Lord Ronaldshay finds in Lord Curzon's later years an 'unexpected malleability,' and attributes it to ill-health and 'sombre moods of melancholy' More probably his acceptance of policy or measures to which he had been opposed was due to that loyalty to colleagues which was so marked a feature of his character. So long as it was possible to secure the decision which he believed to be right he was determined and indefatigable in

[1] *Life of Lord Curzon*, iii., pp. 270–271.

that his religion was little more than a rather frigid Theism. But up and down the book, as throughout the life, there are facts which tell the other way. We are told that he never undertook any important action without prayer: we know him as one who had favourite hymns and passages of Scripture, as an attendant at public worship, as generously appreciating religious and philanthropic devotion, as one who numbered priests among his friends and was ready unostentatiously to learn from them, as the designer of a memorial to his wife which is redolent of the Christian's faith and hope and love I think his sense of duty came from his religion and his religion from Jesus Christ.

It is a delightful thing to be sure that in all the happy time of play, mixed with the days of strenuous pursuit of knowledge and widening experience of self-expression, when he was the centre of brilliant young people who admired him, when the *joie de vivre* seemed inexhaustible, there was always dominant, below the fluttering freedoms of Crabbet, the accent of high sincerity—something firm and immovable, something, one may say, sober, steadfast and demure. Under the trappings and the suits of mirth there was that which passeth show. Nothing of what the divine Sarah called '*petit indiscrétion*'; everything, amid all the fun and mockery, honest and of good report, '*sans peur et sans reproche.*' Lord Ronaldshay is emphatic about his extraordinary courage. He was never physically or mentally afraid. That was what made men, even if they disliked and resented, never distrust him. He was *totus teres atque rotundus* Yes, and he would see the humour of those epithets as applicable to himself. When he had long ceased to have the slim charm of youth he was the same man within. Fun, dignity, kindliness, an exacting sense of duty, for others as well as himself, were still there. Few men all through life have ever changed so little. So those who, like his biographer, cannot refrain, now and then, from an impatient desire to expose a weakness or to sprinkle their admiration with smiles, always come back in the end to a sheer and serious half-wondering recognition of his inner consistency and power.

When the end had come, faced so courageously, there was, before the burial at Kedleston, that wonderful service in the Abbey, with the statesmen of his time bearing the pall or standing by the coffin. And at the last the Archbishop of Canterbury, whom he had known and trusted so many years, said: 'To God's gracious mercy and protection we commit you. The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make the light of His countenance to shine upon you and give you His peace now and for evermore.'

W. H. HUTTON.

THE ROMANCE OF EARLY CALICO PRINTING

No romantic notions are aroused by the word 'cotton': exotic like silk, it has not the mediæval charm Tennyson discovered in 'robes of white samite, mystic, wonderful,' or in Longfellow's 'sails of silk and ropes of sendal.' The cotton fields themselves bring to mind the out-of-date strains of the 'Swannee River' rather than the admired negro 'spirituals' The whole subject seems ingrained with Victorianism, Manchester, Free Trade, and the hope of the devout Cobdenite that peace would descend clothed in untaxed calico—old-fashioned and slightly absurd, like Mr. Caudle's nightshirt in a pyjama-clad world.

Yet, in spite of modern disparagement, the history of cotton in Europe alone goes back to ancient Greece, and its conquest of the markets of Western Europe is the result of nearly two centuries of warfare with the native wool and linen industries. Though cotton was known to Greece and Rome (as far back as 306 B.C. Theophrastus, the disciple of Aristotle, speaks of the clothes made by Indians from 'trees having leaves like those of the mulberry . . . they set them in the plains in rows, so that they look like vines at a distance'),[1] early references mention it as a curiosity. Herodotus describes the corselet which Amasis, King of Egypt, sent the Lacedemonians as a present, thus: 'This corselet was made of linen, with figures of animals inwrought and adorned with gold and cotton wool'; and Egyptologists long considered that the wrappings of mummies were of cotton cloth till microscopic examination proved them to be of linen.

The small quantities of cotton which reached Western Europe in the Middle Ages—carried by merchants who traded with nomadic Scythian tribes—were believed to be the fleece of a small lamb, produced by a plant called the 'Scythian lamb,' or the 'vegetable lamb of Tartary.' This myth, like other travellers' tales, must have gradually given way to more accurate notions, for in 1615 George Sandys, writing an account of his Travels, says 'trees also there be that do bring forth cotton,' while the voyages of Drake and other Elizabethan navigators discovered that the New World, as well as the East Indies, produced a rival to hemp

[1] *Cotton* (G Bigland).

and flax, whose name of 'cotton' comes, through the Spanish, from the Arabic *el qoton*, though the term, which occurs frequently in connexion with Manchester fustians and other cloths, was constantly applied to those made entirely of wool. The Flemish weavers—said to have been introduced into Lancashire by Edward III., and yearly visited by his queen, Philippa of Hainault—were the first to make these stuffs, which for centuries were used for garments and bed-covers, though the fustians of Naples and Spain were more highly esteemed.

Spain, in closer contact with the civilisation of Arabia and Persia than other European countries, was the first to make use of cotton for weaving, for its earliest employment in Europe was for the stuffing of pillows and mattresses and the padding of jerkins. In weaving silks and cottons, as well as in the manufacture of carpets, Spain led the way, when the making of candle-wicks was the only other purpose for which cotton was used in England. It was not until after 1641 that we hear of its employment in Manchester, in conjunction with flax and wool, for fustians and dimities. Lewis Roberts in *The Treasure of Traffic* is our authority for the belief that cotton was woven in Manchester as early as 1641. He says in this book, of the Manchester weavers:

> Neither doth their industry rest here, for they buy cotton wool in London that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home work the same, and perfect it in fustians and vermillions, dimities, and other such stuffes, and then return it to London, where the same is vended and sold, and not seldom sent into forrain parts, who have means, at far easier termes, to provide themselves of the said materials

But in Fuller's notice of Humphrey Chetham—the celebrated founder of the Blue Coat Hospital and Library at Manchester—with its reference to the manufacture of the cottons of Manchester carrying away the credit of the nation, which 'so they did an hundred and fifty years ago,' he undoubtedly refers to those woollen fabrics afterwards particularised—'the kinds of fustian then made were herring-bones, pillows for pockets and outside wear, strong cotton ribs and barragon, broad-raced lin, thicksets and tufts dyed, with white diapers, striped dimities and lining jeans.'[2] These, like the fustians made at Bolton, were originally of wool and flax, and of them, says Fuller, 'the Chetham's were the principal buyers.' Humphrey Chetham 'when high Sheriffe of this county, in 1635, discharged the place with great honour, inasmuch that very good gentlemen of birth and estate did wear his cloth at the Assize to testifie their unfeigned affection for him'

A description of the towns of Manchester and Salford, attached to a plan of these towns taken about the year 1650, says:

[2] *English Worthies* (Fuller).

The trade is not inferior to that of many cities in the kingdom, chiefly consisting in woollen frizes, fustians, sack cloths, mingled stuffs, caps, inkles, tapes, points, etc., whereby not only the better sort of men are employed, but also the very children by their own labour can maintain themselves.

Their work serving, as the old chronicler has it,

to the good employment of the poor, and great improvement of the rich therein, serving mean people for their outsides, and their betters for the lineing of their garments . . . Other commodities made in Manchester are so small of themselves and various in their kinds, they will fill the shop of an Haberdasher of small wares . Being therefore too many for me to reckon up or remember, the safest way will be to wrap them up together in some *Manchester-Tickin* and to fasten them with *Pins* (to prevent their falling and scattering) or tye them with *Tape* and also (because sure bind sure find) to bind them also with *Points* and *Laces*, all made in the same place [3]

Thus the woollen and linen manufacture prepared the way for the cotton, which was probably introduced into England by another band of Flemish weavers—the Protestant refugees—who introduced new methods and new weaves, like the diaper which owed its name to the place of its origin, 'd'Ypres.'

Used for padding, or spun and woven in conjunction with linen thread, in twills and plain weaves, the small quantities of cotton which reached England and France in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries do not appear to have aroused any opposition on the part of the interests vested in the linen or woollen trades, the raw cotton giving employment to native craftsmen; but the importation of Indian 'chints' or painted calicoes by the East India Company—which increased in importance every year, till nothing but Indian prints would content the fashionable taste —was the subject of a controversy lasting over a century and a half In 1631 the Company was first allowed, by Royal Proclamation, to import into England, among other things, 'satins, taffetas, and painted callicoes.' These last derived their name from Calicut, a city on the coast of Malabar, which in the sixteenth century was the most important port after Goa, and from thence they were first brought to these islands Before the end of the century home manufacturers were feeling the effect of competition from the East, and Sir Joseph Child, writing in 1699, specially directs his energies against the textile trade.

Callicoes and wrought Silks are the things I chiefly aim at, [he says in *Discourse Concerning the East Indian Trade*] showing how unprofitable is to the King of England . and hope to make it plainly appear that those Two Commodities do us more prejudice in our Manufactures than all the Advantages they bring to Private Purses, or to the Nation in general,

[3] *Church History* (Fuller).

and it were to be wisht the Wisdom of our Parliament would prohibit their being worn in England, else, like the ill-favoured lean kine, they will destroy the use of our Manufactures.

Pepys, whose Diary abounds with references to the new cottons, under the various names of 'pintados,' 'chints,' and 'painted callicoes,' shows that ignorance of the true nature of these was still common.

> Sir Martin Noell [he says] told us of a dispute between him, as the farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company, whether callico be linnen or not, which he says it is, having ever been esteemed so, they say it is made of cotton wool which grows on trees, not like flax or hemp But it was carried against the Company.

Until the advent of the painted Indian calicoes, towards the end of the seventeenth century, woven cotton was not sufficiently differentiated from hemp or flax to influence fashion, but it is easy to imagine what an impression the brilliantly coloured Indian palampore, with its Oriental trees, animals and flowers in bold designs and bright colourings, must have made on a public to whom carpets, Chinese porcelain, caned chairs, and coloured and gilt lacquer were equally new and delightful house furnishings.

Printed textiles themselves were no novelty to European nations. From the eleventh century onwards German textile printers had imitated rich woven materials by wooden blocks, used with gum, or some sticky substance, by which gold or silver was impressed on the fabric. Printed linen, with single colour designs and even portraits, exist, while resist-printing, on a blue ground, was brought to great perfection in the Rhenish monasteries, before the printing of books in movable type had been invented. But these productions, interesting as they are, had none of the fine detail, the exquisite colour, the brilliance and subtlety of decoration of the painted calico imported from India, produced by so slow and laborious a process of painting, and dyeing each separate shade individually, while the whole of the material, other than the part to be dyed, was coated with wax to preserve its original shade. A Dutch writer describes the making of them thus:

> The painting of 'Chints' proceeds in the most leisurely manner, similar to the crawling of snails which appear to make no headway Anyone who would represent Patience . . could use one of the chints painters of Palicol as a model [4]

As McIvor Perceval says,

> The beauty of old Indian 'painted callicoes' lies first of all in their colour, which is the first thing to strike the eye. Lovely rich tones of rose,

[4] *The Rise and Fall of Coromandel. Havart*, 1693 (quoted by Hadaway, *Cotton Painting and Printing*).

from full crimson to delicate shell pink, purple fading to palest lilac, blue of the softest, fullest hues, and to these were added originally rich green and citron yellow, though these have faded now. The glorious colour was used to give expression to designs of infinite variety, favourite among them being the enormous 'Tree of Life' patterns which adorned so many of the palampores imported by the East India Companies, English, French and Dutch. The handsomest and largest of these have majestic broad trunks, displaying in profusion flowers of bewildering variety ; others are crowded with figures, or large birds of wonderful plumage are perched amongst exotic foliage and strange plant growths Then, on drawing nearer, one finds that in addition to the broad decorative effect of colour and subtle and intricate design, the whole thing has a wonderful added beauty of minute and exquisite detail, and that the spaces which seemed one flat sweep of colour, are in fact, nothing of the sort, but that every bit of the whole tinted surface is built up of wonderfully delicate patterning, though so subsidiary to the general scheme that it does not interfere with it at all Every leaf, every flower is full of tiny markings, spots or shadings, sometimes corresponding to the veinings which are found in Nature, and at other times seemingly inconsequent, and only added to fill and break up the surface [5]

The richness of colouring and beauty of design of the Indian calicoes were a revelation in commercial production to the Stuart fashionable world, whose ladies had hitherto relied on their own efforts in embroidery or stump work for decorative effect, which

> Will in fading silk compose
> Faintly the inimitable rose,
> Fill up an ill-drawn bird, or paint on glass
> The Sovereign's blurred and indistinguished face,
> The threatening angel, and the speaking ass.[6]

The embroidery of Dame Dorothy Selby, who frustrated the Gunpowder Plot, is thus recounted in her epitaph ·

> She was a Dorcas
> Whose curious needle turn'd the abused stage
> Of this lewd world into a golden age
> Whose pen of steele and silken ink enroll'd
> The acts of Jona in records of gold ,
> Whose art disclos'd that plott, which had it taken,
> Rome had triumph't and Britaine's walls had shaken
> She was
> In heart a Lydia, and in tongue a Hanna,
> In zeal a Ruth, in wedlock a Susanna,
> Prudently simple, providently wary,
> To the world a Martha, and to Heaven a Mary [7]

The embroidered bed hangings in remote Cornwall—which, as Celia Fiennes has it, were 'wrought of ye Ladies own Worke

[5] *The Chintz Book* (McIvor Perceval).
[6] Countess of Winchelsea.
[7] Epitaph dedicated to the Pious Memory of Dame Dorothy Selby

and well made up ' in ' good roomes unalter'd, with old hangings to the bottom in wrought work of ye first Lady Marget's worke ' —were replaced in fashionable circles by the ' Atlas ' beds, where complete sets of curtains, valances, counterpane, carpet and cushions were of painted calico patterned *en suite.* Queen Mary was as partial to these bed hangings as to the Oriental china with which she filled her new palace at Hampton Court, setting up at Windsor an ' Atlas ' bed, which may be the one also referred to by Celia Fiennes as ' of fine Indian quilting and Embroidery of silk,' [8] for whatever was Eastern was fashionable.

Defoe fixes on the Queen the responsibility for this vogue, but the Indian chintzes were actually in favour even before she was born. He writes in 1722 :

> The Queen brought in the love of fine East India Callicoes such as were then called, Masslapatan, Chintes, Atlasses and fine painted Callicoes, which afterwards descended into the humour of the Common People so much as to make them grievous to our Trade and Ruining to our manufacture, so that Parliament were obliged to make two Acts at several times to Restrain, and at last Prohibit the Use of them

Of the Queen's bed at Windsor Castle he remarks :

> The late Queen Mary set up a rich Atlass and Chints bed, which in these times was invaluable, the Chints being of Massalapatan on the coast of Coromandel, the finest that was ever seen before that time in England, but the rate of these things has suffered much Alteration since that time [9]

No doubt the earliest importations of painted calicoes were the finest ; the ever-increasing demand from Europe must have been difficult to satisfy in a process so infinitely slow, painstaking and laborious, so that instead of the drawing of every part of the design with a reed pen, which gave so much flexibility to the design, blocks began to be used for the printing of borders, while coats of arms of the customers were introduced and patterns modified or altered according to instructions sent from London or Paris. The Maréchal d'Estrées had a bed with his coat of arms in the middle of the back, valued in 1720 at 3000 crowns ; great families who ordered dinner services, to be painted in China with their armorial bearings on each piece, gave similar instructions for hangings and table-covers. The earlier chintzes were occasionally decorated with figures, and when these are in European dress they form a useful guide to the date of production of any particular piece, otherwise very difficult to gauge, as the same patterns and floral designs are infinitely repeated.

Orders for special sizes for wall-hangings and table-covers were transmitted to the East India Company's agents and

[8] *Through England in a Side Saddle* (Celia Fiennes).
[9] *Tour through Great Britain* (Defoe).

immense quantities shipped to Europe. In the correspondence of the Company in 1863 appears the following letter:

> Send us therefore 100 suits of painted curtains and vallances, ready made up of several sorts and prices, strong, but none too dear, nor any over mean in regard, you know that only the poorest people in England lye without any curtains or vallances, our richest in damask, etc The Vallance to be 1 foot deep and 6½ yards compass. Curtains to be from 8 to 9 feet deep, the lesser curtains each 1½ yards wide each bed to have 2 small carpets (counterpanes) 1½ yards wide and 2 yards long, each bed to have 12 cushions for chairs of the same work.[10]

Again:

> The fansie of the people runs upon East India goods to that degree, that the chints and painted calicoes, which before were made use of for carpets, quilts, etc., and to clothe children and ordinary people, become now the dress of our ladies, such is the power of the mode as we saw our persons of quality dressed in Indian carpets which but a few years before their chambermaids would have thought too ordinary for them, the chints was adavanced from lying upon their floors to their backs, from the foot-cloth to the petticoat, even the queen herself at this time was pleased to appear in China and Japan, I mean China silks and calico,

says Defoe, adding that before the importation of chintz was forbidden in 1700 these calicoes had 'crept into our houses, our closets and bedchambers, curtains, cushions, chairs, and at last beds themselves were nothing but callicoes and Indian stuffs'

The chintzes, always expensive, increased in price as their popularity grew, a quotation from the 'Expense book' of John Harvey, first Earl of Bristol, shows the prices paid at the end of the seventeenth century

> 1689, Aug 30 Paid Mary Bishop for ye use and by ye order of Mrs Jane Harrison for an India quilt for a bed, £38
>
> 1690, Nov. 4 Paid Mrs Cawne for a rich piece of India Atlass for dear wife £13 10
>
> 1701, Jan 9 Paid Mr Hatley for ye Atlass I gave dear wife, £33

But we are not told the price of Pepys' purchase entered in his Diary of September 5, 1663 'Bought my wife a chint, that is, a painted East India callico for to line her new study'

Everything Eastern was approved by fashion Evelyn, speaking of the house of a friend, calls it 'a cabinet of all the elegancies, especially Indian,' and records, under the date of December 1665: 'I supped at my Lady Mordaunt's, where was a roome hung with Pintado, full of figures prettily representing sundry trades and occupations of the Indians' For '*pintado*'—in Portuguese, equivalent to 'painted'—was the term under which the first painted calicoes seen in England were known. The capture of a Portuguese vessel by Drake (at the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada), containing in her cargo many

[10] *Letter Book of the East India Company* (Birdwood and Foster).

Indian calicoes, drew the attention of the English merchants to the profits of this East India trade.

During the last half of the seventeenth century Indian chintzes so firmly established their popularity that the first English attempts at their imitation were essayed. According to Anderson's *History of Commerce*, the first calico printing in England was in 1676. Thirteen years later a calico printing works was set up at East Sheen, and a piece of fast-coloured printed chintz was presented by Hooke to the Royal Society. The early printers had a very small range of colours, and much reliance was placed on the work of the 'pencillers,' who filled in the printed outline with a brush with indigo blue and other colours. The calico was imported, but the linen printed was either woven at home or imported from Holland. All fine linen in the eighteenth century was sold under the name of 'Holland,' a practice only surviving now when the name is qualified by the adjective 'brown' The secrets of the production of Indian chintz had been investigated by a French Jesuit priest, Father Cœurdoux, whose minute account was published in a volume called *Lettres Edifiantes* The European printers, however, could have gained but small benefit from his detailed and interesting description without the long tradition, the patience, the climate, the dyes and drugs of the Indian printer

Even before the painted chintz was firmly enough established in fashionable favour to be imitated by English craftsmen the sales of home spun and woven woollen and Spitalfields silks were gravely affected by the new use of printed cotton, and agitation to forbid its importation was incessant, resulting in 1700 in the complete prohibition of imports of Indian chintz, and, fourteen years later, in an increased tax of 6*d.* a yard on home-printed calicoes. How little this legislation benefited the wool and silk manufacturer may be found in a pamphlet, published in 1719, entitled *The Weavers' True Case.* It recounts the injury caused to the woollen and silk manufacturers by the wearing of printed calicoes and linen, and shows how the 'Poor were deprived of their Labour and Subsistence in the year 1717 by the wearing of Callicoe.' For the popularity of printed stuffs was no longer confined to their use as house furnishings, but had extended to dress materials also. Another pamphlet of the same date sets out how, before the prohibitive Acts were passed,

> the Extravagance of that Time cannot be so entirely forgot, as that we should not reflect how the Ladies converted their Carpets and Quilts into Gowns and Petticoats and made the broad and uncouth Bordures of the former serve, instead of the rich Laces and Embroideries they were used to wear, and dress'd more like the Merry-Andrews of Bartholomew Fair, than like the Ladies and Wives of a trading People [11]

[11] *Brief State of the Question between Callicoes, the Woollen and Silk Manufacture*, 1719

The example set by the great ladies was followed, to the best of their ability, by women of every class. Those who could by no possibility afford the painted calicoes of Eastern origin contented themselves with the English or Dutch printed imitations. *The Weavers' True Case* gives the order of their estimation, and points out how

our Women among the Gentry were *then* clothed with fine English brocades and Venetians, our common Traders' wives with slight silk Damasks, our country Farmers' wives, and other good country Dames, with worsted Damasks, flowered Russels, and flowered Callimancoes, and the meanest of them in plain worsted stuffs Whereas now, those of the first class are clothed with outlaw'd Indian Chints, those of the second with English and Dutch printed Callicoes, those of the third with ordinary Callicoes and printed Linnen, and those of the last with ordinary printed Linnen, whereby these famous Branches of the Weaving Trade, viz Venetians, slight Silk Damasks, worsted Damasks, flower'd Russels and flower'd Calimancoes, and others, are almost Extinct,

and urges as an excuse for the

Riots, Tumults, Assaults, and stripping People in the Streets—as the Weavers have done this summer—the foolish Fancy of some, and the Madness and Rage of others which might easily be prevented if Women would only put on other Clothes when they go into those Parts of the Town

It also urges that

not only printed or painted Linnen ought not to be worn for Garments, but even in the strictness of Reason, that no painted or printed Commodities whatever, are proper or becoming for clothing Garments, because it seems that Providence has appointed other Subjects to print or paint upon, in order that every Art or Science may increase or flourish in its proper Order and Place, who can imagine that woven, figured or flower'd Commodities shall ever interfere with printed or painted Commodities, such as Pictures, Landskip, flower'd Pieces, Sea Pieces, Fortification, Structure-pieces, and abundance of others? On the contrary, we see, to the Ruin of many Thousands of Families, that printed and painted Commodities have and do highly interfere, prejudice and discourage that famous and noble Art of Weaving all manner of figur'd or flower'd cunning Work Besides what might be said on the behalf of the fine Art of Embroidering, which used to be the innocent Amusement of our greatest Ladies formerly, whereas at present it is almost unknown to them, through those pernicious printed or painted Commodities. Again, the wearing of printed or painted Commodities puts all Degrees and Orders of Womenkind into Disorder and Confusion, and the Lady cannot well be known from her Chamber-Maid

The printed linen, held in the least estimation because of its purely English origin, was, after the prohibition of the more brilliant and expensive Indian calicoes, the only printed fabric allowed by law, but under cover of these home-printed goods the

prohibited calicoes were procured by various means, as their opponents declared.

The Printed and Painted Callicoes now worn or used in Great Britain come under four Denominations, all pernicious and destructive to our Trade, (viz) such as being imported by the Dutch, are either printed in the Indies or in Holland and clandestinely run on Shore here, in Spite of former Prohibitions or such as being imported here by our own East India Company, and prohibited to be worn because printed in India, are pretended to be exported, but are privately run on Shore again and sold. Or such as being printed here, are entered and shipped for Exportation in order to draw back the Duties on the Stamps, but are re-landed and sold here, and lastly, such as are printed here, and legally worn and used, and under the Colour of which, All the other frauds are practis'd and conceal'd.[12]

The tricks of the trade had thus been brought to great perfection at this early stage of calico printing, so that, like Stevenson's buccaneer, the consumer might well remark: 'What's what? Ah, he'd be a lucky one as knowed that!'

For nearly a century the battle raged between the old native manufactures of linen and wool and imported cotton. Eventually duties of 3*d.* and 6*d.* a yard were imposed, not on the imported prints, but on all decorated cottons whatever, though the calico woven in England, having a linen warp (owing to the English inability to spin from cotton a sufficiently strong thread), may have escaped taxation as a native production. The home product in the shape of printed linen was the least esteemed and the cheapest. Parson Woodforde notes in his diary the purchases he made at 'Lewis's shop at Norwich before breakfast,' where he bought '6 yards of printed linen for my under-Maid at 2/2 per yard and 6 yards of black ground cotton for a morning gown for myself at 2/3, and five yards of ell wide calico for a lining'; and on another occasion he writes: 'I bought of Mr. Aldridge who goes about with a cart with linens, cottons and laces, etc., some cotton, 6 yards for a morning gown for myself at 2/6 a yard; some chintz for a gown for Nancy' (his niece).[13] It is only the under-maid who is to be dressed in linen—relegated to the 'meanest class of women,' in the order specified in *The Weavers' True Case*.

The imported calico was denounced by Roberts in *The Spinster* as 'A tawdry, piespotted, flabby, ragged, low-priced thing called Callico . . . made by a parcel of Heathens and Pagans that worship the devil and work for a halfpenny a day.' The weavers pursued the fine ladies who ventured into the streets dressed in chintz with shouts of execration, and nick-named them 'callico madams,' abetted by the lower classes generally, who perhaps felt—with Madame de Boufflers at Strawberry Hill—that such

[12] *The Weavers' True Case.*
[13] *Diary of a Country Parson* (Woodforde).

flimsy materials were '*indigne de la solidité anglaise*'—without the slightest effect on fashionable folk, who not only continued to pass their lives thus attired, but wished to continue to wear cotton when life was extinct.

> Let charming chintz and Brussels lace
> Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face [14]

Though the vendors of such smuggled and outlawed fabrics were chary of advertising their wares, the sale seems to have continued without intermission. The trade card engraved by Hogarth for his mother and sister's shop about 1714 carefully avoids mention of anything contraband in the enumeration of the stock of

> Mary and Ann Hogarth from the old Frock Shop, the corner of the Long Wall facing the cloyster, Removed to ye King's Arms, joining to ye Little Britain Gate near Long Walk, sell ye best and most fashionable ready made Frocks, Sutes of Fustian, Ticken and Holland, Stript Dimity and Flanel Waistcoats, blue and canvas Frocks and blue coat Boys Drawers Likewise Fustians, Ticken and Hollands, White Stript Dimitys, White and Stript Flanels in ye piece by wholesale or Retaile at Reasonable Prices [14]

The difficulty of obtaining the genuine article made it no doubt ever more desirable, for though the demand for printed goods encouraged the setting up of English calico printing works, it was long before any great reliance could be placed on their productions. The earlier print works were all in the neighbourhood of London—at Old Ford, West Ham, East Sheen, and Bromley Unlike the textile printer of Stuart times, who decorated his customer's materials and 'stuffs new or old,' the calico printer bought his own imported calico or home-made linen, printing it, no doubt, in lengths suited to his customer's requirement from his stock of patterns

There is a pattern-book at the Victoria and Albert Museum consisting of impressions of the manufacturer's stock of blocks (just as these are kept by the modern calico printer), but intended for the use of customers ; for the front page bears the notice :

> Pray be careful to keep the Book Clean, the patterns have cost a great deal of Money and are easily Spoiled by Children or Careless persons putting their hands on them It is therefore hoped and entreated that the utmost Care will be taken to Sully the Patterns as little as possible and when any Lady sends for a Sight of the Book it is entreated she will give Orders That t is to be Returned immediately.

But this pattern-book is of considerably later date, when the rade was free from the severe restrictions which the jealousy of he weavers had succeeded in inducing Parliament to impose.

[14] *Moral Essays* (Pope).

In 1720 an Act prohibiting the use of all decorated cottons was passed, and in it was ordained that no one whatever should 'expose for sale any printed, painted, stayn'd or dyed callico, or any bed, chair, cushion, window curtain or other household stuff or furniture, made up or mixed with any printed, painted, or stayn'd calico for use in Great Britain.' This Act, with various modifications, remained in force till 1770, and, though continually disregarded as far as the wearing of chintz was concerned, it undoubtedly made the importation of bed hangings and palampores so dangerous as to be almost impossible

The correspondence between David Garrick and Sir Grey Cooper regarding a gift of East India chintz hangings for a bed to the actor's wife from gentlemen in Calcutta whom the actor had obliged by sending them plays, etc , recounts how 'no care having been taken on my wife's part, and some treachery being excited against her, it was seized—the very bed—by the coarse hands of filthy dungeon villains,' and begs his friends to take this thorn out of his wife's side. Sir Grey Cooper replies that he has 'sent a supplication to my friend Stanley—the best humoured (though diligent and active) secretary that ever was at that board' —to use his best offices 'to prevail with the Harpies to come to a reasonable composition for the restitution of the chintz . . . and yet the Linnen Drapers and Cotton Printers and all that cursed Bourgeoisie I fear will be as powerful as they are merciless.'[15]

Somehow the painted chintz bed-hangings were restored to Mrs. Garrick, and may now be seen, on the cream lacquer four-post bed she had prepared for them, at the Victoria and Albert Museum—an example of the fine weave and lasting colour of the early Indian chintz.

The home manufacturers were also subjected to competition with the fine cottons and muslins of the East, as well as plain calico linings which could be imported at prices below those of linen or wool. *The Ancient Trades Decayed and Repaired Again* is the title of a pamphlet which appeared in 1778; its author bewails the interference of cotton with woollen fabrics, declaring that

> the woollen trade is very much hindered by our own people, who do wear many foreign commodities instead of our own, as may be instanced in many particulars viz instead of green sey, that was wont to be used for children's frocks, is now used *painted and Indian-stained and striped calico*, and instead of perpetuana and shaoon to lyne men's coats with is used sometimes a *glazed calico*, which in the whole is not above 12*d* cheaper and abundantly worse

The fineness and transparency of Indian muslins were a revela-

[15] *The Chintz Book* (McIvor Perceval)

tion to European travellers. Tavernier, who, like Marco Polo, was a merchant as well as an explorer, says:

> There is made at Seconge a sort of calicut so fine that when a man puts it on *his skin shall appear as plainly through it as though he was quite naked*, but the merchants are not permitted to transport it, for the governor is obliged to send it all to the Great Mogul's seraglio and the principal lords of the court, to make the sultanesses and nobleman's wives shifts and garments for the hot weather

While marvels were recounted of muslins made in Bengal, where four months were spent in weaving a single piece which 'when laid upon the grass, after the dew had fallen upon it, *is no longer discernable*.' The fineness and transparency of the foreign goods were but an added defect in the eyes of the author of *The Naked Truth, an Essay upon Trade*, published in 1696, who states that 'Thirty shillings a yard is paid for muslins, *and only the shadow of a commodity when procured* Fashion is truly termed a witch; the dearer and scarcer a commodity, the more the mode.'

The fruitless opposition of the silk and woollen trades to the wearing of imported or English printed cotton goods ceased for a reason they had not dreamed of—the very success of the manufacture they had tried to prohibit. The invention and perfecting of machinery for cotton spinning, weaving, and printing made it the cheapest of materials, so that the working dress of the dairymaid and the servant no longer found favour with the lady The wants of the middle classes were supplied by fabrics printed on roller machinery, and the trade of the block printer dwindled to its lowest ebb Thousands of fine wood blocks were used as fuel in new machine printing works, with the rise of the factory system and the industrial revolution the romance of early calico printing comes to an end

MURIEL M. BARRON

CORRESPONDENCE

RELIGION AND SIR ARTHUR KEITH

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

DEAR SIR,—Quite recently Sir Arthur Keith has been engaged in controversy in the *Nineteenth Century and After* upon Darwinism. He has just issued his views in a booklet, which makes me wish to reopen the matter from another viewpoint I want to criticise his attitude towards religion, which I cannot hold to be justified, either sociologically or psychologically.

The religious attitude is criticised throughout the booklet, and on page 56 it is finally compared to 'a wrongful charting of a dangerous coast' How far can such an estimate be justified, sociologically or psychologically ?

As Sir Arthur is a Darwinist first and foremost, let us begin with a Darwinian argument Man is derived from a very primitive type, who, Sir Arthur would agree, had no religion When the beginning of religion came, it was either a blessing or a curse So powerful a force could not be merely neutral If it were 'the wrongful charting of a dangerous coast' and nothing more, it would clearly be a curse But Darwin teaches us to believe that by 'natural selection' the 'fittest survive', and, ruling out certain cases of degeneration, which do not arise in this case, it is obvious that if those tribes succeeded who adopted religion, and those tribes fell out who failed to adopt religion, then, by the very arguments central to Darwinism, religion was of high value How then could it be, at the same time, merely 'the wrongful charting of a dangerous coast' ? To sustain Sir Arthur's argument he would have to prove to us that when religion began those tribes who adopted it were at a disadvantage compared with those tribes who failed to adopt it Yet it is patent that the opposite was the case

Sir Arthur may here reshuffle his cards and say that religion was once good for men, but has in the course of time lost its value I should in reply ask him how a chart with all the rocks marked in the wrong places could be of any good at any time. And I should then settle down to answer in a fuller way

I am old enough to remember very vividly the controversy in *The Times* between Huxley and Booth when the latter began to formulate his scheme for aiding the slum population and appealed for public support Huxley had often been called upon to fight those foolish persons who, in the name of religion, had tried to battle against science in her own domain And now Huxley himself made the equally foolish blunder of tackling Booth upon a matter wherein the Salvationist was by far the better equipped of the two What good would Huxley have done had he

lestroyed Booth's scheme ? Obviously none. Booth's supporters replied .o Huxley, telling him that his criticism was purely destructive If he lestroyed Booth's plans, what did he offer in their place ? He rashly unswered that the rationalists would create a scheme far better than 3ooth's Very well ; let Sir Arthur Keith show me where I can find that 'ationalist scheme in operation Booth's work I know and value Where s the superior rationalist rival to it ? It does not exist So what can we .hink to-day of Huxley's opposition ? May I not suggest to Sir Arthur hat a blind anti-religious fanaticism can be just as undesirable as any)ther kind of fanaticism ?

Miss Lilian Barker, in her splendid work at the Aylesbury Borstal nstitution, tells us that she finds religion a most valuable ally And hers s no narrow or biassed mind Will Sir Arthur inform her that she is merely ısing ' a wrongful chart of an admittedly dangerous coast ' ? Would he ;o so far as to spend a few months at Aylesbury showing her how much etter she could do her work on the basis of Darwinian materialism ? I an hardly believe it to be likely

Again, it is universally recognised by modern psychologists that the arger emotions of religion have a subtle but direct connexion with the arger emotions of the sex instinct, and that religion is very often allied to ı highly valuable sublimation of sex When, thirty or forty years ago, 'arious powerful agencies were busily undermining the old religious faith, saw that such undermining would inevitably release a dangerous amount f undirected sex feeling I appealed to the ethical societies, who were rying to take on the burden of ethical teaching, hitherto done by the eligious bodies I begged them to treat the sex question seriously, to set orth some ideal view of sex worthy of the higher strivings of the human eing My efforts failed These young and struggling bodies, with none f the prestige of the older religious bodies behind them, did not dare to ackle the question To use Sir Arthur's simile—for fear of a wrongful harting, they issued no chart at all !

Now I am not going here to abuse ' the modern girl ' There is no such hing as ' the modern girl ' There are a hundred types of girlhood to-day, ome as noble as or nobler than any who have preceded them But there s without the slightest doubt one dangerous and not small section who, aving lost all the old religious sense of duty, finding themselves in a conusion as to what to believe, give themselves up to the pleasure of the ıoment In this class sex is rampant But it is sex devoid of feminine uties These young women are determined to avoid motherhood , and ir Arthur Keith's own profession has at this identical moment provided he knowledge and power to escape from these deep racial duties

It would be the sheerest nonsense for Sir Arthur to pretend that the ecay of religion has had nothing to do with this too widespread renouncing y many women of their feminine obligations Every psychologist and ociologist knows the exact contrary to be true The men who tore up he old religious chart had better now consider what is to be done to revent these particular ships from going to wreckage on the rocks The ıatter is not one to be dismissed with the airy complacence which Sir .rthur too freely adopts.

And let me here point out that it is to religion that we owe all our thical direction, a great gift that Sir Arthur accepts without recognition, 'ithout gratitude. The instance given above, as to the hesitations of the

ethical societies when faced with a problem demanding bold action, is proof, if proof were needed, that it demands courage of a high order to impress or impose ethical restrictions upon the great basic instincts. Sir Arthur himself, pages 12 to 20, deals with problems of conduct and ethics, but, owing to his unfortunate bias, he omits from these pages the recognition due to the work of religion. When he should speak like a philosopher, he prefers to speak as a partisan. The pity of it!

Yet in the preface to his booklet Sir Arthur boldly states 'We speak truth, and abiding happiness will come to no man until he has faced and assimilated the real facts of life' Here indeed is a noble challenge; and before dealing further with it I will beg Sir Arthur to face and assimilate the facts which I have already set out. Then I will ask him if he really thinks that that grand cry of faith is the consistent outcome of his materialism, because to me it appears on the contrary to be the undoubted offspring of the old idealism Advocates of the new materialism say to me almost daily. 'If life is the mere caprice of blind matter, with no conscious purpose behind, what need we do except enjoy it, as much as we can, while it lasts?' They feel no trumpet call to face and assimilate facts, other than such facts as lead to their own personal enjoyments The thought and research which Sir Arthur so strenuously advocates has no meaning to them, and they appear to me to be the more logical of the materialists 'Why bother?' they consistently ask But I rejoice in Sir Arthur's ill-logic He may be steeped in materialism up to the neck, but his head is still free And with his head he turns, apparently unconsciously, to the old idealism for guidance The materialism which he professes fails to satisfy him. Life still means more to him than 'eat, drink and be merry' He must still search and strive. Honourable ill-logic in the materialist! But as he himself says on page 16 'The day man becomes a perfectly rational being marks his end.'

Much as I am stirred by the fine passage quoted from his preface, I note its logical weakness 'Abiding happiness will come to no man until he has faced and assimilated the real facts.' On page 39, in an argument too long to quote here, Sir Arthur tells us that the real facts were first conclusively stated by Darwin in 1872. They could not then have been 'faced and assimilated' before 1872, therefore, by Sir Arthur's argument, abiding happiness could not have come to any man before 1872 But that, of course, is sheer nonsense Again, no one since 1872 could, on that argument, attain 'abiding happiness' without reading and assimilating Darwin! Which again is so much more nonsense Sir Arthur cannot by any possible means prove that people who have faced and assimilated Darwin's facts are any happier than any other people Much as I admire Sir Arthur's confession of faith for its rich emotional qualities, as a logical argument it is worse than useless. It is just a little green oasis of poetry in a rather stony desert of materialism, as such it has meaning and value of a high kind

But it is too ambitious It overlooks the fact that none of us is capable of facing and assimilating all the facts. We only grasp a very limited aspect Abiding happiness comes rather to those who grasp and assimilate one vital point of view Probably St Francis was one of the very happiest men known to human history, but the point of view that he grasped and assimilated was not Sir Arthur Keith's. I do not deny—on the contrary, I rejoice in—Sir Arthur's own capacity to derive happiness from the point

of view of the progress of the scientific side of his research. Possibly if he knew me he might realise that I can derive happiness from a point of view differing both from his and from that of the most human of all the saints

I remain, yours truly,

WILLIAM PLATT.

4, Hallswelle Road, Golders Green, London, N.W. 11

'ROBERT POLEY. AN ASSOCIATE OF MARLOWE'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—May I venture to supplement Dr F S Boas' very interesting article on Robert Poley that appeared in *The Nineteenth Century* for October The recent focus of interest on Poley and others of the associates of Christopher Marlowe, on both sides of the Atlantic, makes even so minor an addition as mine of potential value Dr Boas remarks that Ede and Yeomans agree that Poley was liberated from the Tower about, or just after, Michaelmas in 1588, and questions with much reason the possible inference that that concludes a term of two years' ' continuous ' imprisonment By good fortune, the bills of the Lieutenant of the Tower (during those years, a Sir Owen Hopton) ' for the fees and custody of prisoners of State ' are preserved, and in excellent condition, at the Public Record Office In three of these bills (E407/56, Nos 44, 47, and 50) mention is made of Poley The final entry of his name to be found there confirms Yeomans' ' about Michaelmas ' to a nicety

> (No 50) ' Item for the diet & chaidges of Robarte Pollye beginninge the xxiiij$^{\text{th}}$ of June 1588 and endinge the xxix$^{\text{th}}$ of September then next followinge beeing xiiij$^{\text{teene}}$ weeks at xiij$^{\text{s}}$ iiij$^{\text{d}}$ the weeke for himselfe ix$^{\text{li}}$ vj$^{\text{s}}$ viij$^{\text{d}}$ one keeper at v$^{\text{s}}$ the weeke iij$^{\text{li}}$ x$^{\text{s}}$ ffewell and candell at iiij$^{\text{s}}$ the weeke lvj$^{\text{s}}$ Summa ◇——◇ xv$^{\text{li}}$ xij$^{\text{s}}$ viij$^{\text{d}}$ '

Prior to June 24, 1588, Poley seems to have enjoyed a space of freedom, for there is no bill for his expenses in the preceding quarter But it will be difficult indeed to reconcile with the dates of his earlier (his second) imprisonment Mistress Hollford's deposition, circumstantial as it is, that Poley was behaving in a scandalous manner at Mistress Brown's house about Shrovetide last ' For Shrovetide in 1588 was in February, and Poley was immured from Christmas Day in 1587 till the following Lady Day, as appears in one of the Tower bills.

> (No. 47.) ' Item for . . Robert Poolie beginninge the xxv$^{\text{th}}$ of December 1587 and ending the xxv$^{\text{th}}$ of March then next followinge beeing xiij$^{\text{teen}}$ weekes . . Summa ◇——◇ xiiij$^{\text{li}}$ x$^{\text{s}}$ iiij$^{\text{d}}$ '

Without doubting Poley's culpability, yet one must ask if Mistress Agnes Hollford's indignant memory was not slightly astray as to the date, unless one may read the evidence ' Shrovetyde Anno Domini 1585.' There are then no conflicting dates. I submit the amendment very diffidently, but the figures seem plain.

Poley would seem to have been his own master, too, for a year and a

quarter between his first and second recorded imprisonments. For his confinement to the Tower in the first instance, with Babington and the other conspirators, the only occasion which can be viewed as a 'blind' to his Papist friends, seems to have been of brief duration :

> (No. 44.) 'Item for the dyett and chardgs of Robte Pawley beginninge the xviijth of Auguste 1586 and endinge the Laste of September then next folowinge beinge syx wicks at xiijs iiijd the wicke for hymselfe iiijli one keaper at vs the wicke xxxs ffewell and Candell at iiijs the wicke xxiiijs Amountinge to the Somme of vjli xiiijs.'

So again here is positive support for Dr. Boas' assumption that in February 1586–7, when Poley sought renewed credit and service with Leicester (vainly, one must infer), he was indeed at liberty, though out of favour with his masters. His other employer, Sir Francis (Mr. Secretary) Walsingham, seems to have been more placable, and two months after delivering Poley from the Tower gave him employment, even until his (Mr. Secretary's) death in 1590, as a messenger to and from the Courts abroad, 'for her majesties affaires'

I am, sir, yours faithfully,
EUGÉNIE DE KALB

Girton College,
Cambridge

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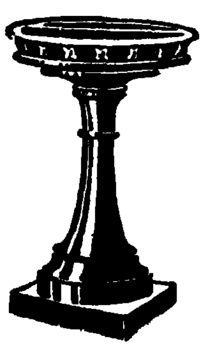
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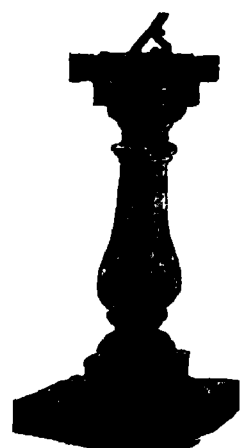
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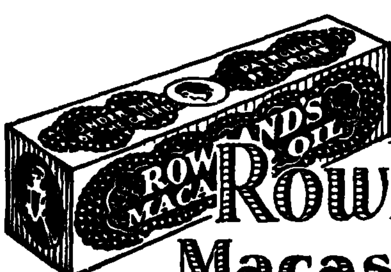








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THE
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THE PROBLEM OF BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY

The past few months have witnessed a very welcome revival of interest in this country in foreign affairs, and if the comment upon them which has appeared in certain sections of the Press has not always given evidence of a very profound appreciation of the issues at stake, it is at any rate satisfactory that the problem of Great Britain's attitude towards her neighbours is at last receiving some attention from the ordinary citizen. The modern tendency to leave all save the simplest of political questions to the specialist has of late years been very much pronounced where international problems have been concerned, and the electorate of to-day is by no means so well informed upon these matters as was that of the pre-war era, but signs are not wanting that a reaction against this indifference is to some extent setting in, and of this the interest aroused by the ill-fated Anglo-French Naval Agreement is conclusive evidence.

Unfortunately, there is a marked tendency among those who discuss, either in print or upon the platform, the policy which

they consider the Government should pursue to take sides, and to maintain that the only salvation of the country lies in an alliance with France or with the United States of America. There have always been, and probably there always will be, two schools of thought in the matter of British foreign policy, the one maintaining that England must never forget that she is primarily a European Power, and the other declaring that she should turn her back upon Europe and think solely of her Imperial responsibilities. Neither counsel is that of perfection, and their respective value varies from time to time according to circumstances; on the whole, however, the *via media* between the two extremes is the path generally to be preferred, and such is the case at the present moment There is no need to make the Foreign Office an annexe either of the Quai d'Orsay at Paris or of the State Department at Washington

Before, however, analysing the arguments either of the pro-French or of the pro-American party it is as well to decide what the aim of British foreign policy should be, and then to consider the international conditions in which this policy is to be pursued.

There can, one imagines, be no two opinions on the fact that the chief object of British statesmanship at the present time is to preserve the peace of the world, while taking every precaution that if war breaks out the Empire shall not be implicated unless, as was the case fourteen years ago, national interests are at stake. One would have thought that the sacrifices made by Great Britain in the cause of peace were sufficiently obvious to silence the most convinced of Anglophobes, but unfortunately such has not proved to be the case, and the cry of *perfide Albion* still raises a cheer on the extreme Left and on the extreme Right in more than one European country. In this connexion it is to be hoped that M Rostand's play will not be regarded as in any way typical of public opinion in France, but it is significant that a French novelist who should have known better has accused the British Government of financing Abd-el-Krim, while the Communist charges against Sir Austen Chamberlain of counter-revolutionary activities in Russia are too well known to require more than a passing mention. In a way it is perhaps as well that these accusations should be brought, for they serve to remind us that, however pure our motives may appear to ourselves, their altruism is by no means so obvious to our critics on the other side of the Channel and of the Atlantic.

On the other hand, successive British Administrations have shown that all three parties are agreed that the maintenance of peace is the basis of the Empire's foreign policy. In pursuit of this ideal not only has the old claim to the mastery of the sea, upheld for centuries, been abandoned, but parity of naval arma-

ments with another Power has been adopted in its place as a fixed principle. The Army, proved in numerous wars to be second to none in the world, has been reduced to the strength of a police force, while both its training and its reserves have been curtailed to an extent which many competent critics declare to be excessive for safety. While, lastly, by the Pact of Locarno the British Government pledged itself, in a way quite unprecedented in the recent history of the country, to come to the aid of the League of Nations if, in certain circumstances, there appeared to be a threat of war from any quarter. It is true that the Geneva Protocol was rejected, not, as is sometimes alleged, solely by the Conservative Administration of Mr. Baldwin, but by the vast majority of the electorate at the last General Election; yet, so far as the British Empire is concerned, the Protocol contained pledges which could never have been carried out, and in this case the refusal to sign it surely argues good faith rather than duplicity, an attitude which also characterises the reservations which the Foreign Office so wisely made to the Kellogg Pact.

If, then, it be admitted, as it is by every section of opinion in the country, that the preservation of international peace is the principal object of British foreign policy, the question thus arises whether this end can best be served by isolation or by making alliances and agreements with other Powers, either in Europe or in America, and it is on this problem that controversy centres at the present time. In short, there is general agreement as to the end which it is desirable to attain, but there is a great conflict of opinion as to the means of attaining it, and a decision is not made any easier by the lack of clear thinking, and sometimes even of common honesty, only too often displayed by the protagonists on both sides.

There are still those who believe that utter isolation from the rest of the world is possible, and who urge upon the Foreign Office a policy of complete detachment—at any rate, so far as European affairs are concerned. Inasmuch as this attitude is a reaction against the continued interference in Continental politics which was so prominent a characteristic of the Administration of Mr Lloyd George and of Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, it is natural and by no means to be deprecated, but it can undoubtedly be pushed too far, and in any event it ignores certain very important facts. In the first place, Great Britain is already committed in certain circumstances by the Locarno Pact to armed intervention on the mainland of Europe, and, however injudicious it may have been at the time to enter into an engagement of this sort, to repudiate it now would be one of those remedies that are worse than the original disease, for it would produce chaos once more.

Then, again, isolation can only be complete if it is reciprocal, and the development of aerial warfare has for all intents and purposes deprived Great Britain of that immunity from attack which she possessed for so many centuries. Nor is this all, for the history of the last two decades of the nineteenth century, when a complete indifference to the affairs of Europe was displayed by successive British Administrations, is not a particularly glorious one, culminating as it did in a world-wide outbreak of Anglophobia at the time of the South African War. In short, a foreign policy based upon the principle of complete isolation is not possible to-day, and even if it were practicable it is by no means certain that it would be desirable.

At the same time, there is no reason to suppose that the peace of the world would rest upon any surer foundations were Great Britain to take sides each time two European nations began to bicker, yet that would be the inevitable result of building up a system of alliances such as existed in pre-war days, for now, as then, the country would invariably be committed in advance to one party or the other in every dispute that arose. At the present time there are three Powers on the mainland of Europe which overshadow their neighbours—France, Italy, and Germany; and to enter into close relations with one of them is at once to rouse the suspicions of the other two, as was recently shown by the attitude of Berlin and Rome towards the Anglo-French Naval Agreement. There is a widespread misconception among those who should know better that the maintenance of peace depends upon the continuance of the existing territorial *status quo*, whereas in reality nothing could be further from the truth. France, of course, is prepared to resist any alteration of the Peace Treaties, but Italy and Germany are both eager for their revision, and in these circumstances for Great Britain to adopt any very decided attitude on the subject would raise up enemies at once. Sooner or later the Continental Powers are probably bound to become divided once more into two groups, but for Great Britain to bind herself to any one of her neighbours more closely than is the case at present would not only make her the catspaw of others in quarrels in which she had no concern, but would also precipitate the separation of the nations into two armed camps as of yore, and so jeopardise the very peace which all parties are agreed is essential to British interests.

There is, indeed, a marked tendency among the critics to regard the whole question of the national foreign policy from far too academic a standpoint, and, so far as actual facts are concerned, to content themselves with a few sweeping generalisations, with the result that the ordinary citizen, who is no specialist, may well be excused if he arrives at the conviction that there are

only three alternatives before the country—alliance with France, alliance with the United States, or a more or less splendid isolation. In reality the field of choice is far wider, but before coming to any conclusion it is as well to consider the international situation a little more closely, and to do so from three points of view—the Empire, Europe, and the rest of the world.

The development of Dominion autonomy and the decisions of the last Imperial Conference have enormously complicated the work of the Foreign Office during the past ten years. It is not so much the size of the British Empire that makes unanimity of opinion among its component parts in international matters difficult as its geographical position and its mixed population. The policy of Japan, for example, often arouses very different feelings in Canada and Australia from those which are entertained in India, while to Newfoundland, South Africa, and the Irish Free State the attitude of Tokyo is a matter of complete indifference. Yet it is of the utmost importance that the Empire should speak with a united voice, for the least hint of internal differences may have the most serious consequences. In this connexion one can but view with a certain amount of anxiety the appointment of Ministers by the various Dominions to foreign capitals. If these representatives are merely to be consular officers with extended powers their appearance is to be welcomed, but if they are to treat of political questions serious complications may well ensue, for in that case the foreign Power concerned would have an unrivalled opportunity of sowing the seeds of discord between Great Britain and the Dominions. Without being a pessimist one must realise the difficult position in which the Foreign Office is often likely to find itself in the future, and in these circumstances the formulation of a settled policy is surrounded by obstacles which did not exist even twenty years ago.

So far as the mainland of Europe is concerned there are, as has been said, three leading Powers—France, Italy, and Germany; and there are also three prominent problems awaiting solution—the Rhineland, the *Anschluss*, and the colonial ambitions of Italy. Each of these affects British interests in a different way, so that it is by no means easy to find a formula that will cover them all.

The occupation of the Rhineland is, of course, one of the results of the Treaty of Versailles, and it thus indirectly raises the whole problem of a revision of the settlement reached at the end of the war. Unfortunately, the question of evacuation has come to be complicated by external considerations, and there can be no doubt that a solution is not rendered any easier by the inflamed state of public opinion on both sides of the Rhine. The Germans claim that they have fulfilled their obligations under the Treaty of Versailles, and that the presence of foreign troops upon their

soil is neither more nor less than a national indignity. The French, on the other hand, maintain that as soon as it is rid of the Allied armies the Berlin Government will promptly default. Which of these views is the correct one does not really matter, for what is of importance is that one or other of them is held by so many millions of Frenchmen or Germans that moderate men like Herr Stresemann and M. Briand are quite unable to arrive at any agreement. Up to a few months ago there was some hope of a settlement by direct negotiation between Paris and Berlin, but public opinion in both countries has put a stop to the conversations which were begun at Thoiry. Such being the case, the position of Great Britain is very delicate, for to leave her forces in the Rhineland is to have a continual cause of friction with Berlin, while to withdraw them would almost certainly precipitate a quarrel with Paris. The only possible course is to temporise, in the hope that before long the inconveniences of the existing situation may impress themselves upon the minds of those principally concerned.

The *Anschluss*, or the incorporation of Austria in Germany, is one of those rare problems that only affect Great Britain very indirectly. France is opposed to it, partly because it would increase both the population and the resources of her eastern neighbour, and partly because it is highly distasteful to her clients of the Little Entente. Italy in this matter is in agreement with Paris, for, having replaced the Dual Monarchy upon her frontier by the harmless Austrian Republic, she is in no mind to have a Great Power once again on the other side of the Brenner. At the same time, it is quite clear that Austria cannot continue in her present position indefinitely; her six million people are too few to live and too many to die, while the capital is far too large for a tiny pastoral State. Yet union with Germany would mean, even if France and Italy gave their consent, the revision of the Peace Treaties, and once one alteration had been sanctioned it would not be long before half the frontiers in Europe were in the melting-pot. There can, however, be no doubt that sooner or later the treaties in question will have to be modified, and if too much insistence be placed upon the maintenance of the *status quo* it will mean that they will only be altered by force. The interest, therefore, of Great Britain in the *Anschluss* lies in the fact that it divides the leading Powers of the Continent into two camps, and that in its present form it represents a seething cauldron which may boil over at any moment.

Italian ambitions are the third disturbing factor in Europe to-day, and the solution of this particular problem is not rendered any easier by the fact that it is quite uncertain both what they are and where an attempt is likely to be made to realise them.

Whatever merits Signor Mussolini may lack as a statesman, that of being able to mystify his neighbours is not among them, for ever since his accession to power he has displayed wonderful ability in leaving the world in doubt as to the ultimate aim of his foreign policy. In turn Jugo-Slavia, Albania, Greece, and Turkey have appeared in the guise of potential enemies, only, however, to be converted into friends before the prophets of woe had finished shaking their heads over the catastrophes which they declared must result from the attitude of Signor Mussolini. On the other hand, this policy cannot be pursued indefinitely, for it is clear that, to quote the Duce himself, 'Italy must expand or burst.' Expansion, too, can only take place within the Mediterranean itself, for with Great Britain at Gibraltar and Port Said and Spain at Ceuta any Italian possessions outside the great inland sea could only be held by kind permission of London and Madrid—a state of affairs which would be intolerable to Italian pride. Within the Mediterranean the acquisition of fresh overseas possessions could only be either in North Africa or Syria at the expense of France, or in Asia Minor at that of Turkey, since neither Great Britain nor Spain is likely to cede its Asiatic or African territories. There can, of course, be no doubt that Italian public opinion bitterly resents the colonial settlement made by the Peace Treaties, and that sooner or later its revision will be demanded by Rome: this fact is fully appreciated in Paris, and is one of the principal causes of the existing Franco-Italian *malaise*.

The European situation is thus one in which it behoves the British Foreign Office to walk warily, far more warily, indeed, than most of its critics realise. The three leading Powers upon the Continent are divided by very acute differences upon the most important problems, and to agree with one of them would almost certainly be to alienate the other two. In these circumstances it may be asked whether it would not be better to adopt the advice of those who would have us turn our backs upon Europe altogether, and make a close understanding with the United States the basis of British foreign policy. Unfortunately, however, for those who hold this view, the international situation is just as complicated in the New World as it is in the Old.

There is a popular impression in many quarters that the only non-European Power of any importance is the United States, whereas in reality nothing could be farther from the truth. In the Far East, where British interests are developing every day, the dominant factor is Japan. It may be that of late years her position has to some extent weakened owing to a faulty financial policy and to the various earthquakes from which she has suffered, but there is no sign that her eclipse, if one is justified in using such a word to describe what is really only a slight setback, is

more than temporary, and even so Japan is invincible in her own and Chinese waters. She is not, it is true, a world Power like Great Britain, but upon her favour depends the British trade with the Far East, and no agreement between London and Washington could unlock the door which leads to the wealth of China if it had been banged and bolted by Tokyo. The bogey of a war between the United States and Japan is not now so much to the fore as it was a few years ago, but there are serious points at issue between the two countries still, and Great Britain has gone quite far enough in the direction of Washington by putting an end to the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, not to mention the construction of the Singapore Base. The two island kingdoms are likely to have plenty of need of one another's support in the China of to-morrow, and a realisation of facts is the best foundation of a foreign policy.

If the United States is not the whole non-European world, neither is she the whole of America—a fact which is even more often forgotten. That she is the greatest nation in the New World to-day no one would deny, but whether she will be so far ahead of her rivals in twenty years' time is another matter, and statesmen must take the long view. Not one Englishman in a thousand realises the progress that is being made by Latin America in general and by the Argentine and Chile in particular, and every one of the States that lie between the Rio Grande and Cape Horn is suspicious of the intentions of its northern neighbour, as is shown by the reluctance to sign the Kellogg Pact. However close are the ties which connect Great Britain with the United States, sentiment must not be allowed to blind us to realities. Great nations are in the process of making in Latin America to-day, and their friendship can be won by a wise policy, which, while regarding the just susceptibilities of the United States, allows for the fact that the New World is not synonymous with the State Department at Washington.

There seems to be at the present time a reticence with regard to the United States which one can only regard as excessive. The mere fact that the two nations speak the same language does not render their interests identical—indeed, at times one cannot help wondering if they would not get on better if their language were different; and if, as is undoubtedly the case, they have much in common, there are also many potential causes of antagonism. The nations are too closely akin to make allowances (for who ever yet made the same allowances for his relatives that he does for his friends?), and in refusing to treat one another as foreign Powers in the normal way they take it for granted that their interests are identical, and are consequently very angry on the occasions on which they find they are not. In fine, a real understanding between Great Britain and the United States will

only be possible when both parties realise that, although they once shared the same cradle, it was a century and a half ago.

Those who would have us hitch our national destinies to the chariot-wheel of Washington never tire of declaring that the United States is a world Power while France is merely a European one. A glance at the map should convince them of their error, for while French culture and French colonies are scattered all over the globe, the overseas possessions of the United States are limited to the Philippines and a few islands in the Pacific and Caribbean Seas. The real difficulty lies, not in the breadth of North American vision, but in its provincialism, which is at the same time a source of great national strength, for it keeps the United States out of adventures in which she would only burn her fingers. American capital is interested in international affairs, but the country as a whole is not, and if this fact were realised as widely as it should be, the apparent diplomatic shufflings of Washington would arouse less resentment in other parts of the world. Admittedly the Constitution of the United States makes a consistent foreign policy very difficult, but it is surely useless to blame statesmen for not going too far ahead of public opinion. As it is, there is a tendency on the part of the State Department to promise more than it can perform, and this has already led to serious complications in the past.

A survey of the international situation at the present time thus shows that neither in Europe nor out of it is there any path for Great Britain to pursue that is not beset with innumerable difficulties. In these circumstances is salvation to be found either in a close understanding with France or with the United States?

It is quite obvious from the facts already stated that an Anglo-French alliance would be the signal for Italy and Germany to sink their differences and form another *bloc* in opposition to London and Paris, and so the stage would be set for a repetition of that series of 'incidents' which led up to the outbreak of the Great War. Great Britain would have lost the opportunity of intervening decisively at the critical moment, and she would be committed in advance. Nor is it easy to see what British interest would be served by the adoption of such a policy. The antagonism of Italy and Germany would be a serious matter, while France could do little to protect the overseas possessions of Great Britain in case of attack. In effect, those who advocate an Anglo-French Alliance are thinking not in terms of peace but of war, and of the late war at that. Such a policy ignores the renaissance of Italy under Signor Mussolini, and presupposes that Germany is planning a war of revenge. The supporters of this view not only fail to realise that what they urge would precipitate the very catastrophe that they fear, but they forget that the provisions of

the Locarno Pact give France a British guarantee against German aggression, and it is difficult to see what more is required unless Sir Austen Chamberlain is to become the subordinate of M. Briand. Great Britain has nothing to gain and much to lose by the conclusion of an alliance with France, and that should be sufficient reason against the pursuit of any such policy.

At the same time it is not easy to see why the country should be required to jump out of the French frying-pan into the American fire. To become too closely associated with the United States would mean to earn the dislike of every nation in Europe, to share in North American unpopularity south of the Rio Grande, and to increase the suspicion of Japan, already aroused by the rupture of the alliance and the construction of the Singapore Base. Nor is there any prospect of obtaining a return for all these sacrifices, for the United States has no need of British support in her own waters and she is quite powerless elsewhere. In effect, American foreign policy is meant to serve American, not British, ends, and so long as those ends are different the policies must be different too.

There has, indeed, been far too much criticism lately both of Sir Austen Chamberlain personally and of the Foreign Office as a department, and few of those who have been so loud in their denunciations of what is being done have any satisfactory alternative to suggest. It is true that the handling of the naval pact with France left a good deal to be desired, but the published correspondence reveals nothing discreditable, and whatever mismanagement there was pales into insignificance before the unscrupulous behaviour of the pro-American party in this country. What the critics forget is that the Foreign Office is responsible neither to the people of France nor of the United States, but to the British electorate, and that at the present time the true policy of the British Empire is one of friendship with all but of intimacy with none. The primary object is to maintain peace, though not necessarily the preservation of the *status quo*, and once Great Britain allows herself to become committed in advance to this or that policy she loses half her influence, and so is the weaker in the pursuit of that end upon which all parties in this country are agreed. She can, as in the question of the occupation of the Rhineland, press counsels of moderation upon those whose ears would be deaf to any pleadings save her own, but to become a partisan is to defeat the very purpose at which she is aiming.

Lastly, one must enter a plea for fair play for the Foreign Office and for the Foreign Secretary. In these days of Dominion autonomy on the one hand and of an apathetic electorate on the other Sir Austen Chamberlain and Lord Cushendun have a hard

enough task without being vilified, not only before their fellow-countrymen, but before foreigners as well, by every critic whom a Cook's tour on the Continent has made an expert on international politics. For nearly a quarter of a century the foreign policy of the country has been above the conflicts of party, and those who would disregard this tradition are taking upon themselves a very grave responsibility. Constructive criticism is the breath of life to any Government department, but to insist that every official of the Foreign Office is a fool or a knave is to do the country a definite disservice by lowering the reputation of its statesmen and diplomats in the eyes of the world. Criticism is none the less valuable for having a little charity combined with it, and if those who fulminate against Sir Austen Chamberlain would remember this, and also that the foreign policy of Great Britain is to serve British, not French or American, ends, we might in the future be able to educate the new electorate to a just appreciation of the basis upon which the country's relations with its neighbours should rest.

CHARLES PETRIE.

THE EMPIRE AND THE WORKERS' STANDARD OF LIFE

When Empire is spoken of there is a tendency in many people's minds to think of the Dominions and Colonies overseas rather than of Great Britain. But in the new British Empire in which Great Britain and Dominions are co-operating partner commonwealths we may just as fairly claim that the Empire begins in London as in Montreal. And if we are sharers in the prosperity of the Canadian wheat belt we are also sharers in the poverty of the unemployed areas of Great Britain. From the standpoint of the Canadian wheat lands Empire means comfort, prosperity, optimism. But what does it mean from the standpoint of an unemployed worker's home in a mining or engineering district in Great Britain?

There are matters of greater importance from the standpoint of Empire statesmanship than unemployment in Great Britain, but there are no matters of greater immediate concern; while to the unemployed man and his family, as also to the man who is on short time, the importance of Empire questions will largely depend on the possibility that by a use of Empire resources a way may be found to enlarge his narrow means and relieve him of the oppression of poverty.

Some men and women unable to find the right kind of employment in this country, and some unable to find any employment at all, solve the question for themselves by emigrating overseas to Australia or Canada or some other part of the world. But the larger number of unemployed people cannot leave the country, even if they desired to do so; for it is difficult enough to organise the migration of 100,000 people a year, but to attempt to deal with three or four times that number in present circumstances is quite impracticable. That migration might be better organised, and that more should be done to inform the public in this country of the opportunities overseas, is pretty generally agreed. But migration is not, and cannot be, an emergency measure, although it must play its part in the general scheme of Empire policy.

Emergency measures for dealing with unemployment are

difficult in operation, and were almost standardised in practice until the Government made a new move by proposing to increase safeguarding and remove the handicap of heavy rating from industry and from necessitous areas. But, apart from these de-rating and safeguarding proposals, no political party is able to suggest anything of immediate application but unemployment insurance and the carrying out of certain kinds of public works, including road-making, afforestation, land drainage, and the reclamation of foreshores.

De-rating is a definite constructive change in the conditions of industry, safeguarding is an advantage to certain industries, but relief work is not permanent, and is limited in its scope by the limits of the work itself and of the credits which a Government can put at its disposal. Even the convinced Socialist cannot claim that 'nationalisation' is a cure for unemployment. Nationalisation of the railways would not employ an extra hand, and might indeed lead to reduction of staff. Nationalisation of the coal mines is in the same category. Even the nationalisation of banking would probably have the same effect.

Unemployment in Great Britain is most serious in a few well-defined occupations, and apart from coal-mining, which deals with a raw material, it is the unemployment in manufacturing industries with which we have to deal. The fall in the demand for manufactures in the world market generally is the immediate cause of unemployment because it means a lessened demand for labour. And thus a vicious circle of small demand, unebployment, consequent poverty, and therefore consequent small demand and more unemployment, is set up which tends to perpetuate itself unless in some way demand, and consequently employment, can be stimulated. Apart from the Government's plan of de-rating, which aims at stimulating demand by removing handicaps from industry and thus reducing costs, the most obvious method of increasing employment is by increasing the export of our products, chiefly manufactured products, overseas. And when we come to consider the overseas market in detail we see that it is divided into two groups, trade with foreign countries and trade with countries within the Empire. The importance of this distinction is capital. For while it is quite true that all trade is good if it exists, and that employment is provided whether the export market be Germany, the United States, Australia or New Zealand, an analysis of trade statistics shows that, while trade with foreign countries in manufactured goods is declining, trade within the Empire is maintaining its relative position.

It is sometimes thought that the decline in our trade is a result of the war. But that only states part of the case. The general impoverishment of the world caused by the World War

has affected us as well as other countries. But the decline of the exports of our manufactures to Germany, France, and the United States has been going on steadily for fifty years past, and is in fact paralleled by a rise of our own imports of manufactured goods from them. But while the proportion of our exports of manufactures to foreign countries has been going down for fifty years, the proportion of our exports to the Empire has been generally maintained, and even in some cases increased. This aspect of trading relations is dealt with fully in Mr. F. L. MacDougall's book *Sheltered Markets*, and indicates, as that author points out, that from the point of view of Empire policy we should pay more attention to Empire markets, where our advantages over our trade rivals are considerable The application of this to our trade position and to the problem of unemployment is clear. Let us encourage, stimulate, and increase our trade with foreign countries by all reasonable means. But let us also encourage, stimulate, and increase our trade in the sheltered markets under the British flag, where the figures of fifty years' trading prove that our position is stronger, and where, therefore, the prospects of improvement are greater.

When we are dealing with our export trade to foreign countries our position is simply one of trade competitors, and no considerations enter in except those of accessibility to the market, quality and price. But when we are dealing with our export trade within the Empire our trade policy can be co-ordinated with a national policy having the definite objective of achieving social and political results.

Outside the Empire migration of our population from Great Britain spells loss, while inside the Empire it spells gain because purchases per head from the Dominions are large and from foreign countries small. Outside the Empire investment of capital is primarily a matter of individual profit ; inside the Empire investment of capital can be used also as an instrument of policy.

Outside the Empire trade is an exchange, but inside the Empire it is an exchange plus all the advantages of producing increased openings for migration and for capital investment in cumulative measure.

Broadly speaking, this means that we can use Empire trade deliberately, if we choose to do so, as a means of reducing unemployment and as a means of raising the standard of life in this country, both of which objects are outside the purview of Free Trade theory, but nationally valuable.

The increase of exports of manufactured goods to the Empire will contribute substantially to the providing of more employment in Great Britain, and it should go with a rising standard

of life, because the standard of life of the wage-earners of Great Britain is the determining factor in the demand of the home market of Great Britain. If it is possible to raise the general level of wages in Great Britain by, say, 1s. a week, then there is 1s. a week per wage-earner more demand for goods and services in the home market, and that means more demand for workers and less unemployment. An increased export of manufactures at the expense of falling wages would provide some extra employment, but would affect the demand in the home market and the employment called for to only a limited extent. Export increased at a time of rising wages will stimulate the home market greatly and definitely break the vicious circle of unemployment and low standards.

To the Free Trade economist the standard of life of the producer is not a matter of primary concern ; he aims at cheapness, irrespective of the standard of life, and leaves wage rates, housing, and the conditions of work to be decided by other means. But a national policy of co-operation in Empire development does not leave these essential factors out of consideration, and should be directed to fortifying the security of the position of the producer and raising the standard of his existence.

Empire policy directed to these aims falls into two divisions --firstly, policy in respect of co-operation with the self-governing Dominions and India ; and, secondly, policy in respect of the Colonies which are governed from Great Britain.

The important items of policy with regard to the Dominions have been partly indicated already ; they are—(1) migration, (2) use of capital, (3) use of Imperial Preference, and (4) consideration of the geographical distribution of industries in the Empire. Migration as a policy has been intensively studied from the English and from the Dominions points of view during the last two years. Mr. Baldwin's visit to Canada, and the Empire tours of Mr. Amery, Mr. Ormsby-Gore and Lord Lovat, as well as of many M.P.'s and business men, give promise of the formulation of a really workable scheme. But the lesson has been learned that migration, to be successful, must be part of a planned development of Empire resources.

With regard to the use of capital, very much remains to be done, and it would be well worth while scheduling definite Empire development schemes in the Dominions with a view to bringing them to the notice of the investing public The existence of the Colonial Stock Act gives an advantage to Empire development, but the giving of further advantages might be considered. Preferences have proved of great use in the development of Australia and other parts of the Dominions, and are of substantial use to Great Britain ; but whether they can be extended is a matter

for consideration, and it may be necessary to resist an attack on them which is promised by Mr. Snowden for the Labour Party if he gets the opportunity. But with regard to a consideration of the geographical distribution of industries in the Empire the page is so far almost blank. The industrial position in the Empire at present is that most industries are concentrated in Great Britain, but others are springing up in Canada, Australia, India, and elsewhere in indiscriminate competition with Great Britain and with each other. The amount of competition at present is not great, but unless the distribution of industries is planned it will become greater in the future, and might, theoretically, be as great as that between Great Britain and any foreign industrial nation. It would seem, therefore, worth while bringing the matter before the next Imperial Conference, when the question of inviting Empire industrialists to consider the question at an Empire Industries Conference could be discussed For it would be to the advantage of the Empire as a whole, and to the industries of the Empire, that there should be the maximum of co-operation and the minimum of avoidable friction.

With a programme of ever closer co-operation between Great Britain and the Dominions, such as the suggested measures indicate, much can be done. For with co-operation there will go the broadening out of understanding necessary for a full use of the natural resources of the Dominions on the one hand and the man power and capital resources of Great Britain on the other.

The second division of Empire policy, that which concerns the Colonies, offers as great a field for work as that of co-operation with the Dominions, and one more immediately under the control of Great Britain. To speak of the Colonial Empire in this general way is, however, somewhat misleading, for while in some parts it is approaching Dominion status, as, for example, the West Indies, in others it is ruled by an appointed Governor alone, and there are many graduations between. But in the Colonial Empire Great Britain has complete control of foreign relations, and a very large measure of control, often in practice complete control, of internal affairs.

It is in the Colonial Empire in general, and in tropical Africa in particular, that there lie those ' estates ' of ours, as Mr. Joseph Chamberlain called them, which are now undergoing such rapid development. And it is from a development of these tropical countries that we can hope for great help in solving both the problem of unemployment and of low standard of life with which it is related.

Not all parts of the tropical Colonies are, however, developing at equal rates. The development of the West Indies is slow,

that of British Guiana very slow. The East Indies are developing steadily, as are also those areas under the control of Australia and New Zealand. But tropical Africa and in especial the tropical West African Colonies are developing at a rate only comparable with that of boom periods in the United States.

The Colonies in West Africa are the Gold Coast, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia, and the development is most marked in the two first places, which are also the two bigger Colonies and the more important. Although the development of the Gold Coast and Nigeria has been only a twentieth-century development, the growth of production has been very great, and their value to the trade of Great Britain increases every year. If the expansion of trade continues, the Gold Coast and Nigeria alone will take a big share in providing the needed markets for Great Britain's products.

The Gold Coast and Nigeria between them have a population of about 25,000,000 people. There are many different tribes and nations, and there are many different grades of civilisation, varying from the Muslim principalities, the emirates of Northern Nigeria, Kano, Sokotu and Bornu, with their great trading cities, to cannibal and pagan tribes living under primitive tribal law.

Before the country was conquered by Lugard it was the seat of an active slave trade, and inter-tribal war was an everyday happening. But British rule has brought peace and security which has enabled the natural advantages of the country to be made use of and its development assisted by the making of roads and railways and harbours, the best known example of which is the recently completed harbour at Takoradi

How close the countries are to their savage past was shown recently during a trial in which a native king and a British official sat side by side on the judges' bench. A witness was asked how it was that he knew a date in question so accurately, and he replied, 'Because it was on that day, Oh King, that you were being besieged in your town by the British and had ordered a woman with a suckling child at the breast to be sacrificed as an offering.'

But the negro people who a few years ago interpreted their 'complexes' and 'repressions' in terms of primitive savagery now interpret them in terms of our modern civilisation, many aspects of which attract them very much.

The development of the country is by no means thrust upon the native inhabitants of West Africa; it is demanded by them. And the supply of certain modern conveniences creates a strong demand. Thus, for example, motor omnibuses are very popular in West Africa, and so much so that native chiefs will themselves

undertake to build roads in order to run them. The chief borrows the picks, shovels, saws and axes from the British administration, and himself arranges for the labour, because the possession of a road and an omnibus that runs along it gives him more prestige than a medal or a decoration and opens up new possibilities of trade.

The whole story of the recent development of the Gold Coast and Nigeria would require a volume to do it justice, but its trading importance can be indicated in a few figures. In 1906 the Gold Coast exported 330,000*l.* worth of cocoa, but in 1926 the export had risen to 9,000,000*l.* In 1906 the Gold Coast imported from Great Britain goods to the value of 1,500,000*l.*; in 1926 the value of British imports had risen to 5,750,000*l.* And the rate of growth is accelerating. Thus, in 1921 the Gold Coast purchased 8,500,000 yards of Lancashire cotton piece goods, but the amount had risen by 1925 to 23,000,000 yards.

The same kind of story is being unfolded in Nigeria, and is important not only because of the total amount of the trade, but because the British proportion of it is so high. Thus while Nigeria bought from all countries in 1926 a total amount of 3,174,000*l.* worth of cotton piece goods, 95 per cent. of that purchase came from Great Britain Of the total import of iron and steel manufactures 79 per cent. came from Great Britain, of motor cars 47 per cent., of machinery 87 per cent, of corrugated iron 99 per cent., of cement 88 per cent, of implements and tools 68 per cent., of bicycles and parts of bicycles 98 per cent., and of soap 87 per cent.

The wealth production of West Africa which enabled this rapid progress to be made is chiefly agricultural, notably cocoa in the Gold Coast and the oil palm in Nigeria. There are, of course, other agricultural exports and an export of minerals, including tin from Nigeria and manganese from the Gold Coast.

The figures of trade statistics quoted are important enough in themselves, but they are very much more important in view of the fact that we are now only at the beginning of West African development. Motor transport is working a swift revolution, and the Gold Coast colony is covered by a network of roads which are having a marked effect upon production But at present development is restricted, because of the relatively high cost of motor transport, to an area within fifty miles of a railway, a river or a port. Approximately nine-tenths of the production for export comes from the area within these limits, but this area is less than one-third of the total area available. The margin for expansion is therefore very large. In Nigeria the same kind of thing is happening, and the margin of land not yet within the reach of effective development is much greater. What will happen in

these countries in the next twenty-five years is difficult to prophesy, but given a continuance of present development—and there is no reason to expect anything else unless it be an increase in the speed of development—Nigeria and the Gold Coast will in the future constitute one of the biggest markets for British goods. Even at the present moment the purchases of British goods per head of the African population of Nigeria and the Gold Coast are greater than the purchases per head by the United States of America. The United States, with its trusts and its skyscrapers, its Henry Fords and its Pierpont Morgans, is less valuable to us per head than tropical West Africa, with its pagan and cannibal tribes, its virgin forests, its untouched reserves of the wild.

The prosperity of West Africa is a prosperity of the people of the country, the white capitalist is prevented from encroaching on native rights, and indeed very rigidly circumscribed. And there seems every reason to think that the rising standard of life of the black people in West Africa, made possible by the effective use of the land and its resources beneath the protection of the *Pax Britannica*, will be at least one of the means used to break the vicious circle of unemployment and depressed trade in Great Britain. The effective use of West Africa, with its 25,000,000 of people and its area over one-third the size of India, will not only play a big part in the future of British Industry, but should also be the example of how the tropical Colonies should be used For out of the unused natural resources of the tropics new wealth can be created to the advantage of the whole Empire.

Effective co-operation with the Dominions and effective use of the natural resources and man power of the Colonies will place the housekeeping of the Empire on a new basis and at a much higher standard of life generally than now prevails. Nor need it be pointed out what an enormous market is lying waiting in India if only the standard of life there can be raised even by a little.

To the unemployed man in Great Britain Empire policy offers a new hope of improvement by showing the Empire as a world market in which the conditions are very largely under our own control An Empire policy directed to the ends already indicated will break the vicious circle in which the unemployed are trapped and set industry on the ascending spiral of efficiency and rising standards of life. But, although it is urgently necessary to set the housekeeping of Empire on a firm foundation, it is necessary not only for itself, but because of the work the Empire has to do. It is not too much to say to-day that we have in the new British Empire an opportunity of leading world civilisation. The flexible political structure of our 'commonwealth' is an

experiment in world organisation just as valuable as, possibly more valuable than, that of the League of Nations. The League of Nations, indeed, could not exist at present without the Empire, which is its backbone. And the Empire experiment is of world significance, because we have inside our frontiers samples, as it were, of all the world's problems. The conflict of East and West, of black and white, of antagonistic white nations, of savagery and super-civilisation—all are found inside the Empire, and place on our shoulders a great responsibility before the world.

Yet we have every reason to be optimistic. With a thousand years of history behind us we have the new nations of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the rest, just beginning their journey. What will these nations be in the thousand years to come? At present the young commonwealths are fresh and vigorous, full of national feeling, individual, and we can at least learn from them in Great Britain the optimism of their outlook, which, added to our experience, should enable us to make a fresh start with the handling of our traditional 'social problems.' Partly these 'social problems' exist because of a fusty Little Englandism in the past which has refused to look out beyond these shores. But if we learn that we are not only an island but also an Empire, our problems are already partly solved, because we have achieved the new attitude necessary for the new kind of action.

Unemployment is evil in itself, unless it takes the form of voluntary holidays, but it is more evil in its effect in helping to create a low standard of living for the workers as a whole.

To raise the standard of life should be one of the chief objects of Imperial policy, because it is to the democracy that some of the greatest tasks of world organisation which confront the Empire are confided. And those who have great tasks to do in the world should live in homes in which there is sufficiency, security, and quietness.

L. HADEN GUEST.

PARLIAMENTS AND STABLE GOVERNMENT

A SURVEY of the history of the last century gives a remarkable picture of the spread of parliamentary institutions. Within recent years, however, the democratic faith, almost at the moment of its greatest triumph, has been touched with doubt. Parliamentary government has been criticised and attacked; in some countries there has been a reversion to forms of autocracy. Nevertheless, the demand for Parliaments has not ceased. Government through Parliament continues to spread, and must remain for a long period the leading type of government in Western civilisation. But some falling off of confidence exists, and it seems desirable to examine the criticisms that have been raised and to ask what modifications may be necessary in the system of parliamentary government in order to adapt it more successfully to the political conditions of to-day.

The main criticism of Parliaments is that they fail to provide strong, stable government, and that nations have more need of strong, stable government than they have of Parliaments. On this ground the dictators of to-day have replaced parliamentary by personal rule, and on this ground their action has found sympathetic admirers even in England. A first question therefore arises: Are dictatorships the more likely to provide stable government? The answer must be: At best only for a limited period, only for a small portion of the life of a nation. Take the example of Italy. Even if full credit be given to the accomplishments of Fascism, the fact remains that in Italy there is no liberty of the Press, no liberty of public meeting, little liberty of any kind for the organisation and expression of opinion. In most countries that have grown to full free nationhood these accompaniments of dictatorship are unthinkable, and they can hardly be a permanent condition of national life in Italy. Even dictators recognise that a time will come when, after the nation has passed through a period of probation, its political liberties must be restored. Will a nation emerge from tutelage more capable of handling its own destinies? Is it not more likely that we shall have a country less practised in the art of self-government, which, in approaching its political problems, will be at

a 'disadvantage compared with nations in which the current of free development has been unchecked? The immediate future of government in Italy is uncertain, depending upon the ability of a particular *régime* to guide or suppress the living forces of which the nation is composed. The more distant future, when free conditions will once more prevail, is yet more obscure.

There is a great contrast between the political conditions existing in southern and in northern Europe. Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Holland, Belgium, Denmark, Norway, and Sweden live under parliamentary systems. There is a free discussion of all national problems. Moreover, parliamentary government, based as it is upon free discussion, is in keeping with the spirit of the age as evinced in the many international associations of which the League of Nations is the supreme example, all of which presuppose free discussion and government by consent in accordance with decisions arrived at after such discussion. But it is an indication of the widespread concern as to the working of parliamentary government that the Inter-Parliamentary Union, at its Conference in Berlin in August of this year, recommended that each national Parliament should institute a study of the parliamentary life of its own nation, and also of the experience of other nations. Such an investigation must cover a wide field, and among the questions primarily to be considered must be—(1) the formation and maintenance of a government after a general election, and (2) the method of electing the Parliament. Both questions are intimately related one to the other, and both bear upon the problem of providing stable government. They must be examined in the light of the political conditions that exist to-day.

During the last 100 years the general aspect of politics has fundamentally changed. In Great Britain the number of voters has increased from 500,000 in 1832 to 27,000,000 in 1928. This in itself is a fact of the first importance. There is now universal education. Political parties are highly organised. Similar political conditions obtain throughout north-western Europe. There is, further, a close correspondence between the divisions of political opinion existing in the self-governing countries of Europe. On the extreme left there are the Communists; on the extreme right there are the Conservatives who would prefer government based upon personal authority rather than upon Parliaments. Between these extremes political opinion ranges from moderate Conservatives, through Centre Parties and Liberals and Radicals, to the Labour and Social Democratic Parties. These are the groups into which political opinion is divided. Even in Great Britain, where nominally there are only three parties, these groups of opinion, perhaps with slightly different

outlook, also exist. Our Conservative and Labour Parties have each a right and left wing. It is natural that universal education, universal suffrage, and a greater consciousness of economic inequalities should give rise to several political groups, each representing opinions honestly entertained. In what way should these groups find expression in Parliament, and how should they be co-ordinated to ensure a reasonable stability in government?

There are two schools of thought on this question. Some would try to compress these several groups of opinion into two parties. They would base government upon a two-party system such as obtained in England for a considerable period of its history. In any case they would endeavour to ensure that the main feature of the English two-party system was maintained, namely, that one of the parties should be returned to Parliament in such strength that it held an absolute majority of the seats, and that the Cabinet which the dominant party provided should be in complete control of Parliament. In other words, it would provide a Government with almost unfettered powers, powers which would be exercised, however, in the light of free public criticism and in the fear of a possible swing of the pendulum at the next general election.

The General Election of 1924 yielded in Great Britain such a Parliament and such a Government. There is doubt whether the next general election will have a like result The electoral system failed in 1923 to give any one party an absolute majority of the seats in the House of Commons, it may fail again. In Europe, wherever the system of single-member constituencies has been tried, it has failed to provide an absolute majority for one party. Government by co-operation of parties has been generally necessary. But in some cases one-party government has been sought through special electoral laws

For example, Signor Mussolini passed an electoral law in 1923 which provided that the party which polled nationally the largest total of votes—not necessarily a majority over all others—should receive as its reward two-thirds of the seats in the Chamber. For those who are seeking 'strong' government of the English two-party type this style of electoral law must present great attractions. It was very effective, the national list of candidates endorsed by Signor Mussolini gained a great victory. History, however, records that this law lasted for one election only, that of May 1924. There was some doubt as to which would be the largest party at a second election. The conditions were not unfavourable to a sharp swing of the pendulum. It was open to all opponents of the Fascist *régime* to present a single list of candidates The law was at once repealed; in the end Parliament, as we know it, was suppressed. But had the law been

retained, and had it been allowed to operate under free conditions, it is quite clear that an alternation between Mussolini and anti-Mussolini Governments would have provided no foundation for stability. Yet such alternation must be accepted as part of the normal mechanism of a two-party system.

The French electoral law of 1919 tended to produce combinations of groups that were in some respects an approach to the two-party system. Under this law, if a party or a combination of parties obtained an absolute majority of the votes it was awarded all the seats allotted to the constituency. There was naturally a desire on the part of the political groups to win this great prize, and these, often against their real wishes, combined for the purpose of presenting a joint list at the elections. The law gave birth to the *bloc national* and to the *bloc des gauches*, but this approach to a two-party system did not ensure for France strong, stable government. Indeed, there resulted something of the nature of a paralysis of Parliament. The parties that combined at an election for the purpose of winning as many seats as possible had no common programme. After the election the co-operating parties were in difficulties. If they acted independently in Parliament it might become impossible to act together at the next election, and failure to present a joint list might involve electoral defeat. The French law lasted for two elections only.

The French law gave a great victory to the *bloc national* in 1919, and a great victory to the *bloc des gauches* in 1924. All electoral laws which provide for the exclusive representation of the majority in a constituency tend to produce violent oscillations of political power. In the Greek elections of 1920 M Venizelos and nearly all his friends were excluded from Parliament. The Royalists secured an overwhelming victory, and the monarchy was restored; but not for long. The same majority system that was used in 1920 was also used in 1928. On this occasion the Royalists were completely crushed, and M. Venizelos and his friends secured some 220 seats out of 250. So long as M. Venizelos remains there may be stable government. But what will happen when he goes? Will the foundations for continuing stability have been laid? In the election of 1926 no party was crushed, the law providing fair representation for all. The Governments which followed contained members of more than one party. They tackled financial and other problems with prudence, and there was a diminution of extreme partisan feeling. Was there more prospect of real stability in government if such conditions had been permitted to persist?

The English system of single-member constituencies also results in swings of the pendulum, and because parliamentary

government in England has been stable it is too often assumed that the swing of the pendulum and stability in government go hand in hand. This is to think in terms of past conditions. The two historic English parties—the Conservatives and the Liberals—were at one in accepting the capitalist system of society, and, although there were important differences between them, the swing of the pendulum did not install in power a Government with a social outlook completely different from its predecessor. Moreover, parties were not so rigidly organised. Conditions in Great Britain are to-day essentially different. The Labour Party, although reformist and not revolutionary, is definitely Socialist in its aims, and is highly disciplined. A swing of the pendulum between a Socialist and an anti-Socialist Party would not necessarily produce stability in government or in policy. Moreover, there are now three parties. There will be possibly 500 three-cornered fights in 1929. These new conditions alter the character of a general election, and may compel new conventions for the carrying on of government. It may safely be predicted of the next election that none of the three parties will obtain a majority of the votes cast. As to representation in Parliament, any kind of result may follow The Labour Party, with a minority of votes, may obtain a clear majority of the seats. The Conservatives, with a minority of votes, may obtain a clear majority of the seats. Or no party may obtain a clear majority of the seats. Between opinion in the country and representation in Parliament there is no reliable correspondence. Ten months separated the British elections of 1923 and 1924. The figures for Manchester for these two elections were :

1923.			1924		
Party.	Votes.	Seats.	Party.	Votes	Seats.
Conservative	104,027	1	Conservative	136,195	6
Labour	79,885	4	Labour	88,637	4
Liberal	71,141	5	Liberal	50,350	0

In 1923 the smallest party obtained the largest number of seats ; in 1924 the same party failed to obtain any. A study of the figures of the two elections shows what a gamble an English election can be. An electoral gamble is not a dignified foundation for the government of a great nation and does not assure real stability in government.

The Zinovieff letter was an important factor in the British election of 1924. The Liberal Party was in no sense responsible for this incident, but it was the Liberal Party that suffered. Their representation was reduced from 158 in the one election to 43 in the second ; and nearly all the leaders of the party were defeated. In each post-war election some of the most able of

our statesmen have lost their places in Parliament. This may happen again in the coming election. Sir John Simon has been chosen as chairman of a Commission which has to report on one of the most difficult problems of representative government. The value of his services in the House of Commons is recognised by all, yet there is no guarantee that, in a contested election in the single-member constituency which he represents, Sir John Simon will be elected a member of the next British Parliament.

This brief survey of post-war elections makes it clear that the attempts made to secure in an artificial way the essential feature of a two-party system—that one party shall have an absolute majority in Parliament—do not ensure stability in government. Indeed, the special laws designed with this end in view may convert a swing of the pendulum into a positive danger, creating the most serious kind of instability, due to the deep-rooted antagonism between the parties. Throughout Europe, however, the two-party system has ceased to exist, and the search for stable government must take cognisance of the fact. Great Britain also has more than two parties; it suffers the serious disadvantages of the single-member constituency without being sure of adequate compensation. For the English system no longer guarantees an absolute majority; in the recent New Zealand election it gave the following result: Reform Party, 26 seats; Independent Reform, 2; United Party, 26; Labour, 20; Country Party, 1; Independents, 5.

In what direction, then, should stable government be sought under a parliamentary system? Germany has an electoral system which enables the various groups of opinion to find expression in a natural way, and does not attempt to compress them into two opposing parties. The Conservatives appear in the German Parliament in two groups, the Nationalist Party and the German People's Party; the Socialists appear as two groups, the Social-Democrats and the Communists. The splitting of the right and left parties into two groups, corresponding with the real facts, has not hindered, it has facilitated, the formation of a Government. To-day the German Government consists of representatives of all the main middle parties, from the People's Party to the Social Democrats. The extremes are left out; the main body of opinion governs. Moreover, in Germany a general election is not a gamble. The forces in Parliament correspond with the political forces in the country. Representation changes in correspondence with real changes of opinion in the country. There is progress, but there is also a real stability, a continuity that is found by allowing the nation to express itself naturally and truthfully. To quote Dr. Stresemann, 'there is much more agreement and much more capacity to get things done than is commonly believed

from without.' All the parties that are Republican can support the Republic; all the parties that are agreed as to foreign policy can work together. Moreover, the German system tends to retain in the Reichstag the ablest members of all parties.

This is not to say that Germany is not experiencing difficulties. The technique of forming a Government in the presence of more than two parties is new, and has had to be learned by experience. The task of learning is not finished. There have been difficulties arising both from personal and from party claims. But this broad fact emerges—government in Germany, instead of violently oscillating from right to left, has tended to steer a straighter and a steadier course. In Germany opinion in favour of the Republic has strengthened; in economic recovery and development Germany has made remarkable progress. Switzerland, a small country, provides the same experience as Germany, a large country. In Switzerland the spirit and practice of proportional representation are also at work, and here also government is not based on violent swings of the pendulum The main body of opinion dominates Parliament, and also the formation and carrying on of government. The Swiss system is a model of harmonious working between the Executive and Parliament.

May we, therefore, conclude that we must seek the desired stability of government, not through some artificial restoration of the two-party system, if that were possible, but in the free organisation of political opinion and in the just representation of opinion in Parliament? A note of warning is necessary. Freedom for parties carries with it responsibility for maintaining government. Why did Italy's Parliament fall? The usual answer is that the dictatorship of Mussolini was necessary in order to prevent the capture of the Italian Government and State by the extreme Socialists. In Italy after the war, as in many other countries, there was a movement in favour of Bolshevism. But this movement had spent itself some two years before Signor Mussolini marched on Rome. Two causes, each related to the other, contributed to the fall of parliamentary government in Italy After the collapse of the Bolshevist movement a reaction set in against the Socialists, and illegal attacks were made upon them and their property The Government failed to stay these reprisals. Moreover, the Government allowed private political organisations to become possessed of weapons of war. A Government which does this is inviting its own destruction. The failure to apply executive powers and to apply them impartially led to the breakdown of parliamentary government in Italy. The breakdown might have been prevented if all the Italian political parties which believed in parliamentary government had accepted their share of responsibility for taking part in and maintaining

government. Professor Salvemini, in his history of the Fascist dictatorship, states that in July 1922, the year of the march on Rome,

> the majority of the Socialist deputies, rebelling against the Intransigent Socialists . . . declared themselves ready to support a new Cabinet on condition that it restored public peace. . . . Up to July 1922 the cause of the paralysis lay within the Chamber itself; all stable coalition was made impossible by the intransigent attitude of the Socialist deputies, and the mistrust which all parties felt towards the Christian Democrats. . . . Had the Socialists taken their decision in July 1921, they would probably have saved their country from the evils of military Fascist anarchy, and free institutions from destruction. In July 1922 it was too late.

In these words Professor Salvemini brings a serious charge against two parties, at the time two of the largest, and in themselves the most unified, parliamentary parties in Italy. Had they participated in government they could have clothed Government with more authority; they could have ensured the more complete and the more impartial application of its executive powers. In this respect we can compare the post-war history of Italy with that of Germany. The Socialists of Prussia accepted their share of responsibility for forming a Government, and collaborated with other parties. One of their members, Herr Severing, became Minister of the Interior, a key position. This action of the Prussian Socialists strengthened the Government and has been an important factor in stabilising the Republican *régime*. Their action has made possible the functioning of Parliament under free conditions. The refusal by the Italian political parties of responsibility for the carrying on of government led to the destruction both of these parties and of Parliament.

In the long run, Parliaments rather than dictatorships offer the best hope of stable government. As between different types of parliamentary government there is the greatest promise of stability where the electoral law admits of the free organisation of opinion and of its just representation; and by stability is meant not mere absence of change, but a condition of regular and ordered progress. This condition will, however, not be realised unless the political parties which believe in parliamentary government remember that they are first of all parliamentary parties and that they must accept as their first responsibility after a general election the formation of a Government that is willing to give effect to the main body of opinion as revealed in the election.

JOHN H. HUMPHREYS.

EDUCATION IN INDIA:

The New Outlook

Two years ago Sir Malcolm Hailey, then Chancellor of the Panjab University, in his convocation address asked the question: 'What does the University stand for in the life of the people?' He could find no satisfactory answer. If a mind so acute, enriched with the most varied experience of a lifetime of devoted and zealous service for India, could find no factor which his own university, as such, had contributed to the life and thought of modern Panjab, will anyone claim more for any other Indian university? It may be claimed for Indian universities generally, until at least quite modern times, that they did build up professional standards, that they did provide the raw material for public services, better than would have been available without them. The most pessimistic critic of Indian universities will have to admit that the Indian graduate of the half-century succeeding the establishment of the three Presidency universities in 1857 provided the foundation on which the Indian personnel of the subordinate services and the professions of law and medicine was built up. Much may be said to the credit of this achievement. But there is also much on the debit side.

Mr. Arthur Mayhew, in his *Education of India*, has pointed out in great detail how our universities touched these graduates only in their outer or professional lives. Their own inner lives went in the old grooves. Their homes and home habits remained unaltered. The social foundations of their lives suffered no shock. Caste, the joint-family complex, early marriage among the Hindus, and Pardah among the Muslims, remained sacrosanct. The scale of values in life was not revised, except perhaps that 'education' became a sort of harbinger to the dawn of an unabashed plutocracy. The core of the soul received no new awakening. Indeed, a sort of double life took the place of the simpler unity of life in the earlier days—the outer life of such modernity as India borrowed for a few hours a day, and the inner life, the real life which reappeared when the garment was flung off. Such reforms as there were in religious or social life came,

not from the universities, but from other influences, and in any case they left the masses untouched. Even in the outer or professional life the front rank leaders have been men who had foreign training. In their case it made no difference whether they had or had not Indian degrees also. Could anything be more significant than this of the lack of the vitalising factor in Indian degrees?

Since the flood of numbers began to engulf the Indian universities from 1916 onwards, even the modest claims that could be made for the Indian degrees at an earlier stage have to be modified. The degree has become a drug in the market. Its actual value is small—the amount of sound and accurate learning behind it is ludicrous; in foreign universities it is accepted, not at its face value, but as an unknown quantity hardly worth more than a pass in a matriculation examination.

The flood has risen in two ways—in the number of universities and in the numbers of students that flock to each university. There are seventeen universities now in India, with projects for more, while five universities served the whole country until 1916. The number of colleges is rising even faster. This sudden multiplication of universities and colleges is not without its dangers. A good university or college needs not only a large expenditure of money in buildings, equipment, playing-fields and hostels, but also an adequate number of properly trained teachers whose minds and training are sufficiently flexible to adapt themselves to new needs and new situations as they arise. Most important of all, a good university or college requires for its power and efficiency a mass of *imponderabilia* which it is impossible to describe, but which every educationist knows to be essential. These have to do with the moral atmosphere, the personality and experience of the teachers, the psychology of the governing body and its relations with the staff and pupils, the interrelations of the staff amongst themselves, of the staff with the pupils, of the pupils amongst themselves, and that vague undefined background which lies in the home life of the pupils and the social and public life in the environment from which teachers and governing bodies are drawn. It may be that financial resources can be provided with an effort, but nearly all the official reports speak in a minor key of financial stringency, although they naturally exhibit with great self-complacency the enormous increase in the expenditure on education which has taken place in recent times. Whether any or a great part of that expenditure is wasted or produces results commensurate with expectations I shall examine later. But any sudden increase in the trained teaching staff is impossible, and any sudden increase in the resources which I have called the *imponderabilia* of educational institutions is quite out

of the question, seeing that the growth of social and moral ideas depends upon so many other things not directly concerned with education, and is often, not a matter of generations, but of centuries. No wonder, therefore, that there has been an admitted deterioration in the quality of higher teaching in recent years.

Part of this deterioration may be due to the silent but unseemly competition amongst the teaching institutions. The universities and colleges have different histories, different courses of development, in many cases very different aims, methods, and standards of instruction, organisation, and corporate and student life. The recognition of Indian universities by foreign universities is not uniform. The students of some receive more recognition and concessions than those of others. I am not prepared to say that this differentiation is not based on good reasons, though I regret very much that the want of a uniformly high standard often penalises good universities for the faults of the bad ones. The Panjab Education Report for the quinquennium ending 1926-27 frankly admits that the standards of teaching in the colleges have tended to deteriorate. Speaking of the matriculation examination, it indorses the school board's conclusion that the standards of examination in general are low and are deteriorating, especially in English. The attainments of the first year students in colleges are such that very many are unable to follow the lectures adequately.'

The enormous increase in the number of university students is appraised at its true value in the latest Panjab quinquennial report. It describes the figures as 'somewhat disturbing.' I should use a much stronger phrase. In five years the number of 'arts' students increased from 4927 to 8882. But the number of graduates during the same period only increased from 707 to 807. Obviously the large influx in the entry to the universities implies no corresponding expansion in higher education. In figures alone it remains practically stationary. In quality there is a suspicion that it is actually deteriorating. But behind the figures lurk mass tragedies which are well known to teachers and educationists. When the results of university examinations are published they are taken up by students with the fear and trembling with which ordinary citizens took up casualty lists in war-time. The number of candidates in the Panjab matriculation examination of 1927 was over 13,000. Only 1162 passed in the first division, the only kind of pass which an experienced Indian educationist can consider a pass at all. The preparation for the examinations has been so inadequate that, even with the lax standards existing in India, barely 9 per cent. of students are really fit for any high university standards. The enormous wastage of effort implied in these figures casts its shadow on

social life and the unemployment problem. It cuts even deeper into individual lives, and accounts for much stunted growth, aimless drift, discontent, and despair in the life of young India. I know at least one educationist of lofty character and ideals (not an Indian) who feels so appalled by the facts behind these figures that it is a matter of conscience with him whether he can continue to be part of a system in which such things are possible.

It is unnecessary here to enter into a discussion of the communal problem. In the Panjab and the United Provinces it is the most serious obstacle to the development of a rational, uniform, and effective system of public instruction. In Bengal it has recently taken a more acrid tone than used to be the case in previous decades. As an all-India problem it has loomed large in the Central Legislature, in the pronouncements of the present Viceroy, and in the discussions and negotiations of the various groups and combinations (I can hardly call them parties) which have embarked on the thankless task of hammering out a constitution for India. It is, I think, a legitimate criticism of our universities to say that they have in no way helped to solve this problem and in many ways contributed to its accentuation and exacerbation.

Nor have they built up a tradition of self-reliance, independent judgment, or unbiassed criticism. It is the function of liberal education to induce that temper in the public mind which is above the vagaries of mere herd instincts. Can we honestly say that we have acquired even a glimpse of that temper? The answer is furnished by the impatiently intolerant attitude shown to all opinions which run counter to the current moods of the crowd and by the numerous devious ways in which Indian history and political legends are manufactured. Every crowd must necessarily have its own prejudices and passions. But it is the function of a liberal education to lift us above these, to train the critical faculties, and to enable us to construct syntheses out of conflicting points of view—in other words, to build bridges across barriers of prejudice and ignorance.

In the economic sphere the truly educated man is the one who harnesses his physical and muscular powers to the will and command of a guiding and controlling intellect. In an educated nation the national economic work is organised on a harmonious basis, in which manual labour receives guidance from intellectual leaders. The classes representing intellect, skill, and physical stamina tend to merge and coalesce. I do not contend that universities should exist to train mechanics. But I do claim that all arts and crafts, all agriculture and industry, all economic activities, have a right to obtain the guidance of intellectual and scientific leaders, and that such leaders should be in touch

with every phase of life. I am aware that universities in the West have not necessarily fulfilled the requirements of that test. But they are all trying to establish contacts. Their isolation really arises from the fact that the complexities of modern life have in many cases outstripped the ideals of the older universities. There is a constant and continuous attempt at adjustment, both in the reconstruction of older universities and in the constitution of new ones. In a country like India, where the universities have as a whole grown up along with the growth of these complexities, there is no excuse for their standing isolated and apart in a rarefied atmosphere, remote from the realities of modern life. It is this remoteness, this immaturity, which places the Indian student at such a disadvantage when he comes to the universities of the United Kingdom or goes to those of the Continent or America.

I have the highest opinion of the Indian student, both as to his intellect, his character, and his adaptability. I wish I could say the same about his physique. But he never gets a chance in his own country. In a land full of sunshine there is no sunshine on his childhood. The schools have to contend against traditions and habits brought from the home, and often contend with inferior resources. The schoolboy misses the corporate spirit and the happy innocent joys and adventures of a breathless exploration into facts of Nature and life. By the time he leaves school he has not been helped to any plans for his vocation in life or to any vantage ground from which he can climb to the glories of college or university life. He is prematurely old for his years, and in some cases is burdened with physical and social responsibilities on account of early marriage or the care of others, to whom he is as helpless as he is to himself.

Indian secondary education can hardly be said to have been systematised even to the extent of university education at one end and primary education at the other. The idea is too prevalent that secondary education is merely a stage between primary and university education. A sound system of secondary education, in my opinion, should be framed on the supposition that, in the large majority of cases, middle-class boys will find their educational needs satisfied at the secondary stage. Secondary education should be self-contained, and should provide an adequate amount of general equipment for the current needs of the average citizen. It should cater not only for the brilliant, for whom it will be a transition stage leading to higher education, but for everyone according to his needs and capacity. In a well-ordered State primary and secondary education will form twin portions of a well-diffused educational system.

The function of secondary education is to sort out the children

and provide fit pabulum of substantive knowledge for each, or each group, according to its capacities and chances in life. The sorting-out process need not take place at the early stages, but it should be kept in view. It will be a gradual process; but as it proceeds, the most intellectual types, those fit to be leaders of thought, pioneers of reform, explorers in science and research—in other words, those whose true place should be in a university—will be searched out and, whether rich or poor, given every encouragement and help to reach the very highest in education. Scholarships, exhibitions, and studentships will be provided for them and for no others. The educational ladder will be firmly established for them if they only wish to climb. But those will be the chosen few. For all there will be varied material according to their needs.

Apart from this work of classification, there will be the work of imparting useful knowledge and training. This will be graded according to capacity, and imparted according to needs with a view to preparation for life. At some mental age—which is not the same as physical age—(say fourteen or fifteen), some sort of idea could be formed about the boy's or girl's bent, and a future profession held in view, except for those who desire and are considered fit for the learned professions, in whose case the age will have to be much later, as they will go to the universities. In forming the vocational idea the pupil, the teacher, and the parent or guardian will all have their say. The prospective employers, as a class, should be consulted also on general principles. The decision—if it must be called a decision—will be merely in order to give a bias to later studies. Such studies will still be general, for secondary education should not trench on the spheres of vocational or technical education, though it should run parallel at certain stages. Some elastic idea of what the pupil is going to do in after life will give a definite direction to studies and will avoid the aimless drift which we find in the higher classes of school life to-day.

Secondary education should be the pivot of a national system of education. Its institutions should be of the most varied kind, scattered all over the country, and teaching a wide variety of subjects, among which students can choose or can be helped to choose intelligently. In this way we should link up our secondary education with vocational and technical education on the one hand and higher education on the other. We should train up educated artisans, mechanics, electricians, agriculturists, cattle-breeders, manufacturers, chemists, merchants, clerks, foremen, and organisers of all kinds—the bulk of the nation. The higher general staff will be the university men. An educated nation must have a sound system of secondary education, practically universal. 'Unskilled labour' is a relative term. In its bare

meaning it tends to disappear from the life of a truly educated nation.

The vernacular side of our secondary education is particularly weak. The vernacular middle school does not impart sufficient accurate knowledge or discipline to form a factor in the growth of the people. It leads nowhere. It is not linked up with useful or lucrative trades. On account of the limited range of the vernaculars, it has no value beyond certain limited areas. There is one defect from which it suffers which is irremediable, except by making a second language compulsory. The vernaculars are not coterminous with provinces, and with the modern communal tendencies in favour of the revival of archaic vernaculars or the artificial creation of practically new vernaculars, no one vernacular has an exclusive area. The Panjab University recognises four vernaculars side by side, and the Panjab schools often teach several vernaculars. This does not give a full chance to any. And much effort is wasted over the vernaculars. Communal bickerings invariably intervene in the discussion of the vernaculars, and the wisest course might be to have English as the compulsory second language. With the new nationalistic outlook, English is in a corner in disgrace, and so we have an *impasse*.

This being the case, Anglo-vernacular schools, which lead up to the universities, have suffered enormously in efficiency. They should be the backbone of our secondary education. They depress higher education by supplying deteriorating material, and they are of no use in themselves except as feeders to higher education. To my mind the problem of secondary education is more difficult and baffling than any other in the Indian educational field. And yet it is the one on which India can get more light by the study of the systems of progressive nations—the English and American secondary schools and the *lycées* and the *real-schulen* of the Continent. The Board of Education in England has devoted recently a good deal of attention to the separation of junior and senior schools, the creation of 'central' and 'modern' schools, the concentration and classification of children, and the problem of the adolescent. In our educational reverie we are not even aware of their experience.

In primary education we come into some contact with the masses. I have indicated my view that if we had a national system of education, both secondary and primary education would be, and remain at all stages, in contact with the masses, and university education would also be in contact with the masses, though in a different way. But even our primary education is only just beginning to touch the masses. The attack on illiteracy would have to be pushed home much more energetically before it makes any real impression.

No country has succeeded in educating its masses without free and compulsory education. But there are other factors to be considered in India. In our first enthusiasm we thought that we had but to say 'free and compulsory education,' and our masses would be educated. We have been timidly, tentatively nibbling at the idea for the last few years, but he would be a bold man to-day who could say that, with or without an 'alien Government,' we should have educated the 229,000,000 illiterates of the 1921 census in British India within a century. Selected areas are being gradually brought under the compulsory system, and, as far as boys are concerned, there is no opposition from the people. Quite the contrary. With girls it is a different matter. But the difficulties arise from other causes.

Supposing all the boys and girls of school-going age were attending primary schools, but the schools remained as they are now, would the children be educated? Something like 75 per cent. of all pupils in educational institutions of all kinds are at the lower preparatory stage, and 65 per cent. in the infant and first classes. The attendance is casual, and the attention which the pupils receive may almost be called negative. Mr. Richey, of the Education Department of the Government of India, once found a small schoolboy of average intelligence who had been at school at least two years and had not yet mastered the alphabet. It is estimated that over 50 per cent. of those who attend primary classes never become literate, and a good proportion of those who leave at that stage soon lose their literacy. It has even been found that some of the names on the school rolls are fictitious. For real elementary education there should be well-organised schools with regular attendance, teachers with a sense of vocation, and a certain number of years of compulsory attendance, and up to a certain appreciable standard of education.

These conditions have not been attained in India; and therefore our compulsory education, even where it has been introduced, is still really a paper affair. What is called optional compulsory education may be politely described, like the curate's egg, as only good in parts. A compulsory Education Act is passed by a provincial council, but it does not come into effect until it is adopted for any given local area. It may be adopted only for boys and not for girls. Until we get women teachers the prospects of compulsory universal education are not bright. And we cannot get women teachers in any numbers until girls are widely educated; and girls cannot be widely educated as long as child marriages are not only permitted, but common. Women's education is the crux of the whole educational problem when you want education to be widespread among the people.

And what about finance? Education is a 'transferred sub-

ject,' and we are told that our educational destinies are in our own hands through our elected representatives. But our elected representatives under present conditions do not control finance, and they would hesitate very much before incurring the odium of fresh taxation. How much the question of finance enters into the question of primary education will be suggested by the fact that by far the greater number of primary school teachers are paid less than 3*l*. a month, and there are teachers who start on less than 1*l*. a month. Further, communal friction prevents our Ministers from representing the people as a whole. In the United Provinces a very able Education Minister who was a Hindu was violently attacked by the Muslims as an enemy of Muslim education. In the Panjab a Muslim Education Minister, whose brilliant abilities now find scope in an 'unrepresentative' sphere of work, was violently attacked by the Hindus as hostile to their interests. And in truth, where communal vernaculars, communal cultures (or what pretend to be such), and communal religions are not on speaking terms with each other, the difficulties are perfectly intelligible, not only for Ministers, but for teachers, managers, and organisers as well. Primary education must necessarily be carried on in the vernaculars; a multiplicity of them adds to the complexities of the problem. And no parents like their children to be given a bias at early school age against their own religion or modes of thought.

We are now spending on education close on 13 crores of rupees from public funds, while in 1905 we scarcely spent 2½ crores, and as late as 1915 less than 6½ crores Place this sudden and enormous expansion of expenditure side by side with what I have said about teachers' salaries, and what I could say about many other urgent educational demands if space were not limited. Two questions arise. In spite of the enormous rise in the expenditure on education, are we spending enough? We spend more than four times as much on armaments and defence as we spend on education. But supposing we could not possibly spend more than we do on education, are we getting our money's worth? Could we spend the same money in any other way and obtain greater efficiency? Have we any fancy expenditure which we could put to better use? I am firmly convinced that we can spend more wisely. Let us save on bricks and mortar and spend on the living teacher. Let us save on shams in order to spend on real education. Let us examine very carefully and critically the allocation of the money to different schemes and apply it most to the parts which will fructify in the minds and character of the people.

You must not make education too expensive. You must get your full money's worth for every anna that you spend out of

public funds. The standard of expenditure from public funds will react on the expenditure of private citizens on education. And the strength of our chain of education will depend on the strength of its weakest link—some neglected, impoverished schools or colleges in remote corners, whose struggles and failures pile up the tale of our national inefficiency.

But the greatest need for examining the whole position lies in the question of numbers. The schools and colleges have been flooded with pupils, and the rise has been phenomenally rapid. The numbers under instruction in 1900 were only 4,250,000. Now they are between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000. The question is: Are all these people being really educated? Do the right class of boys get the full facilities for the right kind of education, or are some of the most intellectual boys being pushed aside and wrecked in the great flood with which neither our organisation nor our resources in money, teachers, and buildings are fitted to cope? I have indicated that in primary education much of the money must be wasted on pupils who never become literate or who lapse into illiteracy after they leave school. In secondary education there are not enough pupils, considering the numbers in primary education, and there are not enough facilities for giving a self-contained education such as will fit the best part of the nation to become good men and women, good citizens, and efficient workers in our very loose economic system. By far the largest proportion of those who seek university education, so-called, seek it for clerkships and petty posts, and would earn a more lucrative and certain livelihood, as well as be more self-respecting units of society, if they were absorbed in a reasonable scheme of secondary education combined with vocational and technical training in the numerous openings which modern life makes available. Such a reorganisation of secondary education would also afford a solution to the question of numbers in colleges and universities. A halt should be called to the further multiplication of universities and colleges until the resources are available for well-trained teachers, well-equipped laboratories, libraries and instruments of research, and well-educated students who can profit by the opportunities opened to them. To multiply numbers without these conditions is to ask for the depression of standards. On the other hand, more money should be spent in order to make elementary, secondary, and university education real links in the building up of a harmonious nation.

The greatest problem in Indian education is that of moral education or character building. Indian human nature is not more perverse or unregenerate than any other human nature, but the circumstances and institutions which we offer lead to many of the undesirable results which we deprecate. I do not

think that moral education by text-books will by itself do much. It will only add another subject for cramming. But the removal of the many causes that lead to temptation is the first essential as far as educationists are concerned. The supply of teachers with great force of character and personality is all-important; but this supply cannot be hastened, and will itself depend upon a more healthy and efficient system of education, including the education of women, the makers of the home. Religious education has been tried, and a large majority of Indians pin their faith to it. But they take no steps to organise religious education on right lines or to prepare teachers who can impart the true religious spirit and command the respect of their pupils by their character and modern attainments. The young man or young woman of the present day is not going to take mere subjects of religious doctrine on trust from old-fashioned people. He or she will require to be convinced in precept and morally 'forced' by example. The communal schools and colleges, whose main justification is the need for religious instruction, have signally failed in that respect.

These suggestions point to the need of a complete and reasoned survey of education in modern India. Many of the evils have long been known, and some have even been exaggerated. Some of the remedies are obvious; many are controversial; not a few are likely to introduce more difficulties than they will solve. In all my criticisms I must never be understood to imply that I do not appreciate the life-long devotion of the many men and women who are working for or have left their mark on Indian education. I admire their work, the skilful way in which they have tried to face new situations, and the discernment and strength of character which they have shown in meeting the strain put upon the educational machinery. I have said nothing which many of them have not said and felt. But educational reform in modern India will not come only from experts, and if it is forced on the country it will lose its efficacy. Sometimes, too, experts only see one side of a question, and educational problems have many sides. Public opinion requires to be taken into counsel; causes and cures have to be discussed with people who will weave the texture of life in the present and the next generation. Prejudices have to be met; suspicions have to be allayed; motives have to be explained; distrust has to be overcome; conflicting views have to be reconciled, and schemes prepared openly, with the co-operation of those who will have to work them or suffer from them. Has the time come for a comprehensive public survey by a Royal Commission, manned mainly by Indians competent to judge of education and other things that affect education, and competent to modify the moulds of life in which education has to be cast?

In my own mind I have no doubt that the time has com if it is not overdue. No comprehensive public survey has bee made since 1882. But the India of 1928 is very different fro the India of 1882. The Universities Commission which led t the Act of 1904 assumed the foundations of the older policy an only made useful suggestions about reorganisation, supervisio and teaching in the universities. The more recent Sadler Com mission was appointed to deal with the problems of the Calcutt University; its recommendations have not been carried out b Calcutta, but have been partially adopted by two universitie and have influenced other universities, with results which ar still very doubtful. Experience with the new unitary universitie still leaves it doubtful whether the old affiliating type was no after all the best suited to India's social, geographical, an financial conditions. Meanwhile, big political and social ques tions have come into the foreground: the very foundations o State policy have been questioned in India; a new temper ha grown up in the rising generation which requires wise guidanc and discipline. If efficient education means the conscious attemp to adapt the machinery of life to its environment and the consciou stimulus to the adaptation of the environment to the mental moral, and spiritual needs of a community, the whole problem has to be studied and faced anew with every weapon that modern public life can give us.

A. YUSUF ALI.

CHINA REVIVES THE SHANTUNG QUESTION

IN 1914, at the first flash of the World War, Japan, with thorough understanding with Great Britain, attacked and captured Kiaochow, the German stronghold in the Far East, and completely dislodged the Germans from Shantung. Looking at the world situation through the perspective of the four stirring years which followed, one can well imagine the sinister complications which might have confronted the Allied Powers had the German base of operation, both military and naval, political and economic, been permitted to remain intact through the protracted period of the war. Japan's quick action forestalled the evil possibilities which were evidently in store in the Pacific and in the Far East.

And yet the irony of fate is such that the Kiaochow campaign made Japan an object of mingled suspicion and fear And when she tried to succeed to German rights in Shantung, anti-Japanese propaganda was let loose, so it seemed to us, throughout the world, but particularly in the United States and in the British Empire. The upshot of it all was that the Shantung question, much against Japan's will and expectation, was dragged into the International Conference which was called at Washington in the autumn of 1921 for the purpose of discussing the limitation of naval armament and the problems of the Pacific. At this Conference Japan was obliged to face China under the critical eyes of the British and American delegations, who, as was noticed by all careful observers, seemed more lenient to the latter than to the former. They were apparently ready to accept China's pronouncements and promises at their face value, however empty and irresponsible such pronouncements and promises seemed to those with long years of experience in the Orient. And so Japan, willy-nilly, concluded a treaty transferring to China all the rights which she had acquired from Germany. America and Britain, godmothers of the Chinese, the *enfant terrible* at the Conference, were eminently satisfied with the outcome. They seemed to think that thenceforth all would be well with China as well as with the Powers interested in that ancient country. Japan alone took the contrary view, knowing that the Washington Agreement was only the beginning of her troubles in Shantung.

As the Washington Conference recedes in history Japan's

forebodings seem to come more and more true. That Conference acted, in effect, upon the assumption that China was a responsible nation with an organised Government capable of meeting her obligations and of redeeming her promises to foreign Governments. In reality China was nothing of the sort. This, I presume, has been driven home to the Powers, even to the United States, by the disquieting and distressing events which have since happened and are still happening in China. While the Powers have fulfilled their share of the obligation as defined by the Washington Agreement, China has proved herself unwilling, and incapable of doing her part. What is the result ? The treaty relative to China's customs tariff has practically been converted to a scrap of paper. So has the treaty disposing of the Shantung question. Furthermore, China's promises in regard to the protection of foreign life and property, the reform of her judiciary system, the improvement of her railways, the reduction of her excessive military force, and other important matters have virtually been cast to the winds.

In the face of this regrettable state of affairs, is it not advisable that the Powers which participated in the Washington Conference, particularly America, Great Britain, and Japan, should meet again either to rewrite the treaties or to declare the Washington agreements relative to China null and void ? Not that the Powers should place themselves in a position to discourage or obstruct China's legitimate nationalistic aspirations, but because we are loth to see them stultify themselves by conniving with folded arms at the wilful disregard, by any of the parties concerned, of the solemn covenants and pledges made at Washington. If the traditional sanctity of contract between nations means anything, this question is worthy of serious consideration. The United States, as the convener of the Washington Conference, is and should be especially concerned with it.

Perhaps most Powers, having comparatively slight material interest in China, can remain indifferent to the crumbling of the Washington treaties and resolutions. But Great Britain and Japan are in a different position. Particularly are Japan's interests so closely interwoven with those of China that it is neither possible nor practicable for her to sit quiet under such disturbing conditions as have confronted her.

We shall confine ourselves to Shantung. What has happened there is a clear example of the futility of any attempt to bind China to any international agreement. Certainly it should furnish food for reflection on the part of the Powers participating in the Washington Conference. Soon after the Conference Japan took the necessary steps to transfer her Shantung rights to China. Promptly and without grudge she fulfilled all her obligations as

defined in the Washington Treaty, and by the early spring of 1923 she had completely withdrawn from the province, though she was keenly apprehensive as to China's good faith in promising to abide by the provisions of the Treaty. Hardly had she left Shantung when she found herself outwitted—fooled, if you please—by the Chinese.

Japan's first disappointment was China's failure to inaugurate a municipal council for the city of Tsingtao, admitting thereto Japanese and other foreign representatives upon a fair basis. Under the Washington Agreement Japan transferred to China without compensation 'all public properties including land, buildings, works or establishments in the former German leased territory of Kiaochow, whether formerly possessed by the German authorities, or purchased or constructed by the Japanese authorities during the period of the Japanese administration of the said territory,' with the exception of 'such public properties as are required for the Japanese consulate to be established in Tsingtao' and 'those required more especially for the benefit ofthe Japanese community, including public schools, shrines and cemeteries.' The properties transferred to China included 'all public works such as roads, waterworks, parks, drainage and sanitation equipment,' as well as 'all public enterprises such as those relating to telephone, electric light, stockyard and laundry.' In order to ensure the efficient management of such properties and to protect the welfare of the large foreign population, China, on her part, promised that the 'foreign community in the former German leased territory of Kiaochow shall have fair representation' She also declared that, 'pending the enactment and general application of laws regulating the system of local self-government in China, the Chinese local authorities will ascertain the views of the foreign residents in the former German leased territory of Kiaochow in such municipal matters as may directly affect their welfare and interests.' This latter declaration is of much wider scope than the first, as it does not confine itself to the management of public works and public properties.

The former German leased territory of Kiaochow, embracing Kiaochow Bay, comprises some 180 square miles. Tsingtao, the largest port and commercial metropolis of Shantung province, is only a small part of this territory. The reason why Japan was desirous of extending the authority of the proposed municipal council to the whole of the former leased territory, instead of confining it to the city of Tsingtao, was that she saw great industrial and commercial possibilities in all the area skirting the bay, and that full development of such possibilities was practicable only under an efficient municipal government. The city of Tsingtao has at present 284,042 residents, of whom 269,944 are Chinese, 13,468 Japanese, and 630 Americans and Europeans.

Although the Japanese population is only one twenty-fifth of the Chinese, its contribution to the revenue of Tsingtao in the form of wharfage, telephone charges, water rent, land tax, and sanitation assessment amounts to 977,634 yen as against the Chinese total of 975,770 yen, while the Americans and Europeans contribute 334,426 yen. Furthermore, the Japanese have launched many industrial enterprises in Tsingtao and at various points along the bay. The mills and factories thus established number 103, representing an investment of 350,760,000 yen. Of these the most important are six cotton mills totalling 250,000 spindles. Because of this enterprise Tsingtao has become the second largest cotton-spinning centre in China, preceded only by Shanghai.

In view of all this, it is but natural that Japan should be solicitous of efficient management of the city and of the adjacent region. If the Chinese be justified in demanding participation in the management of the international settlement in Shanghai or of the British concessions in Hankow, Tientsin and Kiukiang, the Japanese demand for representation in the administration of Kiaochow seems even more justifiable. Both the international and the exclusive settlements in China were created by treaty specifically for the foreigners, and not for the Chinese. Their original purpose, as conceived by the Chinese authorities themselves, was to segregate the *yangkui*, or foreign devils, from the 'superior' race of China. Therefore the Chinese in the foreign settlements are but squatters, living there only by the sufferance of the foreign community and not under any treaty provision. They began to make inroads into the foreign areas at the time of the Taiping rebellion, when the British in Shanghai connived at the war refugees pouring helter-skelter into their settlement To be sure, they were not welcome guests, these destitute Chinese, but the British, for obvious reasons, could not very well throw them out. All such facts have conveniently been forgotten by the Chinese, who have been attacking the British for monopolising municipal administration in their various settlements. In Hankow and Kiukiang the British concessions have forcibly been captured by the Chinese, and in Shanghai and Tientsin the Chinese have demanded and obtained representation in the municipal administration of the settlements almost on an equal basis with the British. If all these performances on the part of the Chinese be just and fair, how can they deny the Japanese and other foreigners in Tsingtao the right of fair representation in the management of such affairs of the city as affect their vital interests —a right plainly established by the Washington Agreement? The situation, of course, would be different if the integrity and efficiency of Chinese officials were such as to command the confidence and respect of the foreigners.

Since the Japanese handed over Kiaochow to China in January 1923 they have repeatedly urged the Chinese Government to redeem its pledge as to the inauguration of a muncipal council, but to this day little has been done. China has followed much the same course in regard to the former German concessions at Tientsin and Hankow. When taking over these concessions from Germany she virtually promised to organise municipal councils in order to provide adequate protection for German and other foreign interests there. But nothing of the sort has been done, and the foreigners in those places are complaining of increasing misadministration under Chinese authority. Obviously, the revenue of either concession is not used for the maintenance and improvement of its public works, but is misappropriated by the local functionaries or offered as tribute to whoever happens to have military force large enough to control the province in which the concession is located. Much the same thing has been going on in Tsingtao.

Tsingtao's revenue from telephone, waterworks, wharfage, land tax, and sanitation assessment amounts to something like 2,287,831 yen per annum This amount, if judiciously employed, would adequately provide for the upkeep, and even improvement, of its public works. But the regrettable fact is that most of the fund has evidently been expended for some unknowable purposes, as in the case of the former German concessions at Tientsin and Hankow. It was in anticipation of such unhappy expenditures that Japan, in an annex to the Washington Treaty, caused China to declare 'that, upon taking over the telephone enterprise in the former German leased territory of Kiaochow, it [the Chinese Government] will give due consideration to the requests from the foreign community in the said territory for such extensions and improvements in the telephone enterprise as may be reasonably required by the general interests of the public.' For much the same reason Japan (in an understanding attached to the Peking Treaty defining details relative to the transfer of Kiaochow to China) obtained a declaration from the Chinese Government to the effect that it would complete the construction of a wharf at Tsingtao for which Japan had already expended 2,000,000 yen. Needless to say that nothing whatever has been done in this respect, resulting in increasing congestion in the harbour. The import and export trade of Tsingtao totals some 339,000,000 yen a year If the port had better shipping facilities, if the railway running from the city to the interior were normally operated, and if the province were free from destructive civil wars, this trade would increase steadily and rapidly. Japan, in the interest of international commerce and in consideration of China's own benefit, has been urging the completion of the wharf, but in vain.

In the economic development of Shantung province the railway

between Tsingtao, practically its only port of international commerce, and Tsinan, the capital of the province, is of the first importance. This line, 244 miles in length, was originally built by the Germans, but was considerably improved by the Japanese. As a result of the Washington parley the railway was transferred to China, who, on her part, agreed to reimburse to Japan the actual value of the property, 40,000,000 yen, in Chinese Government Treasury notes running for a period of fifteen years, but redeemable at China's option at the end of five years from the date of the delivery of the said notes, or at any time thereafter upon six months' previous notice. The notes were secured on the properties and revenue of the railway, and bore 6 per cent interest. To ensure the redemption of the notes and the payment of interest, and with a view to securing efficient operation of the railway, two Japanese were appointed, respectively, as traffic manager and as chief accountant.

In spite of all the safeguards provided in the treaty, the railway has not only badly deteriorated but has frequently failed to function as public carrier. Since 1924 Shantung has chronically been involved in civil wars, which have told harshly upon the railway. Most of its rolling stock, comprising 108 locomotives, 208 passenger cars, and 1674 freight cars, has at various times been commandeered for military purposes by Chang Tsung-chang, military governor of the province, interrupting ordinary traffic at frequent intervals. The longest and worst interruptions took place in October 1925 and March 1928, when practically entire freight cars were commandeered for eight days. Even after traffic was more or less resumed the number of cars released was so small that the shippers had great difficulty in moving their goods Nor was the release of cars obtained without paying an exorbitant tribute commonly known as the *lao ping fei*, or soldier's comfort money. The military governor demanded 100 yuan (about 100 yen) per car of fifteen tons to be paid every time the car was used. The Chinese merchants and shippers were driven to meet the demand by the necessity of moving the goods accumulating at Tsingtao, Tsinan, and other important points. Of course, the Japanese and other foreign shippers were compelled to follow suit. This system soon created a number of speculators who would release cars at 100 yen per car, and would retail the space at the highest possible rate they could get from the anxious shippers. Nor did military exaction stop here. In addition to the *lao ping fei* the shippers were forced to pay various new charges, which were not strictly in the nature of transportation charges. All these made shipping cost almost prohibitive. Take, for example, transportation of manufactured cottons. In normal time the cost of shipping this particular merchandise from

Tsingtao to Tsinan, a distance of 244 miles, did not exceed 58 yuan per car of fifteen tons. Under General Chang's arbitrary administration this increased to no less than 576 yuan. And the worst of it was that not a cent of the increased receipts was expended for the maintenance of the road or of the rolling stock, but all was squandered for aimless military operations. Under such administration the Japanese traffic manager and the Japanese chief accountant were powerless to stop the seizure of rolling stock or the extortion of illegal charges. Other Chinese railways, in which British and other European capital is invested, have been subjected to harsher treatment at the hands of the nationalists and various war lords.

Militarist tampering with the Shantung railway has generally retarded, and at times paralysed, the international trade and shipping of Tsingtao. Particularly the Japanese have been affected, as they operate a number of mines along the line, with an investment of 24,000,000 yen, and producing more than 1,000,000 tons of coal a year. The largest of these mines are those at Tse-chwan, Chin-ling-chen and Fang-tse, which, by virtue of the Washington Treaty, were handed over to a joint Chino-Japanese company organised under a special charter of the Chinese Government The company has committed itself to supply the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway with coal at cost. Furthermore, the manufacturing industries of Shantung are largely dependent upon the output of these mines. The Chinese Government, in view of the importance which the Shantung coal was bound to attain in the export trade of the province, pledged itself, in the Peking Treaty of December 1922, to construct a special wharf at Tsingtao to expedite its shipping. The promise, of course, has been forgotten.

We have seen that China owes Japan 40,000,000 yen, the actual value of the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway. Japan, with a view to promoting cultural understanding between the two countries, launched in 1923 a project under which 6 per cent. interest on the railway loan, as well as her share in the unpaid balance of the Boxer indemnity, was to be devoted to the establishment of hospitals and institutes for scientific research at various important centres in China. As an initial step well-equipped hospitals have already been inaugurated at Peking, Tsinan, Tsingtao, and Hankow. The one at Tsinan (the city where the Japanese and nationalist armies had a fracas last May) is said to be the best hospital in China except the Rockefeller hospital at Peking. It has its own electric lighting plant, waterworks, dairy, and machine shop, so that it can function quite independently of the unreliable public works and insanitary supplies of the Chinese city. The maintenance and improvement of these hospitals pre-

supposes to no small extent the payment of interest on the railway loan. Should China redeem the loan, as provided in the Washington Treaty, Japan would set aside the fund thus realised for charitable and cultural work in China. For the first three years China's payment of interest was fairly satisfactory, but in 1926 interest payment practically ceased, and not until the presence of Japanese troops since last May revitalised the railway has the payment been resumed. Contrary to the common practice of Chinese military chiefs, and much to the surprise of the Chinese public, the Japanese military authorities have paid, though at a reduced rate, for the transportation of Japanese soldiers on the Shantung railway

Not only has China failed to pay interest on the railway loan, but she has been powerless to prevent military seizure of the income of the railway. In November 1925 Chang Tsung-chang, military governor of Shantung, seized, virtually at the point of the gun, 1,400,000 yen deposited in a Chinese bank by the railway, and this in spite of the remonstrances of the Japanese chief accountant

In one of the two nine-Power treaties concluded at the Washington Conference on the problems of China a provision is found to the effect that China shall permit no discrimination against foreign goods transported on her railways. The *raison d'être* of this provision, proposed by the British delegation, was the discrimination which was known to have been practised by all Chinese railways against foreign goods or shippers. Needless to say that the Treaty in this respect has not been adhered to In the particular case of the Tientsin-Nanking railway, violation of the Treaty is most flagrant. On this line the freight rate for foreign manufactured matches, for instance, is almost double the charge for the native manufactured goods.

At the Washington Conference the Chinese delegation declared themselves in favour of opening to foreign trade certain cities and towns along the Tsingtao-Tsinan railway. In May 1922 Dr. W. W. Yen, then China's Foreign Minister, notified the Japanese Legation at Peking that the Cabinet, in conformity with the Washington declaration, decided to open eight places—Chang-tien, Fangtse, Kaomi, Wei-hsien, Tze-chwan, Po-shan, Chow-tsun, and Tsing-chow. Like other Chinese promises, this has been consigned to limbo.

Such are Japanese complaints. The list, of course, is far from complete, for in addition to the Washington agreements there are many international commitments which China has either ignored or violated. China has been attacking what she calls unequal treaties, but she thinks nothing of her own failure or negligence even where treaties are equal and bilateral What should or could be done to remedy the situation ? To use force is impossible, except where large foreign communities are in danger of

wilful murder or wholesale looting, as in Shanghai and along the Yangtse river in 1927, or in Shantung last spring, when the impending collision between the northern and the southern (nationalist) forces threatened the safety of 16,000 Japanese in Tsingtao, Tsinan, and along the railway between the two cities. Due to the presence of the Japanese military, the operation of the railway has become punctual, the exaction of illegal transportation charges has stopped, the roads in and about Tsingtao have been repaired, and interest payment on the notes secured on the Shantung railway has been resumed. But this military measure is only temporary, and was primarily conceived to protect Japanese lives and property only in the period of disturbance. In any case, it has little effect in providing a lasting remedy for the unhappy condition we have discussed. Already the Japanese force has been reduced to something like 12,000, which number will within a month or so be cut in half with a view to complete withdrawal in the not distant future. The Chinese Government, whatever that may mean, may promise to extend due protection to Japanese lives and property after the withdrawal of the Japanese troops, but such promises will be worth about as much as the paper on which they are written. The situation is anomalous, but it cannot be helped. We are in a new age when national self-determination and all such high-sounding theories are not only in vogue in international relations, but are abused and exploited by irresponsible nations with impunity, and Japan has no courage, even if she had the power, to go against the current in dealing with China, except when her essential rights and interests are in grave danger. At any rate, she cannot ignore the obvious fact that her position in relation to China is vitally different from that of other Powers, as she has already built up there, especially in Manchuria, a great economic system the success or failure of which will to no small extent affect her national existence and determine her destiny. It is inevitable that Japan's acts and policies in China will always be influenced by her sense of self-preservation, born of over-population and her lack of natural resources. Meanwhile, the Chinese will go their own way, wrangling among themselves, unable to compose their own differences, cursing the foreign Powers for ills and misfortunes many of which are their own creation. Whither, indeed, are they going ? Time alone will answer the question. For few believe that the Government at Nanking has put an end to this internal discord. Even those who are sympathetically inclined shake their heads in doubt and say that the present respite is a calm before another storm Whether such wiseacres are mistaken time alone will tell.

K. K. KAWAKAMI.

THE SUBLIMATION OF WAR

THE World War, now withdrawn some ten years in perspective, assumes by degrees its true historical proportions. After no other, perhaps, has the revulsion in favour of imposed and perpetual peace been so marked and unanimous as that witnessed since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. The nearest resemblance to this decade of Leagues, Pacts, Protocols and Disarmament Conferences is to be found in the period of exhausted truce that followed the downfall of Napoleon I., which produced abundance of plans for the future settlement of international quarrels, the control of dynastic ambitions, and the imposition, by some kind of pacific force, of humaner notions of arbitration—plans advanced with the same ingenuity, imagination and optimism, to-day so familiar to us. Though there was no lack of gloomy prognostications, on the whole, the millennium of world peace seemed appreciably nearer.

Many French military thinkers of 100 years ago, bewildered by the magnitude of the Napoleonic war machine, by the rivals it had created, and by the suddenness and completeness of its ruinous collapse, imagined they were witnessing the final bankruptcy of war, or the end, at least, of the profession of arms. To some, the fact that war had ceased to be 'limited,' and had become a business for whole nations in arms, was enough to make its continuance impossible; to others the developments in the art of killing, the invention of more formidable weapons, opened such a vista of 'frightfulness' as must at last revolt the conscience of mankind.

Military thought, however, mainly concerned itself with the technique and manner of the wars just ended, rather than with their origins, or the likelihood of their causes ceasing to operate in the production of yet others. Speculations of the latter kind appealed, then as now, more to those who, having no professional part or interest in warfare, disliked its disturbance of their ordered lives, its interference with the making of money; and who regarded the soldier caste as something inhuman and savage—which the spread of wealth and comfort, of free trade with its denationalising influence, would in reasonable time finally eliminate

These comforting speculations, one by one, came to be relegated to the top shelves as the nineteenth century progressed, and as new editions of the ancient story appeared in rapid succession. The same perversity of Governments, the same sensitiveness of national pride, the same inflamed patriotism and thirst for military glory, were still recognisable at its close, which was marked, also, by an almost miraculous development in the art of killing.

The human race may be said to live on hope; its 'constant' (to borrow a word from a writer in this Review [1]) is expectation of a to-morrow better than yesterday. Alone this may account for the wave of pacific optimism that has to-day temporarily silenced, in the minds of so many thinkers, the still, small voice of ordinary commonsense. Perhaps the writer of the above quoted article, himself no optimist, is yet one of the first to discover in this 'constant,' which he analyses as a desire for peace, a by-product —the 'urge of war.' If such a discovery is verifiable, even the confirmed pacifist must overhaul his creed; *si vis pacem*, it seems, its exact opposite is thereby produced. There seems, however, no historical reason for regarding the causes of wars as so obstinately paradoxical. Nothing is more difficult, in a review of past wars, than to arrange them in an arbitrary classification; whether for purposes of deciding what brought them about, or for distinguishing the methods by which they were waged. Though, like the writer quoted, anyone may arrange the wars of the historical period in three groups—'private,' or feuds; 'social,' or revolutions; and 'foreign,' or invasions—it is plain that other arrangements will serve his purpose equally well, or equally badly. A 'private' war may be carried on by two trading companies, as in the case of the British and French East Indian ventures; a 'social' war may be religious, a war of castes, of rival factions in a State, or between ordered government and a gang of Bolsheviks; while 'invasion' may characterise almost any. The melancholy fact still remains that their close resemblance to each other is only varied by some extraneous element—such as the ferocity of religious prejudice, the greed of gold, or the stimulated thirst for national revenge. The simpler, therefore, the classification of modern wars, the more easily is their inherent sameness to be understood; it is difficult, in this respect, to improve on Clausewitz's distinction [2] between 'absolute' or real war and 'limited.' The former, first waged in all its uncompromising thoroughness by Napoleon, has developed to-day into 'national' war as we know it—a business very different in aim, scope, and

[1] Colonel J. F C. Fuller, 'The Elimination of War,' November 1928

[2] Clausewitz, *On War*, book viii.

method from those old-time campaigns in which Turenne and Montecuculli rivalled in technique the great Marlborough himself. ' Limited ' in size and in objective, this war was the province of royal and imperial armies, themselves so costly and precious that to hazard them for any but the greatest stake was regarded as an unpardonable blunder.

This professional, chess-board warfare is a thing of the past; we are left without ' absolute ' modern variety to make the best of it. The ' masses ' of the nation, says Colonel Fuller, ' do not like war ' : this may be credited to them for sound sense ; but what of their aspirations ? ' What they hope for is an affluent lethargy, intellectual, moral and physical ' ; the land ' fit for heroes to live in ' is, then, filled with very ordinary folk ! It is not quite clear whether this swinish longing for opulent ease is now the ' constant,' providing the ' urge of war,' or really the driving force that prompts the Locarno spirit ; but at least it must be obvious that the dead and gone warriors of the old pagan armies suffered from no such pacifist complex. The urge that brought Norse rovers across uncharted seas, that sent Tartar bowmen riding down from the Roof of the World, was no longing for slothful ease, but the desire for wives, slaves, gold and adventure, more particularly adventure. No doubt ' masses,' in the modern sense, hardly then existed with power and intelligence enough to impress their otiose longings on the barbarian tyrants who oppressed them ; nor were they, in Great Britain, yet vocal, during those centuries when the Empire was being founded—as Colonel Fuller says, by ' pirates.' Yet the merchant was no mere sluggish keeper of his fireside ; when not embarking himself on trading ventures of a riskiness to daunt the most hardy, he was egging on others, pirates perhaps, to go and seek new markets. This process still went on in the modern period of wars, wherein, as Colonel Fuller says, commerce was ' the reason for conflict.'

It is, indeed, a sobering reflection that commerce, the exploiter of Old and New World, and the destined future pacificator of both, should, up till now, have filled such a sinister *rôle*. It is suggested, however, that trade, operating only to erect tariff barriers, which require force for their removal, can be transformed into a pacific influence by assuming an international character. Yet individual or national trade, in spite of persuasion, sweet reasonableness, or the smooth prophecies of ardent Cobdenites, obstinately follows its outworn methods : its barriers remain, and even tend to grow.

Can we have faith in the good example, the ' world's model,' offered by ourselves in the political field ? We have, says Colonel Fuller, led the way in the difficult matter of dealing with foreign

ninorities within our frontiers; politically we have 'got rid' of hem. It is perhaps straining the argument to include the Dominions and Ireland in this category, but if we can get rid of hem, doubtless other nations may be emboldened to dispossess hemselves of their own political incubi. Yet the lopping off of nese diseased members of the body politic may not effect the esired cure; the rejected communities, victims of their passion or self-determination, may merely go to swell that over-rowth of new nationalisms of which present-day Europe is fertile forcing-house. What Colonel Fuller calls 'the greatest ulitary cause of war' flourishes anew in a still more congenial oil.

'World economics' forms one of the many abstruse subjects knowledge of which is, in the opinion of the modernists, essential o a military education. But as this particular branch may well urnish the study of a lifetime, and even then afford very little nlightenment of the art of war, most military students will have o take their economic ideas, so to speak, ready-made. The ationalisation of industry and the internationalisation of commerce, which Colonel Fuller regards as the 'main economic endencies of to-day,' appear, however, even to the simple oldier, as first-class political catch-words Examples of the nefficiency of the first, and of endeavours to cover it up by nterested factions, are everywhere apparent; the second has ssumed, as yet, no more solid substance than a dream. Capitalism, the alleged promoter of wars, may, of course, conceivably ive way, in some disordered State, to national trading and nonopoly, or even to the establishment of 'one international ore' for all States; but there will still remain the contentious usiness of the allotment of national shares and division of profits. t may be said that the co-operative idea, internationally applied, vill recognise no such things as profits; herein perhaps lies the ey to peace: the removal of the stimulus to rivalry, the gradual eterioration of standards, and the slow impoverishment of the hole industrial world-hive, may leave it no money for extras, uch as wars. This Utopia, however, as Colonel Fuller recognises, s still very far off.

Meanwhile war, it may be readily admitted, can only be waged n the grand scale by great industrial Powers, which alone can rovide the mechanical and scientific weapons necessary to carry on. But since industry itself is based on man-power and apital, is it not reasonable to assume that these also are the basis f war? The modern military prophet, however, foresees the limination of the human factor and the substitution of the nechanical. 'Mechanisation,' it is claimed, has already produced a complete change in naval warfare; no longer can the

axiom 'Men fight, not ships,'[8] be applied to it. As Colonel Fuller has it, 'the majority of a ship's crew became little more than a human link between two pieces of metal—the shell and the gun, or the bunker and the boiler.' The mechanisation of the warship, too, has killed piracy—of the ordinary cut-throat kind, of course, not the super-piracy that established the British Empire. Both these claims appear only partially justified. After all, the three-decker was a mechanism of sorts, her crew a set of links between powder-magazine and broadside guns, between sails and yards. As for piracy, in European waters, at least, it had been extinguished in the days of sail; but we have seen a colourable imitation of it in full activity, in our own day, even in British waters Sea wars on a large scale, even in the past, were naturally impossible to any but maritime nations possessing harbours and great fleets, of which there were never more than two or three co-existing. Their mechanical or non-mechanical nature had little to do with this restriction: a fleet of triremes or of oared galleys, in its day and limited sphere of action, was as effective against its opposite as one 'Dreadnought' fleet against another. The crews of mechanised modern ships have not appreciably diminished in numbers—indeed, the complexity of these engines of sea-war grows with their development.

If, however, the human element in sea warfare is still unavoidably necessary, its presence on the land battlefield appears to Colonel Fuller nothing but a nuisance; it was the 'outstanding difficulty' of the Great War. Man and his limitations! A great battle could be controlled by the commanders, but the human instrument would not respond. That is to say, it got scared, had, in soldier's phrase, 'cold feet'; it was given to standing still, to refusing to obey orders—in fact, 'an encumbrance.' 'If only,' says Colonel Fuller, 'he could be replaced by a "Robot" which would automatically respond to the general's will, this supreme difficulty would be overcome; fear would be eliminated, and incidentally with it heroism. The method of fighting would become perfect and absolutely diabolical.'

This, 'the central idea' of the mechanical theory, appears, at first sight, rather like abolishing disease by killing the patients. Presumably the incumbrance, man, can be eliminated from both sides of the battlefield; then will commence an infernal game of mechanical ninepins, ceasing only with the destruction of the 'Robots.' But what then? Would the knowledge that their sets of dummies had been annihilated assuage the mutual hatreds of the rival backers? Would not this form of warfare, from which danger and heroism are alike removed, somewhat resemble

[8] Cf. 'The British Navy To-day,' *Nineteenth Century and After*, November, 1928.

that agreed and padded encounter between Tweedledum and Tweedledee? Why not settle differences, in a less expensive and more sportsmanlike fashion, on the football field or in the prize-ring? At least we might then keep our heroes.

To most observers an outstanding feature of the Great War was not the inadequacy of the human instrument, but its extraordinary efficiency. Beside the achievements of the 'wool-clad' soldier (as Colonel Fuller elsewhere[4] styles him), his heroism, contempt of danger and hardship, and indifference to the malignant inventions of modern murder-science, how tame appear the gladiatorial triumphs of steel-clad Christian chivalry, or the shielded victories of Roman legions! The direction of the vast armies may have been nearly mechanically perfect; but how often did the human element rise superior to breakdowns in the system, to misdirection or lack of guidance, and snatch victory, or avert defeat, by the simple power of discipline and courage?

That far too much was asked of human flesh and blood no one will wish to deny; the attempt to substitute armour for wool is praiseworthy, and full of possibilities. Willingly would we substitute 'Robots' for our sons and brothers on the battlefield; but, the object of a 'real' war being to impress one's will on the enemy nation by force, the mere destruction of mechanical armies will not suffice—the argument has to be brought to bear on its citizens and on its Government. Recognising this, a provident nation will maintain, behind whatever artificial defences it may have, not a mob of passive resisters, but a national army capable of continuing the struggle with the next best means at hand—the man-directed ships, the man-directed artillery, even the despised rifles of man-power infantry. The 'Robots' of land, air, and sea may litter the theatre of war, and yet leave the will to win, the determination not to yield, alive in the hearts of common soldiers.

It is arguable that the steady development and improvement of lethal weapons is to be ascribed to the promptings of another 'constant'—fear. Yet reflection will show that yet another, perhaps more powerful, factor was at work from the time when a prehistoric armourer attached a sharp flint to a stout stick to the day of mass production of high-velocity, rifled guns. The desire to go 'one better' so as to kill or disable the adversary, to outwit him, fitted the first arrow to the bow, or moulded a lump of lead into the first bullet. Had fear been so ever-present to the imagination of warriors as they fashioned the armour which should render futile their enemy's keenest weapons, how many would have donned it and marched to battle? How came it,

[4] *On Future Warfare*, by Colonel Fuller (Sifton, Praed & Co., 1928).

too, that as missile weapons grew in power, range, and accurac the attempt to armour the body against them was abandoned and men stood up or marched forward in ranks with no bette protection than trust in their luck, or a belief in unalterable fate Discipline, of course, but courage first—a ' constant ' in the huma fighting animal.

It is questionable whether by the elimination of the soldie from the battlefield the sum total of human war misery would b in any way abated. Conceive a machine that ' will electricall respond to the will,' not of a ' Robot,' but of ' one man.' Wha of this man, or superman, pictured as pressing a button, an engaging, from his office in London, in battle with a civil popula tion in Central Asia ? He perhaps controls a keyboard wit many buttons ; hard-faced subordinates enter from time to time report the destruction of one tribe, and suggest the switching of of the death-ray to another—till perhaps, mercifully for humanit at large, London itself is *touché* by some hostile beam and goe up in one resounding explosion ! Nature goes on reproducin potential Robespierres or Lenins : how can they be prevente from getting control of such devices ? As Colonel Fuller puts it ' war will be killed by its own perfection ' ; but if this is really the perfection at which the mechanist aims there is no remedy but to eliminate him at once.

This kind of perfectional development has, it seems, some basis in history But although for purposes of reference and classification it may be convenient to arrange wars in ' grand cycles ' or lesser ' cycles,' it need not be assumed that these have any concrete existence. ' Pagan ' wars did not, of course, cease that ' Christian ' wars might begin ; the heathen continued to rage furiously together even though their Christian contemporaries were at each other's throats. At one end of Europe the Moor, at the other the Turk, in turn battered on the gates of the citadel of Christendom. Whether it were Christian, or pagan, or mixed, war continued, by land and sea, throughout the Old World, to be just its usual brutal self, conducted by infidels and heretics with the same ardour, the same cruelty, and much the same means or methods, as by the Catholic and Protestant princes and people of Europe. The middle of the suggested Christian ' cycle ' was distinguished by a more extensive and devastating succession of ' pagan ' wars than marked the whole ' cycle ' properly allotted to them. The ruins of Asiatic dynasties, the surge of predatory hosts through Afghan passes, the overrunning of Hindustan, and the repeated sack of its principal cities were no symptoms of a decline in ' pagan ' war, which continued to live up to the Roman conception of creating a solitude and calling it Peace.

The difficulty of a cyclical arrangement becomes still greater

when an attempt is made to differentiate between cavalry, infantry, and artillery 'cycles.' The soldier, whatever his weapons, cannot well be credited with periodicity; he is a 'constant,' and not to be segregated from his brothers-in-arms by any artificial divisions into specific varieties. There is no question that, throughout the Roman period of conquest, heavy armoured infantry was the main component of civilised armies. Cavalry there was, also of the heavy kind, but the true light cavalry was Asiatic. Though this was in the 'pagan' cycle, infantry of this nature, as well as cavalry, was in request in all later wars; the axe-and-sword bearing Teutons, in fact, furnished the bodyguards of kings and emperors Though the infantryman was, as Colonel Fuller says, for centuries a cut-and-thrust fighter, he also manipulated, with more effect than his mounted comrade, those missile weapons, javelins, bolts or arrows which were the equivalent of his later firearms. But cavalry allowed no monopoly in weapons: in early days Roman legions had felt the sting of the mounted bowmen, whose Parthian shots became proverbial. In the middle of the Christian cavalry 'cycle' this pagan method of waging war had at Dorylæum well-nigh proved the destruction of an army of Crusaders; and if the lesson had not been lost perhaps the heavy, armoured squadrons of European chivalry might have been turned into something more effective. As it was, the infantry of the Middle Ages, which, contrary to common belief, formed the larger part of all armies, armed with pike and bow, was far from leading the precarious existence attributed to it by modern writers. It was, of course, cheaper relatively, and in that particular less valued. On the other hand, the great war-horse, of bone and stamina to carry its weight of ironmongery, padded and caparisoned, represented to its owner such a valuable military asset that it was not rashly to be ventured against the forest of spears and hail of arrows that announced the presence of a numerous and confident infantry on the field of battle. Separated from his mount in the press, the heavily plated rider was an easy victim. As a comfortable means of transport, as a vantage ground in a *mêlée*, and as a means of getting out of an unfavourable situation, the horse had an immense value; but long after the invention of firearms, manœuvre or the charge at speed in line, were feats beyond the massive steeds and trussed men-at-arms of those days. The development of infantry and cavalry, in fact, proceeded side by side, regardless of 'cycles.' Far from ending its 'cycle' 'when gunpowder was beginning to transform war,' about 1450, the heyday of cavalry was yet 300 years off; the genius of a Ziethen or a Murat had yet to lead those swift-moving serried lines of horsemen, in wheel or charge, boot-to-boot, up to and often through the bayonets of infantry

or the crouching gunners of captured batteries. At the same time the development of infantry fire discipline, even with its clumsy flint-lock musket, had reached such a pitch that not only in square but in line and in movement, as at Minden, it could meet and repulse the shock of charging dragoon or cuirassier.

In considering, too, the artillery 'cycle' it is well to remember that even small-arms are in fact 'artillery' of a sort; Colonel Fuller remarks that the infantryman, indeed, was become 'little more than a mounting' for a hand piece. The gunner himself, if not a 'mounting,' was at first a kind of footman to his gun, to move which from battlefield to battlefield he hired oxen and their owners or more often impressed them. But already, 100 years before his suggested 'cycle,' he had thoroughly learned the use of ordnance in the field, and from being regarded mainly as a nuisance was reckoned, especially in the Prussian service, of importance almost equal to the older arms. The effective range of field cannon, even in Frederick's day some 1000 yards, often embraced the whole depth of a hostile position. Yet this development in no way, as yet, tended to detract from the value, or alter the usage, of cavalry or infantry. In time, as the artillery 'cycle' (1850 A.D.) commenced, infantry had adopted its natural armour, the earth; while cavalry had already annexed for its own protection a branch of mounted artillery, and was, in due course of time, to adopt the infantry rifle and machine-gun as well.

All this is not to say that the present age is not the highest yet reached point in artillery progress. It might, however, be more comprehensively described as a 'missile' age, in that fighting body to body tends to become rarer. It is, however, rather an overstatement that 'by the end of the nineteenth century the infantry assault had all but disappeared from the battlefield.' It is necessary to be clear as to what is meant by 'assault.' Not, certainly, the old 'volley and then charge' of Peninsular days; but, whether supported by 'counter-battery' or 'barrage,' by gas, by smoke-screen, or preceded and accompanied by tanks, that final rush of men was up till yesterday the last word in battle. Writers of the modern school, like any others with a thesis to maintain, select their examples from a limited and favourable field. In all this discussion about the impotence of the human element the static warfare on the Western Front is quoted as convincing proof. The armies of Hindenburg or Mackensen might pursue a war of movement across Poland, Falkenhayn might overrun Roumania, the cavalry of Allenby might outflank, in the classic manner, the lines of theoretically impregnable Turkish trenches, or ride over them direct, and yet none of these operations, to the modernist, count as war. The World War, says Colonel

Fuller, was one of 'siege warfare.' Do any of the numerous writers who harp on this obvious fact in regard to the Western Front pause to remember what they have learned of past sieges, of the art of siege itself? The appropriate weapons of all sieges, at least since the invention of gunpowder and its application to cannon, were the pick and shovel, the hand grenade, the mortar and the breaching battery; but no commander deluded himself with the idea that, because flying saps, mines, parallels and approaches were also required, this was due to the uselessness of his infantry. On the contrary, when the time was ripe to summon the fortress, the mere threat of infantry assault often sufficed to procure surrender. Sometimes the defence proved too stubborn, the infantry garrison too tenacious, till it became a matter of expediency to offer it terms. The 'fortress' in the Western theatre of war, at one time the stationary German lines, at another the Allied, differed, indeed, very materially from the ringed systems of Vauban or Brialmont; and this difference, in fact the obsolescence of all circular fortress '*enceintes*,' was certainly due to the enormous increase in power and range of artillery; yet the larger the modern substitute, the field 'fortress' proper, the longer the extent of rampart to be guarded, the more urgent becomes the need for infantry. The 'tank,' lineal descendant of the '*testudo*,' proved itself an efficient breaching instrument, surpassing, in certain conditions even the artillery itself; yet an infantry 'assault' on the greatest scale ever seen in the world's history was successfully accomplished in March 1918 without the aid of any such machines. This has, of course, been pointed out again and again; and is difficult to explain if the infantry 'cycle' is already some sixty years past. It is only one more demonstration of the difficulty of making war conform to schedule; it does not lend itself to the elimination of the human element, which, though driven out in theory, keeps on recurring in fact.

The military modernist seeks what may be termed the 'sublimation' or refinement of war by reducing the human proportions of his future armies to such convenient size that they may all be contained and conveyed in certain armoured petrol-driven vehicles, placed with lightning speed on the selected scene, and enabled to deliver, with as little loss of time or life as possible, their 'knock-out' blow. This is a reasonable ideal, provided only that the opponent plays the game according to the same rules: there will be no umpire on the field. But the elimination of the soldier, and the pusillanimous avoidance of danger, the tactical 'constant,' which is to prompt this gradual shrinkage in the personnel of armies, may easily prove a kind of 'safety first' obsession in any nation encouraged to regard this

'constant' as all-important. All nations and all general staffs naturally are not compelled to act on any such tactical consideration. They may rate the moral in war far higher than the material; framed above the desks in their military academies, inscribed in their manuals and field-service regulations, and inspiring the doctrine of their high command, may well be found another axiom for land warfare, supplementary to that fragment of nautical wisdom above quoted: 'Men fight, not machines.'

A. G. BAIRD SMITH.

SLEEPING SICKNESS

ŠLEEPING sickness is the popular name for a disease of man that s conveyed by the bite of the tsetse fly. It belongs, therefore, ›eculiarly to the continent of Africa, and to that part of the ,ontinent where the *Glossinæ* or tsetses are found.

The cause of the disturbance is a minute organism known as *Trypanosoma*, a member of the class Mastigophora, or flagellates,)f the zoological kingdom known as Protozoa, which includes all ıon-cellular, or, as they are generally called, unicellular animals.

The trypanosomes are a group of parasitic protozoa that live n the blood of vertebrates. There are trypanosomes of reptiles,)f amphibians, of fishes, of birds, and of mammals. They are not he only protozoa parasitic in man's blood, nor, indeed, the only lagellate Malaria in its different forms is caused by protozoa; he organism of kala-azar, a fatal enlargement of the spleen and ıver in the East, is a fellow flagellate.

The first representative of the genus *Trypanosoma* known to cience was discovered in the blood of a frog by Gluge in 1842. n 1902 Dutton, of the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine, ecognised a trypanosome, which he named *Trypanosoma gambiense*, in a blood-slide taken from a patient by Dr. Forde, of the ›ambia. This is the earliest authentic recognition of a trypanosome in man's blood.

During the closing years of the last and the beginning of the resent century a mysterious disease swept along the shores of ake Victoria, killing hundreds of thousands of natives in its assage. In 1902, at the request of the Colonial Office, the Royal Society sent a commission of scientists, of which in 1903 ieutenant-Colonel David Bruce took charge, to Uganda to nvestigate this 'mongota,' as the natives called it. In 1903 it vas found to be due to a trypanosome, the parasite being detected ndependently in the blood by Dr. C. J. Baker, of the Uganda Iedical Service, and in the cerebro-spinal fluid by Aldo Castellani, f the commission.

Long before the causative agent of sleeping sickness was ecognised the disease had attracted the attention of European ravellers in Africa. In the Appendix to his book *A Navy Surgeon*,

published in 1734, John Atkins, referring to the sleepy di temper (common among negroes), wrote as follows :

> Their Sleeps are sound and Sense of feeling little ; for pulling, drubbin or whipping will scarce stir up Sense and Power enough to move ; and t moment you cease beating, the Smart is forgot and down they fall aga into a state of Insensibility, drivelling constantly from the mouth, as if a deep Salivation ; breath slowly, but not unequally, nor snort.

This graphic description is followed by some profound reflectio on the ætiology of the disease :

> The immediate cause of this deadly Sleepiness in the Slaves is evident a super-abundance of Phlegm or Serum extravated in the Brain, wh obstructs the Irradiation of the Nerves ; but what the procatartick caus are that exert to this Production, eclipsing the light of the Senses, is not easily assigned.

His account of the treatment of the disease is equally impressiv

> The Cure is attempted by whatever rouses the Spirits ; bleeding in t Jugular, quick Purges, Sternutories, Vesicatories, Acu-Puncture, Seto Fontanels, and sudden Plunges into the sea, the latter is most effectu when the distemper is new and the patient not yet drivelling at the mou and nose.

Nearly allied to this human trypanosome are several oth species, harmless to man, that produce disease in domesticate animals. Of these the best known is *T. brucei*, named after S David Bruce, who first discovered it during his researches int nagana, a fatal disease of cattle, in Zululand in 1895. Anoth member of the genus, whose activities are manifested in the wel known disease of bovines, equines, and camels known as surr is *T. evansi*. *T. brucei* and several other species that are path genic to man's domesticated animals are found in the Africa big game, and are also transmitted from host to host by th tsetses.

In its oldest sense the name 'sleeping sickness' denoted th disease as it was first encountered on the western side of Afric where it was caused by the particular species of trypanosom known as *T. gambiense*. Of recent years another form of trypano some disease has been recognised in Eastern, Central, an Southern Africa, of which the responsible organism differs i several respects from *T. gambiense*, being identical morpho logically with *T. brucei* of game. This 'new' human parasit has been called *T. rhodesiense*, from the country where it was firs recognised. The symptoms of the two forms are similar, but th Rhodesian type of the disease runs a more rapid course in man and is undoubtedly less amenable to treatment. The term 'sleeping sickness' now embraces both forms. The name is o course derived from the excessive somnolence that characterise

he later stages. The scientific designation is 'human trypano-omiasis.' In South America there is another kind of human rypanosomiasis due to a flagellate that differs somewhat from he two African parasites we have just been considering. *Trypanosoma cruzi*, the causative agent, is very nearly allied to the other trypanosomes of man, but its life cycle is different. It lepends for its propagation from host to host on a large biting bug known as *Triatoma*, and the symptoms produced in man ire entirely different from and very much less serious than hose of the African trypanosomiases. The South American variety is only mentioned here to avoid confusion should the eader by any chance be puzzled by the alleged occurrence of leeping sickness outside Africa. The only occasion when this lisease has ever been known to spread outside the continent of Africa was when both tsetses and negroes from the infected areas of Western Africa were introduced—the former presumably in he pupal stage or on the backs of cattle—into the island of Principe, off the Guinea coast. About 1825 the fly in some way or other effectively established itself on the island, and the arrival of infected negroes to work on the plantations eventually esulted in a serious outbreak of trypanosomiasis, which was, in lue course, stamped out by the wholesale extermination of the ly by the Portuguese authorities.

Few diseases are more devastating and horrible than sleeping sickness in its epidemic form. Life in the afflicted village comes o a standstill. Old and young alike are stricken The sufferers or a time retain their appetite, but nod and fall asleep over their ood Later on they become mere living skeletons, though still ating voraciously while strength and the food to eat remain. Rapidly the population dwindles, till a few miserable starving survivors drag themselves each morning from their dilapidated huts to sleep the clock round in the warm sunshine Nature is unmerciful to the under-dog in primitive Africa, and these villages, once the daily care relaxes, soon succumb to the encroaching bush with its cruel scavengers. The mortality caused by the disease in the past has been truly terrible. Although plague and small-pox have taken perhaps a heavier toll of native ives, in neither of these diseases is the suffering nearly so prolonged, or the *mise en scène* so tragic, as in sleeping sickness.

And so this disease has acquired a peculiarly sinister reputation alike at home and abroad. It is not infectious, in the ordinary sense of the word. It cannot spread outside the tsetse zone of Africa. Moreover, even in this zone comparatively few of the myriads of tsetse flies are infected, even when conditions are at their very worst. Yet it has played a terrific part in the history of Central Africa, wiping out whole communities and

depopulating great tracts of country. During the present centu science has energetically taken up the challenge issued by th scourge, and the different nations holding territory in Africa ha from time to time sent out commissions to study the disease, ar organised extensive campaigns of treatment and prophylax One of the latest of these enterprises, whose labours terminat in June 1927, was the League of Nations International Commi sion, composed of delegates from Belgium, France, German Great Britain, Italy, and Portugal. The work inaugurated b this Commission is at present being carried on by the Briti Government in Uganda.

In spite of the pile of information about human trypan somiasis that has accumulated during the last three decade much remains to be learnt and done. Big strides have been ma in the treatment of the disease, which has now lost many of i terrors, and may fairly be described as amenable to treatmen Much, too, has been learnt about the insect intermediary and th way to control it. But there are still big gaps in our knowledg especially about the zoological affinities of the two huma trypanosomes and the extent of their dependence on man for the survival.

Before proceeding to a more detailed account of its variou phases it is perhaps hardly necessary to remark that this diseas has nothing whatever to do with 'sleepy sickness,' a condition tha has attracted much attention in European countries in recen years. Somnolence, which is a striking feature of both diseases is a symptom common to many pathological states, and it i about the only point of similarity between 'sleeping' and 'sleepy sickness.

Sleeping sickness occurs in two forms, endemic and epidemic In endemic regions the incidence among the population is ofte very small indeed, amounting perhaps to 1 or 2 per 1000. In severe epidemics the incidence and the mortality in certain localities may reach 70 or 80 per cent. The prevalence of huma trypanosomiasis varies in response to a number of factors, some only of which are known. In one and the same area the disease waxes and wanes from time to time. Here and there it may disappear spontaneously. An epidemic may suddenly sweep over an area where for years the disease has lain dormant among the population, kept alive by a few sporadic cases scattered over a wide stretch of country. Roughly speaking, the present distribution of sleeping sickness extends from the Southern Sudan down to as far as Rhodesia, and from east to west across the continent.

The origin of the disease in Eastern Africa is veiled in uncertainty. There is no reliable record of any epidemic of sleeping

sickness in British territory in the east and centre of the continent in ancient or in historical times. Oral tradition, on which the native relies for his knowledge of the past, is silent on this point. The disease, when it first appeared at the end of the last century, was something entirely unprecedented to the inhabitants of Uganda and the peoples around Lake Victoria. Yet Central Africa, with its great lakes and elaborate system of rivers and swamps, must have been for centuries an ideal home for the human trypanosome. *Glossina palpalis*, the original sleeping sickness tsetse, abounded, often in contact with teeming riverine populations whose main industry, fishing, ensured the greatest possible exposure of man to the fly.

The generally accepted explanation of the introduction of human trypanosomiasis into Central and Eastern Africa is that it was brought in from the western side by human agency. Emin Pasha's expeditions have thus been held responsible for the infection of Uganda. There is no doubt that the opening up of traffic routes during the last fifty years or so has greatly facilitated the passage of infected natives across the continent, and at any rate this explanation is both adequate and reasonable On the other hand, it is strange that large populations could exist in close contact with numerous tsetses for centuries without the intervention of human trypanosomiasis, the conditions being so favourable to the parasite that the moment it is introduced it spreads like wild fire in the form of an epidemic. Unfortunately it is no longer possible to determine whether there was any trypanosomiasis around Lake Victoria before the days of the great epidemic. Those precious pages are missing from our record. Native evidence in Buganda proper agrees that the disease as manifested during the great epidemic was something new. But it is much more difficult to obtain information on this point in certain neighbouring inland areas, close to the lake, where at the present moment sleeping sickness persists in mildly epidemic form.

However this may be, there is little or no doubt that human trypanosomiasis is in the habit of spreading from permanent endemic foci into adjoining areas where the conditions are normally less favourable for the trypanosome.

And so the tide of infection ebbs and flows, following the movements of native populations, that are in their turn determined by military or purely economical considerations. Famines are particularly important in this respect. In times of food scarcity whole tribes may be compelled to travel considerable distances to obtain food, and food centres, more especially those in the danger zone where fish can easily be obtained, become unduly crowded. In this way contact at such points between

fly and man becomes suddenly broadened, and numbers of people become infected during perhaps a few hours' visit to a fly-infested market.

The course of the disease in man varies considerably, both in different individuals and in different areas. We can distinguish different strains of the parasite, some consistently more virulent than others. Epidemic strains are, on the whole, more virulent than endemic. But in assessing the virulence in any locality it must be remembered that the possibility of superinfection of the same individual is more likely to occur when an epidemic is raging. The same person will then perhaps be bitten many times by infected flies, and it is possible that the repeated inoculation of fresh parasites may assist in breaking down his resistance. It is certain, however, that in some endemic areas the parasite is only mildly pathogenic. Individual cases may live for years, and some even recover untreated. And that which has been definitely proved in West Africa, where the disease is of old establishment, has also been recorded, with almost absolute certainty, on the eastern side of Africa—namely, the autorecovery of untreated cases.

About the existence in man of immunity against human trypanosomes nothing very definite is known. Hitherto no instance of complete acquired immunity has been recorded; but the very nature of the inquiry makes the existence of such immunity extremely difficult to detect. Experimental work on this subject with man himself is, of course, impossible. We are dependent for our scanty knowledge on epidemiological field studies.

Hitherto no evidence has been obtained of any such immunity being acquired against an accredited human trypanosome. By 'accredited' is meant a strain that has definitely been derived from a human source. Man possesses complete natural immunity against a number of different species of trypanosomes that live in domesticated and in wild animals. Hence the need for this qualification. Very little is known as yet about the immunology of any of the important mammalian trypanosomes; and it is possible that once again in the history of scientific research the way to the understanding and alleviation of human suffering will be revealed through animal experiment.

The question whether immunity is inherent in or can be acquired by man against his trypanosomes is, of course, of great importance in dealing with the disease in native communities. In the present state of our knowledge we must regard our 'cures' as still susceptible to reinfection. Only those actually under the influence of an appropriate trypanocidal drug are secure.

Though primarily a disease of the negro and negroid peoples living in the tsetse zone of Africa, in the course of the last thirty years or so the human trypanosomes have claimed a considerable

number of European victims. The great majority of these contracted their infection in the French or Belgian Congo.

Until quite recently an unhappy fate awaited these unfortunates. A large proportion of them died, often after undergoing prolonged courses of drastic and exhausting treatment. Modern chemical research has, however, completely changed the prognosis. Prompt diagnosis is now the rule, and treatment, when commenced in the early stages, is practically certain of success.

The earliest symptoms of human trypanosomiasis are fever, headache and general malaise, accompanied by enlargement of some of the lymphatic glands of the neck. In Europeans there is often a rash visible during the earlier stages, but this symptom is difficult or impossible to recognise on the dark skin of a native.

Instances are on record where the actual point where the fly's proboscis punctured the skin became inflamed and painful, the patient dating the onset of the disease from this particular bite. But this is by no means usual. As a rule, all the victim knows is that he was bitten at such and such a place by tsetses, and that the fever and headaches developed 'some weeks later.' In the early stages the symptoms resemble those of malaria, and failure to respond to quinine is often the first incentive to call in the medical man. In the old days, when everyone depended on his own medicine-chest and doctors were few and far between, many a lonely exile wasted precious months on quinine and hope while the trypanosome was making good its hold upon his system.

The actual incubation period of the disease in man—that is to say, the time between the act of infection by the fly and the appearance of trypanosomes in recognisable numbers in the finger-blood of the patient—is not definitely known. In animals, one or two weeks usually elapse before the presence of the parasite can be demonstrated in the peripheral blood-stream.

The diagnosis depends ultimately on the detection, somewhere in the body of the patient, of the parasite responsible for the disease. It may be either demonstrated in the blood or in the juice of the swollen lymphatic glands in the neck or axilla, or in the cerebro-spinal fluid. Until the trypanosome has been detected in one or other of these situations the diagnosis is not finally established.

In man the organisms are often very scarce in the peripheral blood, and are consequently very difficult to find. This is commonly the case with *T. gambiense*. There are two ways of demonstrating the parasite—by means of the microscope, or by inoculation of the patient's blood into an animal and subsequently finding the trypanosome in this animal's blood. For the latter test monkeys, guinea-pigs, and rats, especially the two last, may be used. This animal inoculation method is, however,

slow and uncertain in operation, and in ordinary circumstances the diagnosis is made by microscopic examination of the blood or gland juice.

The parasite may be looked for while it is still alive and moving about among the cells of the fluid; or it may be killed, stained by appropriate methods, searched for in a film of the blood, lymph, or cerebro-spinal fluid dried upon a slide. The active movements of a trypanosome among the blood or lymph cells make it very easy to detect in the living state, even with a low-power lens. The malaria parasite at certain stages of its development and the spirillum responsible for relapsing fever are the only creatures ever found in human blood whose movements at all resemble those of a trypanosome, and these are easily distinguished.

The common procedure in diagnosing the disease is to extract with a small syringe a drop of lymph from one of the enlarged lymph glands in the neck or axilla, and to examine this under the microscope.

If, after thorough search, no trypanosomes are seen, then a dried preparation of blood or gland-juice is made, stained and examined for half an hour under a high magnification If necessary, several examinations must be made on different days.

The trypanosome having once been found, treatment, governed by the gravity of the case, must be instituted without delay. Of recent years the older arsenical preparations that have been in use extensively during the last twenty-five years, with varying but generally poor success, have given place to a new preparation, 'tryparsamide.' With this drug wonderful results have been obtained in the treatment of trypanosomiasis gambiensis in man. As its name implies, it contains arsenic, its full title being the sodium salt of N phenylglycine-amide-*p*-arsonic acid. The drug is administered by intravenous injection, and a 'course' consists of from 20 to 30 grammes, a gramme or two at a time at weekly intervals.

Tryparsamide emanated from the laboratories of the Rockefeller Institution. Belgian chemists have now put on the market a similar, if not identical, preparation, tryponarsyl, which has proved to be equally efficacious

When treatment with these drugs is commenced early in the disease the prognosis is very hopeful; but before a patient can be declared cured a considerable time must elapse. In the past many so-called 'cures' have relapsed a year or more after cessation of all treatment, having in the interim manifested no symptom whatever.

The Rhodesian disease is less amenable to drugs. For this form the well-known 'Bayer-205,' a German preparation, is

generally considered to be the best treatment, combined, in certain cases, with a course of tryparsamide. The constitution of Bayer-205 long remained a secret, and the drug still commands a high price. After prolonged search, Fourneau, in Paris, succeeded in solving the problem of its constitution; and to-day in 'Fourneau-309' we have an adequate and very much cheaper substitute.

There is little or no doubt that trypanosomiasis rhodesiensis is, in certain circumstances, curable to-day. But it is impossible yet to speak with absolute certainty, as both tryparsamide and Bayer-205 are of comparatively recent exploitation.

As to prophylactic measures against sleeping sickness, it is possible, by single doses of some of the trypanocidal drugs, to protect an individual against infection by fly for a few days at a time, and possibly for a longer period Bayer-205 has given some promising results employed in this way.

In the French possessions the disease is combated on a large scale by giving to all infected persons a dose of atoxyl, one of the first arsenical preparations to command attention in the treatment of the disease. The idea is to sterilise the peripheral blood from trypanosomes, and so to prevent the infection spreading. Complete cure of the individual is not the object of this system, which is essentially a prophylactic measure. This method has given good results in French equatorial Africa in checking the spread of the disease. But it is attended by the possible danger of setting up in the partially treated subject arsenic-resistant strains of trypanosomes—strains, that is, that do not respond in the ordinary way to treatment with arsenical drugs.

Other methods of controlling the disease are the evacuation of dangerous zones, or if evacuation is impracticable or undesirable, as is generally the case, the destruction of the bush upon which the fly depends for shelter. Depopulation is only satisfactory where the numbers affected are small As a wholesale measure it leads to great and inevitable hardships to the refugees, and is highly uneconomical and unpopular

I

The real solution of the tsetse problem lies in the reclamation of the fly zones. There are two main aspects of the question which demand consideration—namely, the control of *G. palpalis* and the control of the game-tsetses.

To eliminate *G. palpalis* is, for all practical purposes, at the present time an utter impossibility. Its habitat is along the shady waterways of Africa, from the biggest lakes to the smallest streamlets. It is an easy matter to exterminate this tsetse from

selected localities by thorough and permanent deforestation. All that is necessary is to clear away the shelter from the water's edge, to a depth of often only a few yards, and the fly will disappear. But such clearings must be maintained, and the labour and cost involved, even for small undertakings, are factors that present grave difficulties. But our object can be attained, and at reasonable cost, by a carefully devised scheme of partial clearing. The principle on which this measure is conducted is the reduction of the contact between fly and man to a point where there is no longer any danger of the disease appearing in epidemic form, and where the endemic incidence can be reduced to a negligible figure. A mortality due to trypanosomiasis of, say, 0·01 per cent. of the population of a fly area need cause no alarm, provided—and the proviso is the more important as it is sometimes ignored—there is no danger of an increase in this mortality rate.

Brought within reasonable bounds, this disease loses most of its terrors and can be regarded with calm. This object, rather than total eradication of the human trypanosomes, is the best that we can expect under the financial limitations existing in all the territories affected by the disease. Sleeping sickness is only one of a host of other public health problems confronting the Powers that have to do with Central Africa; and, shorn of the menace of its epidemic form, the disease can be easily controlled and forced into line with other native ailments.

This policy of reclaiming territory from the clutches of fly and bush and game demands for its execution, first of all, a careful study of infected areas to determine the essential needs of the inhabitants as regards fishing, food markets, agriculture and settlement. Wherever human concourse is necessary, there clearing must be carried out so to reduce the fly that there is no longer any likelihood of the trypanosome spreading

The great source of danger in *palpalis* areas is undoubtedly fishing, for fish is an exceedingly important commodity in native economy. Fishing, therefore, must be so regulated that the risk of infection is reduced to a minimum. At the present time Uganda is setting an example in this direction. The fishing industry on Lake Victoria is under close supervision and control. A commission of experts under Mr. Michael Graham, of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries, has recently visited East Africa to study the whole question of developing and conserving the fishing industry on Lakes Victoria and Albert. All the Lake Victoria fishermen within Uganda's territorial jurisdiction are licensed, and their sphere of activity is clearly defined. Every fisherman is medically examined once every six months Essential landing places and the vicinity of old-established

markets, where at certain times and seasons large numbers of natives congregate to buy and sell fish, have been carefully cleared of bush. The efficacy of these operations can be directly tested by ascertaining the number of tsetse persisting in the clearings. This is done by the agency of trained native fly-catchers who for fixed periods catch the fly in nets, the records of their catch being compared with standards fixed as the result of long study and experience.

By means such as these much can be done to reduce the incidence of the disease to a point where it is no longer a menace to the community. Naturally, conditions vary enormously in different fly zones, and in different parts of the same zone. It is indeed often impossible to maintain existing native communities in their old homes without either grave risk of disaster from the disease or an expenditure out of all proportion to the economic importance of the area. In such circumstances concentration of population in safe and sound areas is the only policy.

Native methods of agriculture are, as a rule, exceedingly wasteful. Cultivation is generally carried to a point where the soil is worked out; then new areas come under the hoe, and so on. Drought and inundation alternately increase the impoverishment of land, and the soil over huge tracts of country slowly becomes more and more exhausted.

The visible signs of this exhaustion process are plain to the understanding eye. Where forest stands, there the soil is rich; and in past times huge areas must have been deforested by native cultivation, exhausted, and finally invaded by bush. When the trees go, be their disappearance due directly to human agency or to some 'natural' cause, their place is taken by the luxuriant grasses, of which elephant-grass is a well-known type. Elephant-grass land generally carries a good soil. In course of time the broad-leaved grasses give way to coarser kinds, and these again to 'scrub.' When the soil reaches a certain degree of poverty the native agriculturist can no longer compete successfully. The earth refuses even his simple demands, and he has either to quit to a better neighbourhood or hang on, leading a precarious existence and eking out his miserable crops by hunting or fishing. With man's retreat the bush encroaches, and with the bush comes the game, and with the game very often the game-tsetses. Typical fly scrub is generally typical game country, and *vice versâ*. Neither is of much use to man, save for cattle grazing, and cattle cannot live in proximity to tsetse. Scrub and fly are thus incompatible with successful human settlement. The two are naturally antagonistic.

Concentration of population, so that the collective human energy may be directed against the forces of the bush, is a

remedy for this evil. The principle of concentration applies in *palpalis* areas, where centres of population can be established in the homeland of the tribe and cleared of bush to an extent compatible with reasonable safety. Agricultural activities must be controlled and directed so as to maintain the maximum degree of safety.

But it is in attacking the game-tsetse problem that the principle is particularly important. Reclamation of country is impossible without organised human enterprise, and man-power is essential for success. As a rule, the inhabitants of this kind of country are scattered far and wide in tiny settlements or villages, each with its little patch of cultivation, separated from their neighbours by miles of fly- and game-ridden bush. The only way to preserve these people and assure their future welfare is to organise and develop their feeble resources by concentrating them in parts of the area where the soil is best and water always available. In this way, and in this way only, can the standard of living be raised to a point where man can hold his own against the hostile forces around him. Help and advice from the European administrator can then be brought to bear with a reasonable certainty of success. Without such concentration, the collective energy of the tribe will surely run to waste, dissipated in a hundred little struggling, squalid settlements, scattered about in a tract of more or less arid bush.

Such a concentration policy has already been introduced among the scattered Azande settlements in the Southern Sudan, where it was found to be the only way of controlling what at one time threatened to be a serious outbreak of trypanosomiasis rhodesiensis. The hardships entailed by this policy are very slight. The native is, as a rule, easily convinced of its feasibility, and soon falls in enthusiastically with a scheme so patently advantageous. From these reclamation centres human settlement can be extended eccentrically as man-power and resources increase. The bush and all its attendant terrors must recede as the nuclei of organised human settlement expand, and step by step the territory reclaimed is absorbed and developed.

II

As we have seen, the human trypanosomes are spread from man to man by the bites of tsetse flies. In Nature this is the only method of spread worth considering. Now and then an instance may occur outside the laboratory of the infection of human beings by the accidental inoculation of infected blood; but cases such as these have no epidemiological importance, and may be passed over in a discussion on the spread of the disease.

A tsetse can infect a man by either of two methods—first, by direct transference of infected blood by its proboscis from one subject to another. This may happen, for example, when a fly feeding on a paddler in a crowded canoe is disturbed and immediately bites another victim hard by.

It is difficult to determine the extent to which this method operates in Nature. Experimentally, it is easy to bring about with captive flies, though the time elapsing between the two consecutive bites must be very short—a few hours at most.

The second method is far more important, and is known as the cyclical or indirect method of transmission. Cyclical transmission implies the occurrence of a developmental cycle of the parasite in the interior of an invertebrate host. Here, after a period of multiplication during which the flagellates in the fly are non-infective, special infecting forms are produced which are inoculated into the blood stream whenever the intermediate host feeds on a vertebrate. Different species are associated with different invertebrate intermediaries Thus certain fish and frog trypanosomes are transmitted by leeches, those of the rat by fleas, and many of the important mammalian trypanosomes by tsetse.

In the case of man's trypanosomes some twenty-five days elapse, after the fly has taken its feed of infected blood, before the special infecting forms are developed. These forms are confined to the salivary glands of the tsetse, and once the glands of a fly have been invaded the insect is infective to every susceptible animal every time it bites, possibly for the rest of its life

Luckily for man and his animals, only a very small percentage of the tsetses that feed upon an infected animal can, even in the most favourable circumstances, become infective It is not yet understood whether the responsibility for this irregularity rests with the parasite or with the fly. But there is reason to believe that whenever a suitable form of the trypanosome is taken up by the fly the insect will in due course become infected.

A very interesting phenomenon that has recently come to light is the existence of certain strains that are non-transmissible by tsetse. Experiments suggest that, no matter how many flies feed on an animal infected with such a strain, none of them will ever become infective. This phenomenon is the final manifestation of the tendency shown by the human trypanosomes and their allies to lose the property of transmissibility by tsetse after prolonged sojourn in the blood of any mammal. Thus a man may be infected to-day by a tsetse. For the first few months of his illness he is infectious to a certain proportion of the flies that feed on him. After a time, however, his trypanosomes may lose their transmissibility by tsetse, so that this particular man, though he may and probably will die of the disease, is incapable

of infecting any more tsetse, and is therefore, in ordinary circumstances, harmless to his neighbours.

At the present time entomologists recognise nineteen different species of *Glossinæ*. In past ages the distribution of the genus was wider than it is to-day, fossil tsetse being found in the miocene shale at Florissante, in Colorado. To-day, as we have seen, their distribution is restricted to a portion of Africa. A few words about the habits of this pernicious group of insects are called for at this juncture.

Tsetses are comparatively quiet and very precise in their movements. When hungry they are most persistent in their endeavours to feed, no amount of attention on the part of the intended victim availing to frustrate their attack. As a general rule they prefer to alight on dark surfaces. They can easily bite through a single layer of ordinary clothing, and will search out weak spots in their victim's armour with consummate skill and patience. Fly-switches, veils, and thick clothing all help to protect the European whose mind is on the alert to avoid getting bitten. But the vigilance and effort necessary to ward off the unceasing attack of hungry flies after a while become exhausting, and the defence is soon pierced. Time and again has one felt a sharp prick in the palm of the swinging free hand while marching in fly country and busily engaged with the other in brandishing a switch to keep off the tsetse. In places densely infested, more especially where *morsitans* is the fly, the welcome visitor is enveloped in a cloud of enthusiastic tsetse that probe every joint in his harness, and, in the broiling sun, make life a veritable burden. The actual bite is more or less painful according to where it is administered. It is a common sight, when travelling by canoe, to see a fly settle on the bare back or shoulders of a paddler, insert its proboscis, fill up and fly away without the man knowing anything about it. At other times a bite will provoke an involuntary cry of pain. When full of blood a tsetse's abdomen swells to the size of a small pea, and the fly becomes very heavy and slow on the wing. Like the boa-constrictor, after a full meal it slips away to sleep off the effects.

The digestion of the blood is, however, very rapid, and in a few hours the fly is its active self again. Probably in Nature tsetses, even when food is plentiful, do not feed every day. In captivity they can live as long as ten days without a meal. They take practically no food or drink, save blood, their whole structure and organisation being adapted to the acquisition and rapid assimilation of this food. In captivity individual flies have been known to live for six months.

Most species of tsetse are active only by day, but others, including *G. morsitans*, are known on occasion to bite after dark.

In all the *Glossinæ* the dangers of youth and adolescence are reduced to a minimum. These flies are larviparous, and the larva directly it is born scrambles anxiously around on the sand or dry earth where the mother deposits it, seeking for a place to dig itself in. The pupæ of all tsetse are of the same characteristic shape, though differing in size among the different species. They can be found by shaking out the earth from grass roots, or, in the case of *G. palpalis*, by searching in the dry sandy soil under the bushes along the water's edge. This latter tsetse, in addition to depositing its isolated larvæ wherever suitable conditions of shade and soil obtain, specially favours certain localities, where large numbers of pupæ can be found at one time. Two such pupa beaches occur near the Research Institute in Uganda, and from these thousands of pupæ are brought at regular intervals to the laboratory for experimental purposes. As many as 11,000 pupæ have been obtained in three days by half a dozen trained native collectors on one of these beaches.

The different species of tsetse vary considerably in their habits. Many of them do not seriously concern themselves with man, but there are four species that command attention on account of their association with human trypanosomiasis. These are *G. palpalis*, *G. morsitans*, *G tachinoides* and *G. swynnertoni*, which last was only identified a few years ago in Tanganyika Territory.

The early explorers recognised that sleeping sickness was in some way associated with the river and lake system of the continent, and it was soon realised that the distribution of the disease corresponded roughly to that of a particular species of tsetse, *G. palpalis*. The habitat of this fly is the shores and banks of lakes and watercourses, and it is never found very far away from water. *G. palpalis* thus leads a very different existence from the better known species frequenting the dry inland regions that form the famous shooting grounds of Central and Southern Africa. These game tsetses, of which *G. morsitans*, *swynnertoni*, and *pallidipes* are the best known, are far less dependent on water than are *palpalis* and its fellow-culprit *tachinoides*. Water is indeed necessary for the survival of all tsetses. But whereas in game country the waterholes are often many miles apart, *palpalis* requires a plentiful and constant supply. This difference in habitat is accompanied by differences in habit, particularly as regards food supply. The game tsetses, as their name implies, feed chiefly on the wild ungulates, collectively known as the 'big game.' Their dietary includes the various species of antelope, pig, buffalo, the large pachyderms, and the baboon. They will also feed to some extent on reptiles and birds, but there is no doubt that they depend mainly on the big game. *G. palpalis*, on

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the other hand, does not feed on these animals to anything like the same extent. Of course game, on its way to water, visits the haunts of this fly; but this is often at night, when the tsetses are inactive. Apart, then, from occasional individuals of certain species of game that frequent its habitat, such as bush-buck, water-buck, elephant and buffalo, this fly has little to do with the majority of the big ungulates. Its principal food animals are pig, hippo, and the aquatic reptiles, the crocodile and the big *Varanus* lizard. In addition it feeds readily on man, and the crowded settlements scattered along the streams and lakes that form its home ensure an easily accessible and ample supply of food.

Man, therefore, must be regarded as a very important food animal for this fly in certain parts of Western Africa, and also for *G. tachinoides*. The game-tsetses, on the other hand, though they will bite man readily enough upon occasion, can and do exist over great tracts of uninhabited country where he is only an occasional visitor.

The diffusion of the trypanosome as a human parasite depends on the degree of contact existing between the tsetse fly responsible for its transmission and the native population. By contact is meant the degree of dependence of the fly upon man for food. The ideal conditions for the spread of the parasite exist when large numbers of flies are forced to depend for their supply of blood on a dense native population. Man and fly may be in close proximity without this essential 'contact' existing. For example, the presence of an easily accessible source of reptilian blood, in the form of crocodiles and the large water lizard, will diminish the trypanosome's chances of success. The particular tsetse, *G. palpalis*, concerned with the propagation of *T. gambiense* has a strong penchant for the blood of these two reptiles. The presence of the crocodile thus helps to divert the fly's attention from man. Evidently, therefore, the ebb and flow of populations that is so common a feature of native life, with its ever-changing economic problems, may lead to frequent and often drastic changes in the environment of the parasite. When the contact is at its broadest the trypanosome spreads in epidemic form, causing a heavy mortality; and by doing so it automatically reduces the contact and prejudices its own chances of survival. This susceptibility to environment is partly due to the fact that as a parasite of man it cannot be regarded as a great success. A trypanosome gains nothing by the death of its host. It is in the interest of the parasite to be exposed, frequently and over as long a period as possible, to the good offices of the insect intermediary. To kill its host is thus to defeat its own ends; and this is what *T. gambiense*, and to a still greater extent *T. rhodesiense*, generally do to man. The ideal adjustment between parasite and host is

attained by the trypanosomes of big game, which, as far as we know, cause the mammal no inconvenience.

In West Africa there are strains of human trypanosomes that cause an exceedingly chronic disease in man. Instances are known of autorecovery without any treatment whatever. Here, then, is something approaching perfect equilibrium between the parasite and man. In these western areas, where the disease is of very long standing, the trypanosome may be regarded as a well-adjusted true human parasite—at all events, as far as the indigenous native population is concerned.

In the old days there was, no doubt, very much less contact between man and the game-tsetses than has existed during recent years. We know from the writings of Gordon Cumming, Selous, and other pioneer hunters of the 'eighties that enormous quantities of game existed over wide expanses of country that are nowadays taken up by white settlement. Since these comparatively recent days the game has been greatly reduced in numbers. Some, at all events, of those wonderful hunting-grounds were tsetse-ridden. During the last few decades, however, the influx of Europeans into Africa has changed the face of the land. Improved transport has opened up the remotest corners of the map, and the old distribution of game and population has been upset over most of Southern and much of Central and Eastern Africa. As the game recedes into the wilderness the tsetse has either to retreat with it or to adopt a new food supply.

Wherever this last contingency arises recent investigations have revealed the existence of cases of trypanosomiasis among the native population. In other words, wherever man is seriously drawn upon by game-tsetses for food, human trypanosomiasis will be found; but where the primitive balance between man and game persists, the disease is either exceedingly rare or absent altogether.

Typical game country is not suited to extensive native occupation There is not enough water, the crops suffer from the depredations of the game, and the hardships of life are intensified to a degree where man only exists on sufferance. Hunters will visit such country and camp in it for short periods, but it is usually uninhabited. Conversely, human settlement is incompatible with an unrestricted wild fauna. When man appears in sufficient force to establish himself successfully his presence inevitably drives away the game. From the biological point of view, therefore, man is not likely to serve as an essential food animal of the game-tsetse, except perhaps for relatively short periods during the retreat of the game before advancing human settlement. At such times his vanguard may fill the gap left by the game, and serve, for a time at any rate, as a food supply for the tsetse.

The bearing of these reflections on the matter before us is obvious. Changes in environment affect both the fly and the trypanosomes that depend on it. We have seen that *T. rhodesiense* of man is indistinguishable from *T. brucei* of game, save by the arbitrary distinction of pathogenicity for man. As long as *T. brucei* has game animals to live on, it is amply provided for. But if these fail and man appears instead on the fly's regular daily menu, then the parasite must either utilise man or disappear. And so we arrive at one of the two main explanations that have been put forward of late to explain the nature and affinities of this 'new' human trypanosome, *T. rhodesiense*—*i.e.*, that it is merely a *T. brucei* that has, by force of circumstances, been constrained to adapt itself to man.

That this is an emergency measure and that the adaptation between parasite and host is anything but perfect is shown by the heavy mortality caused by trypanosomiasis rhodesiensis in the human subject.

This is one explanation. According to the other, *T. rhodesiense* and *T. brucei* are entirely different species of trypanosomes. This view claims that *T. rhodesiense* is our old friend *T. gambiense* in a new and more ferocious guise, resulting from its introduction into a community possessing no resistance, and running rampant, so to speak, through a series of highly susceptible hosts. After a time, according to this view, the parasite will gradually sober down, adjust itself to the susceptibilities of its hosts and become a good, quiet *T. gambiense* once again.

From the point of view of European administrators of territory infected with the disease it is evidently very desirable to clear up this uncertainty. If *T. gambiense* can, in certain circumstances, assume the more virulent attributes of *T. rhodesiense*, it is important to know it and to prevent this contingency by prohibiting at once all movements of natives from *T. gambiense* areas into game-tsetse zones, at the same time guarding against the encroachment of strangers into areas known to be infected with *T. gambiense*.

If, on the other hand, the game trypanosome—*T. brucei*—can under certain conditions utilise man as a host, it is equally important to avoid either any half-hearted and haphazard human settlement in game-tsetse areas or a wholesale destruction of game, because the decrease in the game will inevitably lead to a grave risk of man being enlisted as a host for the parasite. As a matter of fact, in practice administrative measures directed against human trypanosomiasis necessarily take both these contingencies into consideration. The aim of such measures, as we have seen, is the reduction of contact between fly and man, and success in this direction will stamp out the disease,

whatever be the true interpretation of all the difficulties yet unsolved.

In the course of time a population left in contact with *T. rhodesiense* might work out its own salvation, the disturbance caused to its host by the trypanosome becoming less and less grave as years go by. It is indeed conceivable that some of the scanty native populations that were established in the game-tsetse areas before *T. rhodesiense* was recognised may represent survivors of some such process of elimination carried through in past years. But this is, at the best, but an expensive solution, and often enough, in such circumstances, the native gives up the struggle, the survivors migrating to a more salubrious region. Native populations respond very readily to an adverse environment, be they themselves the sufferers or their stock. Long ago native stock-owners learnt by experience to avoid grazing their animals in fly country, though they had no conception of the real cause of their losses.

Human trypanosomiasis may or may not have determined migrations from game-tsetse countries in past times. Stock-owning natives to-day still practise the lore of their forefathers and keep their cattle outside fly belts, though there be no evidence of previous epidemics of human infection in their neighbourhood.

Nowadays, with modern sanitary facilities, it is almost inconceivable that a native population stricken with trypanosomiasis could be left to its own devices During recent years a number of foci of the Rhodesian form have been detected in various game-tsetse belts in Tanganyika territory. A staff of trained medical officers has been detailed for the special task of clearing these areas of the disease. Similarly, in other territories, by a variety of means, the disease has either been stamped out or is well under control. The nature of the case admits of no experimentation, and soon it will be impossible to find a region in Africa where the problems that obscure the origin of *T rhodesiense* can be studied in the field.

H. LYNDHURST DUKE.

FARMERS AND PRICES

THE pitiful plaint of farmers that, year after year, the prices realised for their products are all more or less unremunerative does not, it is to be feared, greatly impress the public. They are convinced that the prices they have to pay are more than adequate to provide a reasonable living for the producers; they observe that the army of middlemen and distributors make no complaint and are in fact flagrantly flourishing, and they draw the cynical conclusion that if farmers as a class are not able to get their fair share they must accept the consequences.

But when at the end of August it was suddenly announced that the price of milk was likely to be raised, owing to the breakdown of the arrangement by which during recent years it has been fixed, the interest of the public was aroused, and was further excited by the suggestion that an interruption of supplies was probable. The Press sounded the alarm with its usual alertness. Predictions of a milk famine were made in scare headlines, and the Government were asked what they were going to do about it. When it transpired that the Government proposed to wait and see, scathing remarks were made about supine officials and lethargic Ministers. But onlookers familiar with the game were not greatly perturbed. It was evident to them that both sides were putting up a bluff. The negotiations broke down on August 31, and the new contracts (which were in dispute) were not due to be made until October 1. There was therefore ample time for reflection and reconsideration.

Both sides appealed to Cæsar—in other words, the public. The distributors announced that their margin of profit was so exiguous that if they made any concession to the producers they must raise the price of milk to the consumers or otherwise go into bankruptcy. Unfortunately for the success of this line of argument, the public are convinced that the business of milk distribution is lucrative, and that large dividends are paid by the companies engaged in it. The distributors also made the tactical mistake of declaring that they would not meet the producers again.

The case for the producers, conducted by the National Farmers' Union, was ably stated and the appeal to the public admirably

stage-managed. The case, of course, was in substance the same as that of the distributors, namely, that to yield the point at issue would involve milk-producing farmers in ruin. It happened, opportunely for the purpose of the controversy, that the agricultural returns then just issued showed a reduction, for the first time for many years, in the milking herd of the country. Great preparations were made and widely advertised for organising, through the country branches of the Union, the supply of milk direct to the consumers. Meetings were held at which resolutions breathing defiance and determination were passed with enthusiasm. By a happy inspiration an aeroplane was placed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief of the farmers' forces in the field, in which he made two or three journeys to keep engagements. He would probably have saved time and energy by using rail and car, but 'to conduct the campaign from the air' was a magnificent 'publicity stunt.'

The struggle was short, and a settlement was reached on September 18. The result was referred to in the October issue of the *National Farmers' Union Record* in the following terms: 'The settlement admittedly represents a compromise; the dairymen have conceded more than they desired to give and the farmers secure less than they hoped to obtain. But it is a compromise which we regard as creditable to both sides of the Permanent Milk Committee.'

Thus all ended happily. The distributors, vowing they would ne'er consent, consented to reopen negotiations, and the storm in the milk-jug was over.

As already indicated, the public generally took, so to speak, the farmers' side in the dispute, but it cannot be claimed that they did so as the consequence of any serious appreciation of the merits of the case. Their sympathy was given on general principles.

The episode, which in looking back seems almost trivial, is significant. It was remarked in the *National Farmers' Union Record*: 'Without the settlement collective bargaining in the milk industry would have perished and all the Joint Committee has given to the industry in the shape of stability would have been scattered to the winds.' The committee represents the first attempt to fix or stabilise the price of a farm product. This has now been done for seven years, and the success of the scheme has important implications in view of current projects for the stabilisation or standardisation of prices generally.

The policy of fixing the price of milk by agreement was adopted in consequence of the sensational slump in the price of summer milk in 1922. In the winter of 1921-2 the prices were at an extravagantly high level. In January 1922 the index number for

milk stood at 125, whereas that for agricultural products generally was 71. In April the milk number fell to 47 and next month to 27. This, to quote from a Ministry of Agriculture Report, 'revealed the weakness of individual producers when attempting to bargain on a falling market with relatively large-scale buyers who were in a position to set the price on their estimate of the market without any reference to the producer's outlook.' In other words, there was a glut of milk with practically no alternative market, and the buyers exploited the situation ruthlessly.

The National Farmers' Union was aroused to action on behalf of their milk-producing members, while the more far-sighted of the distributors realised that a continuance of such prices might so check production as to jeopardise their supplies. A Joint Committee was set up consisting of representatives of the National Farmers' Union and the National Federation of Dairymen's Associations. This committee has since met each year, beginning in the autumn of 1922, and has thus been responsible for seven agreements, including that just made.

To devise a satisfactory scheme it was not enough to agree on a figure at which milk contracts should be made. The business of producing and distributing milk on a wholesale scale is complicated. The economic conditions controlling its use as a marketable commodity are unique. Theoretically the supply can be regulated by the producers. In the old days, when the milk supply of a town came from cows kept within the urban boundaries, the quantity produced at different periods in the year could be roughly adjusted to the demand by varying the number of cows. But the business of supplying the nation's milk has now reached vast dimensions and town cowsheds have happily been abolished. The production of milk in England and Wales employs about 2,750,000 cows and heifers, and the total quantity sold for consumption as milk (apart from the large proportion converted into cheese or butter) is over 800,000,000 gallons.

One of the permanent difficulties of milk-selling farmers arises from the natural tendency of cows to give more milk in the summer than in the winter. To be accurate, it is their long-inherited disposition to calve in the spring which lies at the root of their inadaptability to the requirements of human milk supply. The predilection may be, and is to a considerable extent, corrected by modern cattle-breeders, and the up-to-date cow has generally been trained to prefer the autumn to the spring for calving. This modification of Nature's arrangements is in practice not always possible. In any case, in the country as a whole it is reckoned that about three-fifths of the total milk is produced in the six months April–September and only two-fifths

in the other six months. December, January, and February are the months of the lowest production, and May, June, and July of the highest.

This unevenness of supply is the dominant factor in the milk trade. It governs and at the same time complicates the arrangement of contracts. It involves agreeing on two prices, one for the winter and the other for the summer. The agreement ultimately reached for 1928–9 provided for the following prices to be embodied in the annual contract:

	Per Gallon.	
	s.	d.
October	1	4
November–February	1	5
March–April	1	4
May–August	1	0
September	1	4

A convenient method of comparing these prices with those arranged for other years is to take the aggregate of the twelve monthly figures Such a comparison for the seven years gives the following results:

	s.	d.
1928–9	15	0
1926–7—1927–8	14	3
1925–6	15	2
1923–4—1924–5	15	3
1922–3	16	0

From this statement it appears that farmers have secured somewhat better terms than in the last two years, and, notwithstanding certain modifications in the conditions, which may, in some measure, qualify this, it may be fairly assumed that, on the whole, the result was favourable to the producers. Their most important success was to increase the price from 1*s.* to 1*s* 4*d.* per gallon for the two months April and September.

In a table showing the monthly prices as agreed in each year the *National Farmers' Union Record* adds for comparison the corresponding retail prices. In 1927–8 these were 2*s.* per gallon for six months (April–September) and 2*s.* 4*d* for six months (October-March). These prices are not fixed by the Joint Committee. The retail prices for each month in 1928–9 are given, but these must represent intelligent anticipation. If this forecast turns out to be accurate—as is highly probable—the public will be charged 1*d.* per quart more next April and September than in the corresponding months of this year. They will no doubt pay it with their usual docility.

The average price per gallon secured by farmers under th agreement was 1s. 3d. per gallon, an increase of ¾d. per gallon ove the previous year. The pre-war average was 8¾d. per gallor This is a substantial increase; but it is nevertheless asserted b the producers that the price is unremunerative, and that mil production does not pay. Costs of production have, of course risen considerably. The index numbers prepared by the Ministr of Agriculture of the rise in the price of farm products show a increase of 63 per cent. in the farm price of milk in 1926–27 ove the average of 1911–13. The average rise in the price of agricul tural produce generally in that year was 47 per cent., so that milk gave relatively a better return than many other products of the farms.

The chief feeding-stuffs bought by milk-producers have risen in price, but in a less degree than milk. Thus milling offals were 38 per cent., maize 34 per cent., oil-cake 26 per cent., and brewers' grains 23 per cent dearer in 1926–7 than before the war. Of course, these feeding-stuffs are mainly bought in the winter (which is one reason why the winter price of milk is higher than the summer price), and during several months of the year milking cows are fed largely on grass. Rents of pasture land are higher in most districts than before the war, but the increase is not more than 10 per cent., or at most 20 per cent.

If, as is alleged, milk-selling is unremunerative, it is evident that these farmers who depend on corn-growing are in worse straits. The Council of the National Farmers' Union declares that the position of arable farming is 'deplorable,' and recently again issued a statement to the Press and appointed a deputation to explain the facts to the Minister of Agriculture. It must be admitted that in the discussion which resulted in this action little attempt was made to prove the case, and speakers confined themselves to assertion and generalisation. Nor was any concrete proposal of a remedy put forward. This is conveniently left to the Government. As one speaker expressed it: 'It was their responsibility to make their voice heard and say in the clearest possible way that all was not well, and it was for those who controlled the nation's destinies to consider the matter and see whether they could not do something.'

The National Farmers' Union have cautiously, and no doubt from their point of view wisely, refrained from advocating any definite scheme. But two proposals have been put forward by agriculturists and are undoubtedly supported by a large number of farmers. These are a sliding scale basis for farm wages, determined by the price of wheat, and the stabilisation of prices. A singular belief prevails among arable farmers, especially in the eastern counties, that an 'economic' weekly wage should bear a

definite relation to the average price of wheat and should follow its market variations. It is difficult to know how this belief has become rooted, and still more difficult to imagine what those who speak of an 'economic' wage understand by the term. A correspondent of *The Times* recently stated that 'It is the general view of farmers in East Anglia . . . that the value of a sack (or coomb) of wheat of 18 st. fairly represents what would be the economic minimum wage on average land.' Had this system been in operation during the past ten years wages would have ranged from 40*s*. 5*d*. in 1920 to 21*s*. 1*d*. in 1923.

In the early part of the last century, when agricultural labourers were ruthlessly exploited, the standard wage in Norfolk was 'a bushel of wheat and a shilling.' Since that time there has been no relation between the price of wheat and wages. Mr. J. R. Bond, in a paper read at the Farmers' Club on November 5, gave a table showing that in the 'forties the average price of a cwt. (approximately half a sack or coomb) of wheat was 13*s* 1*d*. and the average wage 9*s*. 10*d*. In the 'eighties the position was reversed, the wage being 13*s*. 10*d*. and wheat 8*s* 8*d*. per cwt. In 1910 the wage was 15*s* 2*d* and wheat 7*s* 4*d*. per cwt. Last year, 1927, the average wage was 31*s* 8*d*. and the price of a cwt. of wheat 11*s*. 6*d*. It is evident that there is no historical authority for fixing wages in relation to the price of wheat.

If the principle of correlating farm wages with prices of farm products were sound (and there are arguments in its favour), it is not possible to justify taking only one product, and that one which under present conditions has comparatively little interest for the majority of farmers and labourers. The saleable value of the whole wheat crop represents less than 6 per cent. of the total output of English farming. Wheat is grown on less than half the farms of the country, and there are wide areas where a field of wheat is a rare sight. A labourer on a Cheshire or Derbyshire dairy farm or a Northumberland sheep farm would see little reason in varying his wages with the price of wheat Farm wages are standardised and variable only by committees representing equally farmers and labourers. Wages being, so to speak, a domestic concern, it is obviously right that control of them should be entrusted to agricultural bodies.

But in any scheme for the standardisation, or stabilisation, of the prices of farm products it is equally obvious that consumers are entitled to as much influence as producers. At present one product is subject to a price-fixing scheme, namely, milk as already described. The prices arranged by the Joint Committee of producers and distributors are not compulsory, and there are probably thousands of contracts made on other terms than those fixed by the committee. But this may fairly be cited

as an example of successful, although partial, stabilisation. It is, however, to be noted that fresh fluid milk is not subject to overseas competition. British farmers have a monopoly of the home market, qualified only by the indirect competition of condensed and other forms of prepared milk, which do not materially affect the price of the raw article.

The standardisation of prices is advocated to meet present-day needs, and it is claimed that in adopting the principle we should be reverting to the wiser policy of our forefathers. It is argued that in the Middle Ages and later, and indeed down to the end of the eighteenth century, prices of many commodities, and especially of food, were regulated by the State, or under State authority. Mr. Montague Fordham, who is a zealous protagonist of this theory, has explained his views thus :

> The earlier economic system of England was, in my view, clearly directed to maintaining what was formerly termed the ' just price ' between producers and consumers. Standard prices, though perhaps sometimes fixed by common consent, were in other cases fixed by the guilds, by legislative decree and the decisions of special price-fixing committees. This policy was also supplemented by legal action to prevent any persons coming between the producer and consumer to beat down the just price either by lowering the price to the producer or raising it to the consumer.

It is quite true that from a very early period the State did interest itself in food questions, as indeed in times when famines were frequent it could hardly avoid doing. The first and the most prolonged of these efforts was embodied in one of the most famous of mediæval statutes, *Assisa Panis et Cervisiæ*. The date when this was passed is uncertain, but Lord Ernle surmises that it was about 1266. That part of it which related to bread, although altered by later legislation, remained in force for London until 1815, and elsewhere until 1836. Under this Act it was the duty of the justices of the peace to ' set the assize '—*i e.*, ' to adjust the weight, quality and price of bread to the current price of wheat with the addition of an allowance for the labour and skill of the baker.' The method by which the baker's allowance was calculated was very complicated and led to much disputation. It may be assumed that on the whole the system protected consumers against gross profiteering by the bakers, but it is clear that it did not profess to fix or standardise the price of the loaf, which was governed by the market price of wheat. To quote one instance at random—the quartern loaf ranged in a comparatively short time from 7*d*. to 1*s*. 4*d*. under this system.

As regards fixing the price of wheat, the Corn Laws, beginning in the fourteenth century and continuing in varying forms until 1846, were undoubtedly designed to so regulate the supply as to keep prices as steady as possible. Lord Ernle has observed:

'Mediæval Corn Laws were based on principles of morality if not of religion. They were akin to the laws against usury.' It was regarded as immoral to prey on human needs or to take advantage of times of scarcity, by exacting more than a fair profit on the production of the necessaries of life. The object of legislation was therefore to establish 'just' prices and to curtail the liberty of producers in the interests of consumers. The methods of attempting to establish 'just' prices were various. Among them were prohibition of the exportation of corn, preventing the intervention of middlemen between farmers and their customers, preventing monopolies and speculation by legislation, prohibiting the transportation of corn from one district to another, and penalising the 'forestalling,' 'engrossing,' or 'regrating' corn.

The ultimate effect of all this class of legislation was to defeat its own object. It cannot be better summarised than has been done by Lord Ernle: 'It hampered the natural trade in corn, locked up the capital of farmers and so tended to reduce the area under the plough.'

As facilities for internal transport developed local monopolies were made more difficult. Successive steps were taken towards freedom of internal trade. Thus in 1571 corn was permitted to be taken from one district to another on payment of a licence duty of 1*s.* per quarter. In 1663 permission to buy corn in order to sell it again was given when the price was below a certain level provided that it was not resold for three months in the same market, and in 1772 the statutory penalties against corn dealers were repealed as tending 'to discourage the growth and enhance the price of corn.'

It is clear that, whatever may have been the advantages under the conditions then prevailing of this 'earlier economic system,' it did not fix or stabilise prices, although it did something to modify the violent fluctuations then common. Records of prices are scanty, but the average price of wheat is available since 1646. According to this table the price ranged during the first decade of the record from 77*s.* 10*d.* to 23*s.* 9*d.* per quarter.

An animated discussion has recently taken place in print between different agricultural authorities as to the price at which wheat should be 'stabilised,' and it appears to be agreed that 55*s* per quarter is a reasonable figure. This would mean raising the present market price by about 20*s.*, but no suggestion is made as to how and by whom this is to be done, or by what authority and administrative machinery it would be enforced.

Definite proposals for the control of prices have been put forward by the Labour Party. Before the Royal Commission on Food Prices they advocated the establishment of an Import Board charged with the duties of importing all wheat and flour

required to supplement home production, eliminating all unnecessary middlemen's charges, and reducing distributive costs. The Board would maintain 'steady prices for British wheat over as long a period as possible at prices corresponding to the anticipated average prices of imported grain.' This proposal is obviously open to discussion, but at any rate it outlines a scheme by which the price of wheat might be kept approximately steady, based, as now, on the value of imported wheat.

In the latest official programme of the Labour Party, *Labour and the Nation*, the wheat Board is not specially mentioned, but it is stated that the policy of the party is to 'introduce stability into the prices of meat and grain by the collective purchase of imported foodstuffs.' The subject of meat is elaborated as one of 'fundamental importance,' and it is proposed to 'transform the import of meat into a public service' and to 'vest the responsibility for it in the hands of an Import Board.' This Board would be charged with the duty of organising the business of purchasing, distributing, and transporting the whole import of meat. It is claimed that 'it would be in a position to smooth out the fluctuations in prices which disorganise the business of agriculture, would secure the farmer a stable market in which to sell his produce, and bring corresponding advantages to the general body of consumers.'

The advantage which the consumers want is lower prices. Although it is inarticulate and unorganised, the feeling of consumers generally against the continuance of what they regard as the excessive price of food is very deep and bitter. It will be remembered that indignation at high food prices was loudly expressed at the last General Election and was referred to on many platforms. Mr. Baldwin, in particular, dealt with it and promised, if his party was returned to power, to take immediate action. One of his first acts on assuming office was to redeem this promise. On November 24, 1924, the Royal Commission on Food Prices was appointed, and began their work on December 10. The extreme urgency of the task entrusted to them was impressed on the Commission, which in their Report observed:

> It was clear that the problem of food prices bulked largely in the public mind and was a source of considerable anxiety to your Majesty's Government; and it was therefore desirable that we should present a report on the questions referred to us for enquiry with the least possible delay.

They pursued their inquiries assiduously, but it was evident that to investigate the commercial conditions of all the main articles of food was not possible in a limited time. The Commission therefore confined their first report to bread and

meat and promised further reports in due course. But without further investigation they recommended the immediate appointment of a 'Food Council.' The Government adopted the recommendation, set up a Food Council, and discharged the Commission. Thus ended that!

This, of course, was merely a prominent example of the way in which all Governments deal with troublesome questions. The policy is based on the ingenious principle favoured by Mr. Micawber, who discharged his liabilities by the simple process of writing I O U's. Governments appoint a commission or committee and regard this as discharging their liabilities. In this case the system served its object. The Commission, after a short period of feverish activity, passed, leaving behind it a sedate, leisurely and respectable body which, so far as is discoverable, has done nothing to mitigate the high prices which so much excited the public at the last election.

The persistence by successive generations of farmers in the idea that if they are sufficiently importunate the State will adjust prices in their favour is really pathetic. Even the failure of Joseph Chamberlain did not shake their simple faith. Yet it would seem fairly obvious that in a country nine-tenths of the population of which are urban no political party will dare to commit itself to a policy involving higher food prices. To do so would be to deliver itself into the hands of its opponents and to abandon all chance of obtaining or retaining power. The only conceivable means by which any policy of adjusting or stabilising prices could be adopted without injuring the producers would be by agreement between the three parties.

The proposal that the leaders of the political parties should be invited to confer with the view of discovering whether any agreement on agricultural policy is possible was made at the last General Election, and has been from time to time revived. At a representative meeting of Oxfordshire agriculturists recently the Government was urged to try and arrange a three-party conference, and the suggestion was strongly supported by Lord Bledisloe, who has long favoured this idea

Last July in the pages of this Review [1] I ventured to point out that the grounds of difference between the parties in regard to agrarian policy have been narrowed and that three important issues on which they were sharply divided have become in principle uncontentious. Take the important subject of the public ownership of agricultural land. All three parties are committed to it in varying degrees. Conservatives have approved the acquisition, by county councils, of land for small holdings and allotments, the Liberal land policy provides for the gradual

[1] 'The Position and Prospects of Agriculture,' July 1928.

extension of public ownership, while the Labour Party are in favour of the immediate acquisition of the whole of the agricultural land by the State.

If it were agreed that some extension of public ownership is desirable—and the difficulties and drawbacks of private ownership in these times have been strongly insisted on by many who are in no sense politicians—it seems clear that compromise on this issue between the parties is practicable. And if on this issue, then possibly on others. In any case, is a conference not worth trying?

HENRY REW.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

LORD BUCKMASTER'S inauguration of a movement for the abolition of capital punishment in this country revives a subject upon which general opinion is divided and probably fluctuates according as the atrocity of a particular crime or the suspicion of a possible miscarriage of justice happens to be uppermost in public attention at any given moment.

In putting forward my views on this subject I am not writing as a pure theorist. I had as a young probationer for the Indian Civil Service to attend and report many criminal trials in England, and study the procedure of the courts. As an Indian civil servant for twenty-eight years my duties included a responsibility for law and order in the areas under my charge, and for fifteen years out of this period I exercised the same functions as the Home Secretary does in England in regard to petitions for mercy from those under sentence of death. During that time I have dealt with over 2000 cases of this kind, involving an even larger number of convicts. My views are therefore based upon experience gained in the discharge of grave and responsible duties.

Races differ, but the motives for crime are much the same in all countries—passion and avarice.

The advocate of the abolition of capital punishment (whom I will call the abolitionist) rests his case on one or more of four main arguments: the first two, propositions of principle; the second two, assertions of fact. First, that the sanctity of human life is so great that to take the life of a human being on any ground whatsoever is indefensible; second, that even if it were defensible as a punishment, it is not defensible merely on account of its deterrent effect upon others; third, that in any case it is a failure as a deterrent; fourth, that, having regard to the fallibility of human evidence, it is wrong to pass an irrevocable sentence and thus risk the awful responsibility of the execution of an innocent man. I will take these arguments *seriatim*.

In regard to the first, there will always be some conscientious objectors who are so firmly convinced of their own dogmas that they are impervious to argument, though it is doubtful whether even these would refuse to kill a man if that were the only way

of saving their own children whom the man was engaged in murdering, but, to those who are still open to argument, the correct answer seems to be that the only way of establishing the sanctity of human life among a community is to enforce the death penalty against those who wilfully violate it. It is in effect society's most effective self-defence against the crime of murder, just as much as it is an act of self-defence to fire, after due warning, upon a violent mob intent upon bloodshed and murder.

Naturally, the validity of this answer depends upon the correctness of the belief that the extreme penalty is, in fact, an effective deterrent against murder. I will come to this presently, but have to deal first with the second argument. I have heard it contended that there is a punishment which fits the crime, but if the punishment awarded is greater than this limit, in order to deter others from doing likewise, then the guilty man is being punished excessively for an extraneous reason that has nothing to do with the culpability of the particular offence that he committed. This reasoning appears to me to be quite fallacious, because it is based on the assumption that every individual crime has a punishment which is exactly apportionable to its culpability. Only an Omniscient Being could determine any such exact adjustment of punishment to culpability, and the law, being a human institution, does not attempt to do so; it fixes in all cases a maximum punishment for a particular class of offence, and leaves it to the judge to apportion such amount of the whole as he thinks will meet all the circumstances of the particular case. Punishment is not an act of revenge administered on a fixed scale—'an eye for an eye or a tooth for a tooth.' Its objective is the protection of society against offenders. In the case of lesser offenders, the offender is made to suffer loss of property by means of a fine; in more serious cases, loss of liberty; and, in the extreme case of murder, loss of life. The deterrent effect of the punishment on himself and others in the first two cases, and on others in the last, is the basis of the protective value to society of the punishment of offenders. The maximum punishment is the greatest that the law allows for its own protection, no matter how prevalent the offence or how heinous the offence, but within that maximum the prevalence of an offence is one important element in determining the degree of severity which the judge will think fit to impose in the particular case. When the maximum punishment allowed by law is clearly failing as a deterrent, the Legislature may, and often is asked to, increase the severity of the punishment which the law allows.

There are a few offences for which the law of England provides a minumum as well as a maximum punishment. Murder is the

only case in which the maximum and minimum are the same, and the judge is left no discretion, the sole reason being that in the eyes of the law no lesser punishment will avail to secure, as far as it is humanly possible to secure anything, a recognition by the community that human life is sacred.

I now come to the third argument, that of persons who deny that the extreme penalty is an effective deterrent. Here they have a specious support for the argument in the fact that the man who is hanged for murder was not himself deterred from committing the crime by the fact that it was punishable with death, and that other murderers have suffered the death penalty. But if this argument were pursued it would have the effect of proving that punishment has no deterrent effect at all, since the persons convicted of any crime in the calendar were, *ipso facto*, themselves not deterred by the law prescribing punishment for that crime. It is impossible to prove in the concrete that X., Y. or Z. would have committed murder but were deterred from doing so by the fact that A., B. and C. were punished It is only by reasonable inferences from the observed acts and omissions of man in the average that conclusions can be formed It will be admitted, no doubt, that if immediate execution inevitably followed the commission of murder, it would only be committed by three classes of people—those who are also ready to commit suicide, those who are sighing for martyrdom, and those who are so suddenly infuriated at the time of the act that they do not stop to think at all. The first class will generally make no effort to escape; the second will most frequently do so; the third are the most uncertain. In the excitable East they sometimes proceed to run *amok* and kill everybody in sight, or they may, in a fit of remorse, proceed to give themselves up, or they may take refuge in flight. I have known a case in which the murderer went on to commit nine murders before he was himself killed. I can recall another in which the murderer proceeded to decapitate his victim, put the head in a basket, carried it several miles to the police station, and there deposited it as gruesome evidence in support of his confession. These three classes of cases apart, the average man who commits murder with some degree of premeditation does so, not because he is not afraid of being hanged, but because he has confidence that he will escape detection The severity of the penalty fails as a deterrent to the criminal whenever he thinks the chances of his conviction and punishment are remote. But it is idle to deduce from his act that he does not fear death.

There are others that contend that imprisonment for life is a more terrible sentence than death, and hence that the abolition of capital punishment would have no effect in increasing the crime of murder.

There might be something in this argument if the imprisonment involved perpetual confinement in chains in some noisome dungeon, without light or exercise, in complete solitude and silence, circumstances in which a man would either go mad or pray for death as a release from his sufferings. But in our times we cannot tolerate such inhuman cruelty, no matter how merciless the crime. Indeed, we seldom inflict a true life sentence. In the Andamans, unless a man were a frontier fanatic or a professional poisoner, his life sentence meant twenty years, off which, by good behaviour, he could earn three years' remission. There are even men who, after release at this period, have committed a second murder and served a second so-called life sentence. In the Andamans a man may become a self-supporter after ten years, and murderers are frequently employed as servants in the penal settlement. The remissions granted to life convicts in England are on an even more liberal scale.

Those who are confined in Indian gaols and are not sent to the Andamans for reasons of health or age have generally settled down to prison life and are frequently employed as convict warders, in which capacity they enjoy several minor indulgences. But in truth, whatever the nature of the confinement, when a man has been in prison for twenty years, unless it is practically certain that on his release he will be a danger to society, it is almost impossible to justify to one's self his further confinement—the memory of his crime has faded, and he has perhaps been well behaved for a long period; so that when we speak about imprisonment for life being worse than the death penalty we are really imagining things which under our own humane usages do not actually exist.

But, in any case, the comparative deterrence of death by execution or penal servitude for life is surely set at rest by the fact that, with negligible exceptions, the condemned man invariably petitions for mercy, although he knows that success almost certainly means a life sentence. People are not in the habit of troubling about visions of their own death scene, but if a man is contemplating murder it is, humanly speaking, certain that the vision of a scaffold will float before his imagination, and we know from the records of crime in every country that some who have committed this crime are so haunted by this vision that they betray themselves by their actions, and so bring about their own conviction. There are, it is true, some men who can assume indifference out of bravado, and there are a few, also, who, recognising the enormity of their crime, meet their fate with resignation and courage. But the assertion that in these days, with the many humanising alleviations of imprisonment, the fear of long imprisonment will have the same arresting effect as the

vision of the execution is contradicted by all experience of human actions.

There is one further important consideration. To-day the burglar or the motor bandit may hesitate to take the extreme step of murder, but if the death penalty is abolished his hesitation must inevitably be greatly decreased. Lord Macaulay, presiding over the Indian Law Commissioners so far back as 1835, reported as follows when justifying the abolition of capital punishment for crimes like robbery or rape :

> The same opportunities, the same superiority of force which enable a man to rob, to mangle, or to ravish, will enable him to go further and despatch his victim ; as he has almost always the power to murder, he will often have a strong motive to murder inasmuch as by murder he may often hope to remove the only witness of the crime which he has already committed.

A writer to the Press lately instanced the case of Brown and Kennedy as showing that people are willing to incur the risk of death to escape the risk of imprisonment, and as an argument in favour of abolition of the death sentence But it tells the other way. A criminal in danger of detection, as these men were when they murdered poor Gutteridge, has the most powerful incentive to destroy the chief witness against him. There will not be many Browns and Kennedys as long as the gallows remain. But for an extraordinary concatenation of circumstances they might have escaped. A man may not hesitate to incur the risk of further imprisonment in order to save himself from the risk of lesser imprisonment. It is a very different matter with the risk of execution. Abolish the scaffold and you stimulate the most dangerous class of criminal in the world—the man who deliberately preys on society and is ready to secure his own safety at all costs. The only thing that these men are concerned about is their own necks. Abolish the death sentence and you will slowly but surely open possibilities for a reign of terrorism. What protection would prison warders and fellow convicts have against the life convict but for the gallows ? The risk that the brute who commits the crime of rape will go on to murder his unhappy victim will be enormously increased. The casual witness of a crime being committed by such men as Brown and Kennedy will stand in deadly peril of his life. Once possible witnesses are in fear of their lives, the respect for law rapidly diminishes. The forces of disorder grow with impunity and immunity, until punishment has no terror for the criminal.

The abolitionist may cite instances of countries in which capital punishment has been abolished, such as Roumania in 1864, Holland in 1870, Italy in 1888, and Norway in 1905. It is quite unsafe to argue from any one country to another unless

there are accurate comparative data on such points as the prevalence of various kinds of crime among the people, the efficiency of the police and the judiciary, the mode of trial, the mode of imprisonment both before and after the abolition, the extent to which before the abolition of capital punishment it had fallen into disuse, the presence of large cities with large industrial populations, and many other particulars gathered over long periods, as the basis of comparison. But it is noteworthy that some American States had to restore capital punishment after abolishing it, which was also the case with Austria-Hungary, and seems from some recent instances to have been the case also in Italy. Switzerland is quoted as an example by the abolitionist in support of his case. An agitation for federal abolition in 1874 ended in a successful demand for cantonal discretion. Of twenty-five cantons seventeen retained capital punishment, eight abolished it. Four abolitionist cantons restored it in 1880, and two more in 1883. The sentence is still legal though rarely imposed

In 1905 (I see from an old article on the subject) murders in Italy were 105 per 1,000,000, as against 27 per 1,000,000 in the United Kingdom. In Spain capital punishment has not been abolished, but is said to be seldom enforced, a parricide in particular being punished with imprisonment 'in chains in perpetuity till death.' If the law in any country be in such contempt that either murderers are not arrested or, if tried, are generally acquitted, or are not sentenced to death, or are normally reprieved, even though capital punishment is nominally sanctioned by law, that country affords no basis for any conclusion one way or the other. But the man who gladly allows prisoners to be confined 'in perpetuity in chains,' but yet considers a painless death to be, on humanitarian grounds, unjustifiable, is no humanitarian at all, but is merely the victim of superstition.

The fourth argument stands in a category by itself. Here it is not a case of scale of punishment or its deterrence. The point here raised is that, with the fallibility of human evidence, an innocent man may be executed, and if this should happen the injustice is irrevocable and irreparable Therefore, says the abolitionist, to prevent any risk of so terrible a miscarriage of justice, we should abolish capital punishment. No one can be entirely insensible to this argument, least of all one who, like myself, has had the heavy responsibility of deciding whether so many fellow human beings under sentence of death should be reprieved or not. But let me say at the outset that if there ever was a country in which this element of risk is at its minimum it is England.

The executive authority who has to decide upon a petition for mercy, whether under the law or by the exercise of the Royal

prerogative, is not a Court of Appeal. The petitioner in the eyes of the law is a convicted murderer under just sentence of death, lawfully passed upon him. The executive authority is, therefore, relieved of all responsibility for the finding of fact and the correctness of law upon which the conviction is based. In the vast majority of cases the question to be decided is only whether the extreme penalty of death should be commuted to a life sentence on account of the circumstances connected with the murder. But there are some cases in which the very human and natural, but illogical, course is followed of changing an irrevocable into a revocable sentence, because, in spite of the fact that the man was not pronounced guilty until his guilt had been proved *beyond all reasonable doubt*, there still remains just that narrow line which may intervene between a thing proved beyond all reasonable doubt and absolute certainty. There is just room for a flicker of hesitation.

The classes of cases in which a scintilla of doubt may intervene are the bare possibility of mistaken identity, or where the accused has been convicted on purely circumstantial evidence—*e g*, in a poisoning case; or when experts differ regarding the state of the condemned man's mind when he committed the crime. These cases, however, do not at all require the amendment of the law. They are comparatively few, and the power of clemency reserved in some form or other to the State sufficiently provides for them. There is, however, a far larger class of case in which there are some extenuating circumstances to justify the remission of the death sentence.

After a long experience of administration of law and order in India, I am strongly of the opinion that the learned framers of the Indian Penal Code were right when they decided to provide an alternative punishment of transportation (or penal servitude) for life. This law has been administered for sixty-eight years, without any suggestion of amendment, not only by judges of the Indian Civil Service, or drawn from the Indian Bar, but by many eminent chief justices and judges of the Indian High Courts appointed at a mature age from the English Bar.

In India the trial takes place before a sessions judge assisted by assessors, but if the court passes a death sentence, that sentence is subject to confirmation by the High Court. The convicted man practically always appeals, and the appeal and confirmation proceedings are heard together by a bench of two judges, with a reference to a third judge if they disagree. In my experience the life sentence is substituted for the death sentence in circumstances falling within the following categories:

(i.) When the prisoner is very young.

(ii.) When there are two or more men concerned, in favour of

any one of them who appears to have been in a position of subordination, or much under the influence of the principal offender.

(iii.) If the murder was committed by a drunken man in circumstances which, though no defence in law, mitigate to some extent the guilty intention of the murderer.

(iv.) Crimes committed in hot blood when the provocation for the crime, though not so grave and so sudden as to reduce the offence to culpable homicide (in England manslaughter), was yet such as to justify considerable loss of self-control, or was induced by just hatred and resentment on account of gross ill-treatment at the hands of the murdered man.

(v.) Where the accused, though not proved insane in any legal sense, appears to be eccentric or weak-minded.

(vi.) Crimes induced by gross superstition and ignorance—*i.e.*, the murder of a reputed witch who is supposed to be responsible for evil that has befallen the murderers.

In India, when a case of a petition for mercy was preferred to the local Government or the Governor-General in Council, as the case might be, the courts themselves had eliminated the great number of cases in which there were circumstances justifying the more lenient sentence. A few illustrations of cases that actually occurred may be of interest as showing how executive clemency was exercised in the cases where the courts had deliberately imposed the higher sentence.

A reputedly harsh moneylender had visited a village to collect debts, and was returning home after dark in a bullock cart. His own servant was driving, and he engaged a villager to accompany them for their better protection. It was bright moonlight, and suddenly, at a lonely spot on the road, two men sprang out from concealment armed with swords and stopped the cart, unyoking the bullocks. The driver and the villager jumped down and got under the cart for safety. The moneylender, being elderly, could not get out quickly, and was hacked to pieces by the two men. The murderers then made off, and the two men, recovering sufficiently from their fright, went back for help to the village. The police theory, of course, was that the murderers must have been in the employ of one of the moneylender's enemies, and their inquiries led them to suspect two men who answered this description. The enmity was proved up to the hilt, but the case against the accused depended entirely upon the word of the driver and the villager, who picked out the two suspected men from a number of men collected for an identification parade held in the gaol. The witnesses to the parade deposed to the genuineness of the test, but six weeks had elapsed between the murder and

the identification, and the accused were admittedly complete strangers to the driver and his companion. There was no evidence as to the movements of the men on that particular night, and the evidence they put forward of an *alibi* was worthless. The courts had accepted the identification as genuine, and sentenced the prisoners to death. The local Government had also rejected their petition. But it seemed to me that strangers seen once only by moonlight could not be identified with certainty by men who were also so terrified that they crouched under the cart, and, on the bare possibility that the witnesses were mistaken, I obtained the Viceroy's consent to commutation.

A peasant of a sturdy class was starting from his village for a visit to the bazaar a few miles distant He was visiting his fields on the way. His little girl of five or six years of age wanted to accompany him. He refused, saying it was too far for her to go, and that if she went a little way and then came back alone she might be murdered for the ornaments she was wearing. The child cried, but he was obdurate, and he started off, leaving her behind. He arrived back in the evening and professed entire ignorance of her movements. It appeared that she had been seen following him, and that it was supposed he had taken her after all Search parties were instituted, and went to his fields—the route she would have taken. He took part in the search, and, only poorly concealed, the body of the child was found near the fields. Her throat had been cut from ear to ear, and the sickle which appeared to have been used for the crime was found not far off; the ornaments were missing. The father, hitherto pretending to take part in the search, began to be suspected from his strangeness of manner, and eventually himself produced the missing ornaments from the place in which they were hidden. At the time he informed the police that he was so furious with his little daughter for disobeying him that he struck her a blow with his fist. She fell down and he thought she was dead, and in his alarm cut her throat and hid the ornaments, in order that it might be thought that she had been murdered by a robber. He did not repeat this defence in court, but pleaded entire ignorance of how the child came by her death. The evidence that the child was seen following him, the fact that the sickle was his, and that he produced the ornaments made it certain that it was he who had killed the child. The courts, regarding the murder as brutal and unnatural, sentenced him to death, and the local Government refused the petition for mercy. Now there was evidence that he used to be kind to the child, and the very fact that she insisted upon accompanying him showed that there was affection on her part. The callous way in which the murder had been committed was, in fact, so unnatural as to be scarcely credible. His original

statement to the police, which was not admissible in evidence, appeared to me the only possible key to explain the circumstances, namely, that his story that he thought he had killed her by his blow, and had then, in fear, inflicted the wound and hidden the ornaments so as to make it be thought she had been murdered by some robber, was just possibly true. With the concurrence of the Viceroy, the sentence was commuted.

Another case occurred in which a woman was living with a man of another caste. She was very anxious to have a child, and some wandering old beggar-woman who had come round the village told her that she would never have a child until she first killed somebody else's child. Not far from her hut there lived a couple of low caste with a family of five children. The man was away at work. She beguiled the wife and the two older children out of the way on pretence that a goat had been run over by a train, and that if they wanted the meat they had better go there quickly. The other two children, who were small, she induced to go away and play, and then, getting hold of the baby, she carried it along to a small stream close by and held it under the water till it was drowned. Suspicion obviously attached itself to her when the mother and the two older children came back, finding that the message given to them was false, and she confessed to the crime. The courts considered it a case for the death sentence. The case came before me as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. I hesitated over it for two or three days, and eventually decided not to interfere, but the death sentence was commuted by the Governor-General in Council.

In Burma cases presented greater difficulty than in India. In India premeditated murders are the more numerous; in Burma the contrary is the case. The Burmese are a very passionate race The agricultural *dah* which the rural Burman carries for use in his daily work is a very formidable weapon, and is used on the smallest provocation. When the Burman sees red he is absolutely reckless in his violence, and the High Court in Burma is firm in imposing the death sentence as the only possible method of keeping this lack of self-control in some check. Yet it was a lamentable thing that a young man should die for an act done in a moment of violent passion. On the other hand, clemency would certainly have led to an increase in these crimes. The Burmese mother is wont to remind the passionate child of his ultimate fate on the gallows if he does not curb his temper. Sweethearts and wives are the chief victims of this murderous rage, and the provocation is often of the slightest. A young Burman, having an altercation with his wife who had their baby in her arms, seized it by the ankle, snatched it from her arms, and dashed its brains out against the trunk of a tree under which they were standing.

A young man, who had been drinking, swaggered down the village street shouting disgusting language. An elder standing at his door reproved him, and was then and there cut down and killed for his pains. A man has been killed by his friend merely for refusing to play cards with him.

Severity is absolutely necessary if girls who refuse a man's suit or divorced wives who refuse to return to their husbands are to have some protection. Nevertheless, where there was prolonged provocation, such as a course of ill-treatment or some unprovoked insult, I felt myself justified in commuting death sentences

Reviewing all the infinite varieties of motives and circumstances which lead to murder, irrespective of race, climate, ignorance or education, I feel convinced that we should lose nothing valuable in this country if the law recognised in the sentence which it sanctions that there are varying degrees of moral turpitude and criminality in the crime of murder, and that we should allow to the judges the discretion of imposing an alternative sentence.

The gravest responsibility of the judge at present is to guide the jury to a right decision, to see as far as he can that they are not influenced by fear, favour or prejudice, that their verdict is not based on hearsay evidence or on strong suspicion short of proof. That is the grave and terrible responsibility of a judge presiding over a murder trial. The sentence of death that follows is then, under the law, an automatic act At present in many cases the black cap and the death sentence are a mere mockery. For many a judge has to pronounce this solemn sentence although he knows full well that the next day he will be recording his opinion that the sentence should not be carried out It should be a relief to a judge charged with the grave responsibility of trying a murder case to have this alternative sentence in his power.

I am a strong believer in the necessity of capital punishment r the protection of society from all the more heinous forms of urder, and I believe that its abolition would undoubtedly lead a diminution of that general respect for the sanctity of human fe which distinguishes our nation. But I also strongly hold that is a mistake to deprive our judges of the exercise of discrimination and humanity allowed them by the choice of an alternative nd revisionable punishment where the need for it exists. I elieve also that this middle course would go a considerable way soften the general dislike of the death sentence.

I am not a believer in attempting to discriminate murders in rst and second degree by means of legal definition; it is much etter to allow the full discretion to the judge.

REGINALD CRADDOCK.

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA

Of all branches of learning, history is the most useful. What has happened before will happen again; and an accurate knowledge of the past is the best preventative against errors in the future. If, therefore, considerations of practical utility are to be taken into account, history should hold a high, perhaps the very highest, place in our serious studies. Why it has not always been regarded with the esteem that it deserves is partly the fault of historians there has been an unfortunate tendency among them either to consider history as a branch of rhetoric or else to accumulate masses of unimportant facts and allow them to obscure what is vitally important, the progress and development of social institutions. One class of historians weary their readers with endless details of battles, sieges, treaties and debates; another class make their narrative an excuse for verbal fireworks. The result is that too often history has seemed either unattractive or unreal.

How far the traditions of writing handed down to us by the Latin historians are responsible for all this is a question that might repay investigation. The Roman conception of history was fundamentally unsound: it began as a bald compilation of annual events and it soon degenerated into a biassed expression of political sentiments. Even the best of Roman historians, such men as Livy and Tacitus, are undoubtedly far more preoccupied with the problems of literary style than they are with questions of actual fact. Moreover, both Livy and Tacitus, like most of their countrymen, have a very strong sense of their own dignity and what they consider to be the dignity of history, so that humour is almost completely banished from their pages. Their successors in the first centuries of our era did their best to follow on the lines they had laid down, and it was not until the early Middle Ages that any writer rediscovered the secret of Herodotus's charm and contrived to make history once more both realistic and amusing. Of that delightful art Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona, was the reviver; and he is still one of its most successful practitioners.

Liutprand was born in 920 at Pavia of a Lombard family settled in North Italy. His father was a man of considerable

distinction who in 927 went to Constantinople as ambassador for Hugh of Arles, King of Italy, and on his premature death the boy was taken into the royal household as a singing page. When Hugh was overthrown by Berengar, Liutprand, now a young man, transferred his allegiance to the new ruler, and by Berengar was sent in 949 as ambassador to the Byzantine court. Soon after the completion of this mission he quarrelled with Berengar, and a period of some tribulation followed until he found employment at the court of Otto the Great, Emperor and King of Germany. He accompanied Otto on his visit to Italy in 961, and by him in the next year was made Bishop of Cremona. In 968 he was sent again to Constantinople to ask the hand of Theophano, daughter of Nicephorus Phocas, for the emperor's son ; and four years later, in 972, he died.

This brief account will at least show that Liutprand had the varied experience of life that is so necessary for a historian. He was a great traveller, well acquainted with men and cities : he was admitted to the secret councils of emperors and kings, and himself took a leading part in the high politics of his day ; moreover, he was widely read in Greek and Latin and possessed a flexibility of mind and a fertility of imagination that enabled him to turn all his adventures to a literary use. The idea of writing history was suggested to him by the Spanish bishop Recemund of Elvira, ambassador of Abd-ar-Rahman at Otto's court, and while he was living at Frankfort under the emperor's protection in 958 he began the work, which he finished in the island of Paxos off the coast of Epirus in 960 He did not, indeed, call it a history —that would be too commonplace for Liutprand : he gave it a Greek title, *Antapodosis* (' Tit-for-Tat '), and he explains his reason in a preface, which, with his usual dislike of the obvious, he places, not at the beginning of the first book, but at the beginning of the third. He is addressing Recemund :

I do not doubt, reverend father, that the title of this work causes you some surprise. You say perhaps—' Since it sets forth the deeds of illustrious men, why is it called *Antapodosis* (" Tit-for-Tat ") ? ' My answer is this The aim and object of this work is to reveal, declare and stigmatise the doings of this Berengar, who now is not king but rather despot of Italy, and of his wife Willa, who because of her boundless tyranny is rightly called a second Jezabel, and because of her insatiate greed for plunder a Lamia vampire. Such shafts of falsehood, such extravagance of robbery, such efforts of wickedness have they gratuitously used against me and my household, my kinsmen and dependents, as neither tongue avails to express nor pen to record Let this present page then be to them antapodosis, that is, repayment. In return for the troubles I have endured I will unveil to present and future generations their *sacrilège infâme*, that is, the abominable impiety of which they have been guilty But my book will also be repayment for the benefits conferred upon me by men of sanctity

and repute. Of all those whose deeds are recorded, or are worth recording, in history, there are few or none—except only this accursed Berengar of course—for whose kindness the fathers and sons of my family have not to render hearty thanks.

It will be seen from this that Liutprand is frankly human, and makes no claims to that cool impartiality which robs history of all its savour. For Queen Willa especially he seems to have felt a dislike more bitter than we should consider fitting in the case of a Christian prelate, and his anger extended to her mother as well. That lady, according to the good bishop, was the worst woman in the world until her daughter came along to surpass her: she was a disgrace to the female sex, a scandal of iniquity; she had all the vices, including avarice; and as an example of this latter failing Liutprand tells one of the most amusing and also one of the least clerical of his tales.

Any summary scarcely does justice to Liutprand, for as a story-teller he is only surpassed by Herodotus, and in direct simplicity he is almost the Ionian's equal. His style is his own: it has not Livy's grandeur or Tacitus's brilliance, but it is triumphantly alive, and it almost defies reproduction. In the following version of one of his most picturesque anecdotes, the nocturnal adventures of the Byzantine emperor Leo VI., French is used as some equivalent for the Greek phrases with which Liutprand so deliciously interlards his Latin:

The city of Constantinople, which was formerly called Byzantium and is now called New Rome, stands in territory surrounded by warlike peoples On the north it has the Hungarii, the Pizenaci, the Chazari, the Rusii, sometimes called by another name Nordmanni, and the Bulgarii who live too close together for harmony. On the east come the Bagdæ, and on the south-east the inhabitants of Egypt and Babylonia. To the south lies Africa and the island of Crete, its own too near neighbour and perpetual foe. The other tribes in this quarter of the globe, the Armenians, Persians, Chaldæans and Avasgi, have been reduced to subjection.

Now the inhabitants of this city, as they surpass the races we have mentioned in wealth, so also surpass them in wisdom. As a precaution against attacks from the neighbouring peoples it is their custom to post armed soldiers each night at every point in the city where two, three, or four roads meet, and assign to them the task of keeping watch and ward. If after dark the guard catch anyone roaming about the streets, their orders are to arrest him at once and give him a whipping: he is then to be fettered, kept under close watch in prison, and brought up for public trial the next day. By this method the city is not only protected from foreign enemies but is also secured against highway robbery.

One day his majesty the emperor Leo determined to test the fidelity and trustworthiness of the guards, and so when night fell he left his palace unattended and turned his steps to the nearest guard post. As soon as the soldiers sighted him he pretended to be alarmed and made as though to run away: they at once caught hold of him and asked him who he was and

where he was going. 'I am just an ordinary man,' he said, 'and I was on my way to a woman.' 'Very well,' the guards replied, 'you shall have a good thrashing first, and then we will keep you under lock and key till to-morrow, with irons on your legs.' 'Pas si vite, mes frères,' [which being interpreted is 'Nay, brothers, not so quick'] said the emperor, 'Take what I have on me and let me go my way.' He then handed them twelve gold pieces and was at once set free. So passing along he came to the second post, where he was arrested as before, and again escaped, at the price this time of twenty gold pieces. At the third post, however, things were different: this time he was not allowed to go on making payment all his money was taken from him, he was soundly pommelled and thrashed, put into heavy irons, and thrust into prison to appear before the judge on the morrow.

When the soldiers had gone away the emperor called to the jailer and said: 'Mon ami,' [which means 'My friend'] 'do you know the emperor Leo?' 'How could I know him,' replied the man, 'when I do not remember ever having seen him properly? Certainly I have gazed at a distance once or twice, when he has appeared in public, but I could not get close, and it seemed to me then that I was looking at a wonder of nature rather than at a human being. It would be more to the purpose for you to be thinking how to get out of here with a whole skin rather than to ask such questions as that. Fortune is not so kind to you as she is to him: vous êtes en prison, il est sur son trône d'or [you lie in prison, he sits upon his golden throne]. I had better fetch some heavier irons, these are too light, then you will not have time to think about the emperor' 'Enough, enough,' cried Leo, 'I am his majesty the emperor himself: deuce take the hour when I left my place of honour in my palace!' At that the jailer, thinking that he was telling lies: 'Do you expect me to believe that you are the emperor, a dirty rogue like you who squanders his substance with loose women Since your education in astrology has been neglected, I will give you a little savoir on that subject Ecoutez-moi At this moment Mars is in triangle, Saturn faces Venus, Jupiter is square, Mercury is unfavourable to you, the Sun is as round as a wheel, and the Moon is on the jump: bad luck threatens you and is near at hand' 'To prove that my words are true,' replied the emperor, 'as soon as they give the morning signal and it is safe for us, come with me to the palace and you will see that the omens then will be more favourable If you do not find that I am welcomed there as emperor, you may kill me on the spot. Murder itself is not a worse crime than to say that I am emperor if it is not the truth. Perhaps you are afraid of getting into trouble over this may God do this to me and worse, if you are not rewarded rather than punished.'

The jailer at last was convinced, and when the morning signal was given, he went with the emperor, as he had suggested, to the palace On their arrival his companion was received with every sign of respectful admiration, so that the jailer almost sank into the earth with astonishment. The high court dignitaries ran up before his eyes, showered compliments upon the emperor, took off his shoes for him, and bustled about doing various acts of service, while the poor man thought that he had better die at once. 'Consult the stars again,' said the emperor to him, 'and if you can declare correctly what luck will attend your arrival here, you will prove that you have a real knowledge of the augural art. But tell me first, pray, what is this sudden sickness that has made you turn so pale?'

'Clotho, Queen of the Fates,' replied the jailer, 'is ceasing now to spin for me; Lachesis refuses to trouble to twist the wool; Atropos, the most cruel of the three, her fingers on the distaff, is only waiting for your majesty's verdict to draw the threads together and break my life. As for my pale face, the reason for it is that my vital force has gone from my head and drawn the blood with it to the lower parts of my body.' At that the emperor with a smile replied: 'Take your vital force back, and with it this four pound bag of gold coins: as for myself, do not say a word to anyone except that I got away from prison.'

He then ordered that the guards who had let their prisoner go, and the others who had beaten and jailed him, should be brought into his presence On their appearance he said to them · 'While you were keeping guard and watch over the city, did you at any time come across any thieves or fornicators?' Those who had taken the bribe said that they had seen nothing: the others, who had beaten and jailed him, replied: 'Votre sacre majesté,' that is, 'Your sacred majesty gave orders that if your guards came across anyone roaming in the streets after dark, they were to arrest him, give him a thrashing, and put him in jail. In obedience to your commands therefore, most reverend lord, last night we arrested a fellow who was intending to scour the brothels and after we had whipped him we put him under lock and key, so that we might bring him before your sacred majesty' 'Quick,' said the emperor, 'let him be produced my imperial authority demands instant obedience.' The men hurried off at once to fetch their prisoner, and when they were told that he had escaped they returned half-dead to the palace They made their report to the emperor, who took off his cloak and showed them the cruel marks of their blows: 'Venez ici, n'ayez pas peur,' said he, that is, 'Come here and do not be afraid. I myself am the man whom you flogged and who you think has escaped from prison. I am quite sure and certain that it was not your emperor but your emperor's enemy that you intended to cudgel As for these men who let me go, not thinking I was the emperor but knowing that I was a robber who threatened my life, it is not only my majesty's wish, it is my definite command, that they be beaten till they are at death's door and then be deprived of all their goods and banished from the city To you others I give both money from my purse and also the property of these pernicious rogues.'

This is only one of the many stories with which Liutprand enlivens his narrative. To give them all would be as long a task as to pick out all the raisins from a generous plum-pudding. There is the tale of Leo's second exploit with the eleven sleeping and the one wakeful guard. There is the tale of Pope Sergius, who had the corpse of his predecessor Formosus exhumed, and, after dressing the body in pontifical vestments, threw it insultingly into the Tiber. There is the tale, told half in Latin and half in Greek, of Romanos, afterwards emperor, who, while serving under Leo, killed a monstrous lion and was rewarded by being made admiral of the fleet. There is the tale of the ingenious Greek wife and the arguments whereby she saved her husband, when he was taken prisoner by Tedbald, from being turned into a eunuch. There is the tale of Theodora, the common prostitute,

who got Rome under her control and finally succeeded in raising one of her lovers to the chair of St. Peter. The list might be extended indefinitely, but we must conclude with one of the historian's personal experiences.

It has been said that Liutprand visited Constantinople twice: of the second embassy he gives a full account in a separate work; the first he describes in the sixth book of the *Antapodosis*, which has unfortunately come down to us in fragments. One of them relates his reception by the Emperor Constantinus VII.

Before the emperor's seat stood a tree, made of bronze gilded over, whose branches were filled with birds, also made of gilded bronze, which uttered different cries each according to its varying species. The throne itself was so marvellously fashioned that at one moment it seemed a low structure, and at another it rose high into the air. It was of immense size and was guarded by lions, made either of bronze or of wood covered over with gold, who beat the ground with their tails and gave a dreadful roar with open mouth and quivering tongue. Leaning upon the shoulders of two eunuchs I was brought into the emperor's presence. At my approach the lions began to roar and the birds to cry out, each according to its kind, but I was neither terrified nor surprised, for I had previously made enquiry about all these things from people who were well acquainted with them. So after I had three times made obeisance to the emperor with my face upon the ground, I lifted my head, and behold! the man whom just before I had seen sitting on a moderately elevated seat had now changed his raiment and was sitting almost on the level of the ceiling. How it was done I could not imagine, unless perhaps he was lifted up by some such sort of device as we use for raising the timbers of a wine press. On that occasion he did not address me personally, since even if he had wished to do so the wide distance between us would have rendered conversation unseemly, but by the intermediary of a secretary he enquired about Berengar's doings and asked after his health. I replied to the best of my ability and then, at a nod from the interpreter, left his presence and retired to my lodging.

Liutprand and Hroswitha are the two brightest lights of the Ottonian Renaissance, that curious anticipation in the tenth century of the later revival of learning, when, under the patronage of Otto the Great, literature for a while flourished again, and something of the spirit of ancient culture returned in the midst of barbaric strife. The merits of Hroswitha as a dramatist are now generally recognised, and versions of her plays have been performed in London within recent years: Liutprand has been left in the obscurity of Latin and is far less known than he deserves. It is true that his account of his second embassy to Constantinople is available in English, but a translation of the *Antapodosis* is long overdue; and it would form a volume that would combine instruction with amusement. Until it appears, however, the extracts given here may perhaps afford some idea of the peculiar qualities of wit and humour that make Liutprand unique among Latin historians.

F. A. WRIGHT.

THE GENTLEMAN IDEAL

ALTHOUGH it has long been established that man has a very limited *rôle* to play in this universe compared with the vastness of the cosmic forces ranged against him, it is not by any means a consideration which need cause him any feeling of depression. Whether he is, or is not, the centre of this universe, from a scientific point of view, is of small importance compared with the power he possesses of placing himself, ethically and spiritually, in the centre, and by dint of calm determination remaining there unmoved. For that which is of importance to-day, and will be of importance to-morrow, is this very consideration of ethical humanity, by virtue of which man takes cognisance of the world about him and, while being fully aware of its greatness and power, does not allow it in the least to overwhelm or depreciate his own valuation of himself. This ethical humanity is man's birthright, and he takes possession of it by facing the world, probing it to its depths, and then returning again to himself as the one end worthy of his existence. This is the 'human' ideal, the ideal of human personality, in the name of which man regards himself as a final end, and by so doing pursues life as an art which he can create, and which has absolute value in itself. It is an ideal which has been set up frequently in the West, and under many names, but which, for the sake of greater generalisation, we shall denote by the simple phrases 'human ideal' or 'the gentleman ideal,' using this latter term, however, in its widest sense. It is the purpose of this essay to sketch in brief the development of this human ideal and, while describing its structure and meaning, to bring forward the hypothesis that, through the education of men, it may yet mean something of great importance for our modern world.

It was the social life of the Greek city State which first produced the type of being which we have tried to define by the term 'human ideal,' and it was in Athens in the fifth century B.C. that it first appeared. Once having been produced, it continued in life and survived, under various modifications, in the Roman Empire and in the Middle Ages until at the Renaissance, with renewed vitality and vigour, it began its last and perhaps

greatest lease of life. To-day, under the pressure of newer forms of civilisation, its reign would seem to be over, and its very existence threatened. In this respect the world is returning to pre-Athenian days, and to forms of life in which the human being is no longer regarded as an end in himself.

The first, and perhaps also the last, characteristic of the human ideal, or of the *kalos kai agathos*, as the Greek called him, is that he should not be stamped or marked by the pursuit of any profession or trade, but should be wholly himself, with a fully and harmoniously balanced personality. Professions and trades, or any defined way of life, since they represent ends outside the man, tend to warp and distort his personality, and therefore are to be eschewed. The end of life is living, and living is an art pursued ultimately for its own sake, not for utilitarian, nor even for transcendental (*i.e.*, religious), ends. Such, in brief, and without conscious design, was the aim of the Greeks in human education, and they succeeded in it because in Hellas, for the first time in history, the conditions of life allowed, and even conduced to, its production for at least a minority of the population. The men who conversed with Plato were, without knowing it, the first gentlemen, and they also embodied its highest ideal, which, indeed, was not always to be maintained. Their aim was to live as men, not as merchants or priests, but as complete men, and their occupation was to converse pleasantly with each other on the highest and noblest subjects which form the object of human conversation. Higher aims than this they did not know, and although they were prepared on occasion to fulfil any public duty that might be required of them, or even to die for the State in battle, they never became politicians or soldiers by profession. It is instructive, from this point of view, to read Pericles' famous funeral oration on the Athenian dead in the Peloponnesian War. All he says about the duties of men is this—Live nobly, fight decorously, and die like men. Success or failure and hopes or fears for the future of Athens are not mentioned. The oration and its exhortation are purely human; even death itself is a function in the art of living. And this is what is meant by the absolute value of the human ideal It has little to do with progress and is not greatly concerned with the future, but, on the other hand, it does look upon life as a noble end, and asserts that, by living it fully, man will by this very act guarantee the sanity of the future.

The type which was formed almost unconsciously in Greece was taken over very consciously by the military peasants of the Roman republic, who themselves would hardly have achieved it, and developed schematically under the rubric of an *ars vivendi*. It is well known to us from the writings of Cicero and

the group of friends around him; Cicero added to it a Stoic and Roman tinge, polished it with Roman urbanity, and removed from it any trace of local colour and provincialism which it might have retained. With the decay of city life under the empire the last traces of civic functionaryism were taken from it, and it retired for good to the villa, leisured, propertied, urbane, with a firm belief in the fullness and richness of life for its own sake In its highest form we may see it embodied in Marcus Aurelius, to whom the whole world was a Roman villa, wherein the gods had placed him, for good or for evil, to rule and live. Marcus Aurelius forms the link between antiquity and modern times, for, while the world to him, in the full classical sense, is a unity and a single whole, he nevertheless feels his own individuality in almost a modern sense. In him, as it were, the gentleman reached maturity, and a coming of age of no mean consideration. He closes the cycle of antiquity and begins a later day.

The Middle Ages, with all their veneer of formal Christianity, preserved in the ideal of the knight some conception of the older human philosophy. The knight likewise was leisured, independent and propertied, and if he had lost urbanity for a while he had gained in its place courtesy and loyalty. Courtesy and respect for woman, which the old human ideal had not known, was a grace acquired through Christianity and the cult of the Virgin, while loyalty, devotion of man to man, arose from feudalism and the Arab influence. Together these virtues are termed chivalry, and they represent an ennobling of the older ideal, as courtesy is nobler than urbanity, and Lancelot than King Admetos. The roving paladins of the Middle Ages, despite their 'essor' toward the Romanesque, had a meaning for the world, and the 'very parfit gentle knight' of Chaucer stands for a new epoch in the development of the gentleman ideal.

With the Renaissance the knight is brought into immediate contact with Cicero, and the two streams of Socrates and Lancelot are fused together into something which is new and yet not entirely different. There is a new city life, with an outward resemblance to that of antiquity, and with it a new urbanity At the same time horizons have widened, science and knowledge have deepened, and nations have arisen in the world each with its share in the new life. The old ideal, while preserving its antique and mediæval background, takes on a national colouring and absorbs what it can of the new knowledge. In Italy, where the ideal man was reconceived in the first flush of discovery, there appeared the *uomo universale*, 'the man who is everything and who can do all things,' the type of Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, and the Adam of Michael Angelo's Sistine Chapel. It was very human, almost superhuman, this new ideal,

ınd its placing of power and knowledge above goodness rendered t sometimes immoral (or, perhaps better, rather a-moral). Transerred to France, the same ideal is found again in the Gargantua ɔf Rabelais, and above all in the beautiful conception of the Abbey of Thelema, whose motto was '*Fais ce que voudras.*' 'Do what you wish.') 'Because,' says Rabelais, 'men who are ɔorn frank, noble and free, will never do ignoble things' These deals are ideals of the gentleman, because, like those of Socrates ınd Cicero, they form complete and balanced personalities, not narked or stamped by any one-sidedness The poet should ɔalance the scientist, the artist the soldier, and the result should ıot be poet or scientist, artist or soldier, but a man The conception, like the Gargantua and Pantagruel of Rabelais, the ɔrophets of Michael Angelo, and the men of Shakespeare, was gigantic in its aspirations, but it was the outcome of great ɔptimism, too great to be ever realised.

The hope of the Renaissance soon withered. The Reformation ınd the new centralised confessional Governments had little use or the mighty subjects that Michael Angelo and Rabelais would ıave bred for them. The aspirant to complete humanity must esign himself, like Montaigne in Périgord, to a milder ideal of nan, and in knowledge to a modest '*Que sçais-je?*' Montaigne is he first gentleman of modern France, and probably the first nodern to live the serene and restrained life of the gentleman of Hellas. He was a Roman Catholic, after the same fashion as Aurelius was a Stoic, and secluded in his unfortified chateau, ɔpen equally to Catholic or Protestant, he let the civil war rage ıs it would about him, finding the world, none the less for that, a ɔleasant place to live in. There was no bigotry in him, no overveening zeal for his country, but serenity, equanimity, and withal ı belief in justice and the Christian hope He created the ideal ɔf the '*honnête homme*,' which became, under Louis XIV, the ype of the French gentleman, and survived as a model to Europe, ıntil Rousseau and the French Revolution brought a new ideal nto the world.

In England we have the Elizabethan gentleman of the type of Raleigh and later, under the double influence of Anglican Proestantism and that of France, the type of the eighteenth century. ts great philosopher was Shaftesbury, who, like Montaigne in France, though less pre-eminently, crystallised the conception into ts final and enduring form. There is a good deal of Socrates n him, and a touch of Stoic pantheism, to which he added the English inheritance of sound common sense and something of he '*bon goût*' of the French. His doctrine of the gentleman, ıs enshrined in his great work *Characteristics*, may still be found exemplified in many Englishmen, and is probably the only ideal

of its kind which survives in life to-day, and it survives, we must add, with every increasing difficulty.

Lastly, there is the *kultur* of Weimar, the ideal of Goethe and Schiller, in which the Greek humanity ideal and its imitators seem to find their last and not least noble expression, for with them the life of the '*polis*' ends. Since Weimar there is nothing new to note, and a good deal has been eternally lost. There are imitations of Shaftesbury in New York and Boston, but they do not represent in any way the American spirit, while in Russia the aristocracy which took its cue from Montaigne and the Court of Versailles has succumbed once for all to the Soviet fury.

The great quality of the gentleman is his complete humanity, and his reconciliation with life as it is. By this is meant simply that, consciously or unconsciously, he regards man and the intercourse of man as ends, and final ends, in themselves. In him there is no trace of the fanatic, or of the ascetic, or the hero, and although, when necessity demands it, he will sacrifice his life for king, country and for religious ends, he does not regard sacrifice as the great human aim, but rather his aim is the living which precedes and includes it. This does not mean that he is not a Christian, nor that he has no belief in transcendental aims, but rather that he lets such things be, accepting his religion or his patriotism as part of his life and pushing it not too far He would willingly say with Montaigne, or with Marcus Aurelius, 'Vous avez fait votre profit de la vie. . . Faites place aux autres, comme d'autres vous l'ont faite. . . . Allez-vous-en satisfait.' And out of his complete humanity, out of his complete personality, which is not bound to any end, either commercial, professional, or religious, arises the lack of any mark or warp such as may be noticed in men who are devoted to some calling. A man who achieves this ideal is neither priest, merchant nor soldier, and he is unaware also of being a gentleman. For such an ideal no definition, strictly speaking, can be given, and in Plato, who originated it, no real definition is given. In the phrase of Marcus Aurelius (taken from Terence) he simply says' '*Homo sum; nihil humanum a me alienum puto*,' and Montaigne goes no further, 'taking pride, indeed, in being able to go so far.' For this is no easy achievement, but rather the hardest task in life.

The material requirements which Nature seems to demand for the production of this human ideal were pointed out long ago by Aristotle, and have hardly changed during the centuries. Freedom from the professional pursuits of life was to be assured by an adequate income leaving the gentleman free to develop himself harmoniously, whether to rule the city in the days when cities

could thus be ruled, or to live at his ease in the chateau or villa. From this antecedent requirement aristocratic birth and breeding are in a few generations the natural development. From this arises also, in the intercourse of men of like training, the ease of demeanour, good manners and fearlessness in human affairs which are the more outward acquirements of the type. And yet, in spite of Aristotle, these characteristics are really secondary. The man who can make life his servant can follow a certain career without being in any way marked by it, and can still achieve the balance of life we seek. Marcus Aurelius fought the German tribes for fifteen years without becoming a professional soldier, and could say at the end, as at the beginning, '*Homo sum*' Our own Sir Thomas Browne was a doctor by profession, but he was not the less a man of ideal personality, and the peasant and artisan who does not make a final end of his calling but rises humanly above it is already a gentleman in our sense of the word. The English lords of the eighteenth century ruled the land as statesmen, and commanded in the Army and the Church as soldiers and priests, without being marked by their career. It is this last consideration which gives us, in spite of our humanistic pessimism, some ray of hope for the future. Something may be lost as regards efficiency on this system, but efficiency is a modern conception and has little to do with the human ideal.

To-day this ideal is perishing and the tradition which continues from Plato to Goethe seems to be losing its power Although, as I have pointed out, a man can follow a definite pursuit and still be a gentleman if he remains unmarked by it, this is not an easy thing to do outside the Aristotelian requirements, and in the face of modern efficiency it would seem well-nigh impossible. From the point of view of national efficiency there is no doubt that frequently the gentleman was a parasite, and Rousseau, who was the first to trumpet forth brazen-tongued a new ideal, was no doubt working for the material good of the world. If the end of human life is for each man to do one piece of work and to do it well, then democracy can achieve it and does. The world becomes a conglomeration of engineers, scientists, and doctors, down to the labourer and peasant, each intent on his own work and performing it efficiently. A series of revolutions has thrown all careers open to those who are fitted for them, and that nation, *i.e.*, America, which has gone furthest in this direction is probably the most efficient of modern nations. The process began in France and finished, at least so far as the narrower human ideal is concerned, in Russia (where it is a positive danger to be a gentleman). Only in England, where the gentleman ideal was never completely dissociated from the people, and where it found some suitable work to do, does it still to some extent

survive, and here also it has sacrificed a goodly portion of its aims.

The new ideal is the technical expert, whether it be the man who knows how to run a big business on the one hand or, on the other, the man who is his servant, clerk, engineer, or workman. Across the Atlantic this ideal is the only ideal of the land, and it is rapidly becoming the ideal in Europe. Under modern economic conditions, where technical mastery over the forces of Nature plays such a large *rôle*, and where nations are in active and deadly competition in commercial efficiency, it seems hardly to be avoided. The very necessity of becoming expert in some direction prevents men from developing themselves harmoniously, and from early youth they are compelled to enslave themselves to an end which lies outside their personality and which is usually a material end. And this end, if any brief term can adequately describe it, may be summed up in the word 'production'; and there, if anywhere, is the very core of the problem. The immense capacity for production which the world has manifested in so startling a manner has led to an emphasis being placed, not on the object of the producing act, which is consumption (*i.e.*, life), but on the act of production itself. It has led, by its own momentum, as it were, to the emotional joy, almost rising to rapture, in economic statistics, world records in wheat production, automobile figures, and the other data which fill the columns of the modern newspaper. As a natural consequence there has arisen the curious and, in a sense, absurd spectacle of men, and even nations, competing to supply one another with the good things of life, and counting their prosperity by the amount they succeed in giving to each other at a minimum price. There arises, also, something worse than this—the spectacle of large numbers of men, in many parts of the world, reduced to poverty and economic distress by the very working out of this process. It is not the lack of corn or of coal in the world which leads to most distress, but the overlarge supply of it, not the production of wealth which is wanting, but the distribution of it, and between these two factors the vital and essential balance has been lost.

This is what is meant by the problem of distribution, and it is unfortunately a problem easier to indicate than to solve, for its many difficulties—political, social, as well as economic—cannot be explained away overnight nor solved by the easy phrases of the Bolsheviks. It is not so much a question of Tory policy or Labour policy, or any systematised policy at all, as a problem of psychology, of the aim in life which men have been taught to set themselves. Behind the difficulties of organisation lies this deeper problem, and it lies at the very root of the sickness of the world. It is not because men are

keen to compete in industry that industry leads to distress, but because they are too keen, not because they are efficient, but because they are too efficient, in one direction only. The stress and emphasis which ought to be laid on life itself is being placed with marvellous intensity of effort on the means to life, the production of wealth, and life in this one-sidedness of effort is in process of being forgotten. The enormous energy employed on the means leaves little surplus over for the end, and the problem of distribution, which is no less important than that of production, is left to be a mere result, almost a by-product, of production. The result of the process is the raising, as we have indicated, of the technical expert to the standard of a human ideal It has led also, by reaction, to the 'play for safety' mentality of modern life, the tendency to crowd into black-coated occupations manifested by all classes of society. The 'safe' professions, being at least superficially less mechanical, offer the appearance of a freer life than does the industrial world, and the individual feels that there, at least, he will have time to breathe. To exhort men to 'live dangerously' is not sufficient to change this attitude, since the joy of living dangerously, which is always its attraction, belongs only to the few who control machines, not to the many who are controlled. The workman, as a result, turns his children into clerks, and the middle class tend to seek similar safe occupations. They are governed by forces which lie beyond their reach, and these forces are the forces which 'produce' The stress which ought to be placed equally and harmoniously on action and repose, on work and play, has been displaced and the life of man put out of joint. This is surely wrong, even from the point of view of national prosperity, since, in the last resort, it is not the amount of trade which a nation does by which it can be judged—but the life it lives by means of it There is an art of action as well as of repose, and they are not separate one from another. When they are together harmony is restored.

The picture thus drawn of the world we live in is perhaps a little highly coloured and perhaps a little too generalised to be true of all parts of it, but few will deny that it describes, not inaccurately, the trend of civilisation to-day, and that the mechanisation of human life is proceeding at an alarming pace. Nor is the analogy of a machine at all far-fetched, for the great quality of a machine and the quality which constitutes its utility—*i.e.*, its working for a purpose outside itself—fits in very well with the main point at issue, that human life to-day has shifted its aim from itself to an aim outside itself, from just living, to living for the sake of an end (production). It does not follow, however—and the conclusion will not be drawn—that it is possible under modern conditions to set up such an ideal of the purely human

as the older type of the Greek *kalos kai agathos*, or the English gentleman; but it may, on the other hand, not be impossible to continue the human tradition in another form and thus, by giving back to man his birthright of living as a man, to restore a balance to human life. Through education, in its widest sense, we think it may yet be done.

If we examine the history of the 'gentleman' ideals—at least as it has been conceived in modern times—it will become evident that the process of forming these ideals is fundamentally nothing more nor less than a 'humanisation' of life, and that this humanisation occurs, and must occur, after every Renaissance, if man is to remain the centre of his universe. In the rise of chivalry and the knight ideal we have witnessed already a 'humanisation of life' of the sort which is meant, in that the knight assimilated just as much of the other-worldliness of a religious age as he required in order to live as a man. He did not become a saint, as the world demanded of him, and he did not remain the barbarian he had been, but he struck the right average between the two to enable him, while remaining in touch with his age, to remain also a human being. Not dissimilar was the humanisation[1] which was bound to follow on the discoveries of the Renaissance. The work of the educationalists of that period was to produce, out of the chaotic mass of new learning, new knowledge and new power, a type of man who could, as it were, assimilate what he needed in order to live well, and, while not opposing Nature, still remain the centre of it. The *uomo universale* of the Italians and of Rabelais was a superhuman effort in this direction, and it failed because, by being superhuman, it was not human enough. On the other hand, the ideal of Montaigne and of Shaftesbury has survived down to our own time and has only broken down because the imperative claims of a still newer science demand a new type of humanism. And just as these later Renaissance men synthesised life and education in the gentleman, just as, still earlier, chivalry synthesised life and education in the knight, so to-day we are faced with a great need, the need of a new human ideal, which will, somehow, reconcile a mechanised world with the demands of human personality, and place man once more in the centre of his universe.

Education, we hold, may do it, but it will not do it if education, as hitherto, continues to imitate life, and it will not do it unless the mentality of some adults at least can be changed. For this reason the present interest and development of education in schools will not necessarily lead to it. In

[1] The humanity of Socrates bears a similar relation to the philosophy of his predecessors.

America there is great interest in children, and children are encouraged to develop their personality to the full, but none the less, curiously enough, children issue from American schools more stamped with a common sameness than those of Europe. Probably this is because American educationalists are so stamped with the impression of American life that they carry it unwittingly into their schemes of education and leave it there, thus being caught, as it were, in a vicious circle. To make this point clearer we will try to define clearly what is the nature and aim of education. Education is a process of assimilation, through which all men go, and, in a sense, never cease to go, but which is particularly important, owing to greater assimilative faculty, during the age of youth. And this process of assimilation is nothing more nor less than a humanisation of the universe on the part of man, not essentially different from others which have occurred in the history of Europe, and which consists in striking the right average, or balance, between life as the world presents it and the needs of human personality. Humanisation is the nature of the process, and its end is perfect humanity, an aim, in fact, which lies within and not without the powers of men Education is not, as sometimes regarded, a process whose end is to produce good citizens, or devout sectarians, nor is it a process directed towards the training of technical experts in industry. All these 'ends' may enter into the process, and should certainly do so, but to make them the end itself is to reduce humanity to servitude We have passed through the ages when patriotism and theology were regarded as the end of education (although it is a regrettable fact that some nations are still in the former stage), and we stand now under the influence of the economic stage, in which, as we have seen, production is the aim of life and the economic or technical man the human ideal. That this is wrong surely cannot be denied, and to the lack of balance to which such a view leads, to the emphasis on the part rather than the whole, can, in large measure, be attributed the psychological sickness which to-day enfeebles the world. Men are needed who will be good citizens, who will be religious in the best sense, and who will do their work well, not because they regard any of these as the end of life, but because by living fully and harmoniously they will naturally do all these things: men who will not set their energy to become efficient and then to be men, but to be men first and then efficient. This would denote a change of attitude and a lifting of the mentality of the universe, which is no small thing to demand. It would imply, among other things in the economic sphere, a shifting of emphasis from production to distribution, which we hold to be one of the world's greatest needs. It would apply to rich and poor alike, high and low, and if it once could become the attitude of those in

high places it might effect that humanisation of a mechanical world which is the one virtue the world sadly needs.

On the school itself which shall carry out this process a separate study might be written, but a few words may not be out of place here. A school, in the first place, should not be regarded as a sort of training house or antechamber to adult life. It fulfils this function, but it does it, as it were, 'in its stride,' not as its conscious aim or purpose. To give it such an aim is to wrench it from its own centre and to defeat the aim itself, for it must surely be true that only children who have learnt to live fully as children will know how to live fully in adult life. School is life itself, and childhood should no more be sacrificed to manhood than in its turn manhood should be sacrificed to old age. Children should not be told that the aim of their education is to enable them to pursue with success some definite career, nor should any model of a successful man be held up before them. These points are so fundamental, and so important in their bearing on a child's attitude towards modern life, that I venture to lay special emphasis on them, even going so far as to recommend them to headmasters and directors of education. Secondly, humanity in a school is not so much a question of curriculum as of the human relations between those who are engaged in dealing with it. The modern curriculum in any case has come to stay, and no power on earth can or should remove it. I would ask only that the subjects which deal with human relations, such as history, biography and literature, should not yield to any further demands on the part of new sciences. Of far greater importance, however, is the teaching of certain human qualities, such as tolerance, fearlessness, and wisdom in human intercourse, which can only be evolved in human relationships between child and child, teacher and pupil. This humanisation, once established in childhood, might lead to an ideal of childhood which attains the balance we need, and would tend to perpetuate itself in later life, whatever pursuit the child may adopt.

I return, then, as far as I may, to the unmarked, balanced man of antiquity, but I may add also two modern virtues—one co-operation and the other democracy. Co-operation because the world has no more place for the old individualism, and democracy because the world is democratic. Montaigne must no longer retire to his chateau in Périgord, and the life which Plato gave to a few must be given to all. The school must live this life, and by striking the right average between education and life, between man and the universe, restore in some measure to the world the balance it has lost.

To live humanly, then, is our watchword. It is a better injunction than to 'live dangerously,' for reasons that have been

given, and one day it may well make a dangerous life again possible. It is better also than the living for service which is so often preached, for the use of this word and of its connotation 'uplift' has wearied a disillusioned generation He who lives humanly will not fail to serve others, not by conscious aim, but by virtue of his own humanity, and this is the only true service And, lastly, to those who call this ideal 'pagan' because it seems to close the human circle round humanity the answer is as follows: If there is a transcendental end beyond life, it will be found through perfect humanity, and not by other means Life is surely worth living, or else it had never been given, and when finally it comes to an end we may depart from it, remembering the words of a noble pagan who also had thought upon this: 'Depart thou then satisfied, for He also who releases thee is satisfied.'

F McEACHRAN

THE RELIGION OF THE COUNTRYSIDE

THERE are two types or aspects of religion which, though easily reconcilable, and, in fact, reconciled to some extent in the lives of most religious people, are yet quite distinct. They are equally necessary to the fulness of religion; and Catholic Christianity at its best—say, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries—may be thought to represent the highest point which the religious experience of the race has yet reached, because it succeeded in combining the two elements in an almost perfect harmony. Religion comes to man with two gifts—peace and a sword: on the one hand the spirit of acquiescence and submission, on the other the spirit of unconquerable and unappeasable aspiration. The one is apt to take the form of institutionalism; the other urges prophets and reformers to their tiresome but necessary work. The one is static, the other dynamic.

There is a disposition at the present day, at least in England, to over-emphasise the dynamic aspect of religion; to dwell almost exclusively on the need for spiritual, moral and social strenuousness. This leads, in many minds, to a confusion between religion and morality—Christianity is reduced to an ideal of 'service'; and nothing is commoner than to hear it said, in one form of words or another, that the highest religion is to do good to others. Confused thinking, even when practised from the highest motives, never did any good to anyone; and both religion and morality will be found in the long run to have suffered from the attempt, initiated in the eighteenth century, to obliterate the distinction between them.

Let us get down to bed-rock. A naked and bloodthirsty savage dancing round a totem-pole (if he thinks that he will thereby please his totem) is performing a religious action: a boy scout piloting an old lady across the street (unless he does it to please God) is not. Doubtless the boy scout's behaviour is the more admirable, but that is not the question. Religion in its most simple and universal form has lately been described as a sense of 'the numinous'—a recognition by man that he is in the presence of a mysterious power, other and greater than himself, between which and himself there exists nevertheless a relation that must

be called, in some sense, personal. Nothing short of this, no service to an ideal, however lofty, unless it includes a feeling of abasement before a mightier personality, is entitled to the name of religion. 'Numinous' is a word of Latin origin, *numen* being the term employed by the Romans to denote divinity in general. They would say of a grove which inspired the specific religious awe, '*Numen inest*' ('Deity is here'). In the words which Virgil puts into the mouth of Evander—

> Some God, they knew (what God they could not tell),
> Did there amidst the sacred horror dwell.

There can be little doubt that this numinous element is rapidly disappearing from modern life, even from the lives of religious people; nor are the reasons of its disappearance far to seek. Not only has science weakened the sense of mystery by 'explaining' so many phenomena that we are prone to forget how much she cannot explain, but the champions of religion themselves deliberately minimise the mystery which is after all inseparable from religion. In their anxiety to 'put the ark of God where the Philistines cannot get at it' they lay all the stress on the inner life—the life of moral and spiritual aspiration—and seek all their evidences in that region. It is true, of course, that the inner life is itself mysterious, in one meaning of the term, but hardly more so than the life of the physical universe, for the inner kingdom, no less than the outer, is subject to laws which are ascertainable up to a point, and, *pro tanto*, no longer mysterious. But the true realm of mystery is where inner and outer meet, so that the Prayer Book definition of a sacrament will serve almost equally well for a mystery—it is the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace or power. Nature in fact, or anything else, is truly mysterious only when it is viewed, so to speak, sacramentally. Hence the fanatic aversion from any approach to sacramental doctrine which is manifested by rationalising theologians

Consistently with this view we find that the sentiment of the numinous has always attached itself to particular places and things—the dark grove or grotto, or the stone that has been struck by lightning. Primitive religion, as we are so often told, is grossly materialistic; and even in the most advanced and pure religions, though they may try to rid themselves of materialism, a special sanctity clings irresistibly to places—to the naked kirk on the mountain-side, or the meeting-house at Jordans, as it does to St. Peter's or the Holy Sepulchre.

The concept of natural law has almost destroyed the belief in a 'particular providence.' The phenomena of external Nature, including the events of our individual lives, are felt to be so indissolubly bound in the chain of causation that few people

would expect any direct interference with the course of events in answer to their prayers, or would acknowledge the judgment of God in any disaster that befell a particular person. Apart from the spread of scientific ideas, the harsh experiences of the war forced on millions of people the conclusion that, for what concerns the changes and chances of this mortal life, the individual is at the mercy of forces which are indifferent to him. It may be that so much can be admitted without prejudice to the essence of religion, but it is unquestionable that its numinous aspect is hopelessly impoverished by the surrender of the whole outward realm to the sway of impersonal forces.

Urban life, even without the special influences we have been considering, has always been inimical to the growth of mystery, and life is becoming daily more urban or sub-urban. The sense of the numinous is atrophied in the town-dweller, because he is so seldom brought into direct contact with the elemental forces, which, so far as one can judge, were among the first objects that elicited the feeling of religious awe; and this artificial isolation is rendered more complete by every advance in mechanisation. How complete it is can be gauged by anyone who will walk for a mile in the dead of night along a country lane and contrast that breathing darkness with the lighted streets of a town

To some extent the loss is compensated by that appreciation of the wilder kinds of natural beauty which the modern world owes to the Romantic movement. 'The pleasure in the pathless woods' and 'the rapture by the lonely shore,' which used to be the privilege of a Childe Harold or a René, are now shared by myriads of unpretentious and steady-going people. This sort of Nature worship is, indeed, the chief, if not the only, spiritual gain that has accrued to man from the industrial revolution. Since we have been condemned to live in what Cobbett called hell-holes, we have learned to value the solitude and majesty of the mountains and the sea more than all the earlier generations of mankind, and it is well to have one's spiritual instincts roused by the sight of the Alps or the Cornish cliffs, if they will respond to no milder stimulus. But we may be overhasty in assuming that our love for such scenery is an infallible proof of superiority to our ancestors. It is due, after all, to a reaction; and is liable to the danger of all reactions, that of running into an extreme. We are no longer, it is true, afraid of extremes in our emotional or intellectual life, because the very idea of balance and proportion as desirable qualities has disappeared from the general mind; but the general mind may be the poorer for its disappearance. Moreover, the modern feeling for Nature has one definite weakness—it is infected with Pantheism, and Pantheism is in the last resort a disease of the moral life. It claims to see God in every-

thing, and is compelled by its own logic to see Him equally in everything, in evil as in good; and this is to destroy morality at the root.

In discussing this type of religious feeling we are dealing with one of the most considerable forces in the spiritual life of the modern world. It would scarcely be too much to say of the majority of educated people that their need of the numinous finds its chief satisfaction in communion with Nature. So far as the life of inward struggle and aspiration is concerned they may have recourse to the ministrations of the Churches, or they may rely on the moral and theological aids they have fashioned for themselves, but for appeasement and consolation and the renewal of the soul they turn to the bosom of Nature. Francis Thompson was no mere sentimentalist, and he has recorded in the earlier strophes of *The Hound of Heaven* his own wanderings on that quest, and his discovery that Nature was but a stepmother after all:

> Never did any milk of hers once bless
> My thirsting mouth

The vogue of W. H. Hudson is mainly due to the same cause; and the innumerable pages of the late A C Benson are more than half filled with repetitions of the single theme, that peace and quietude are to be found only in the contemplation of Nature and her unending process of renewal and decay. The enormous popularity of the latter writer is evidence enough that the new paganism no longer appeals to a few intellectuals only

I have called the numinous the static element in religion because it consists simply in the appropriate recognition of an external Power, absolutely independent of the worshipper, though he is as absolutely dependent on It. Now, in a great deal that passes for religion at the present day—incredible as it may sound—this reciprocal relation is, to all intents and purposes, reversed. Not the least remarkable invention of modern times was a God who was indebted to his worshippers for such existence as he possessed This was the singular plight of Mr Wells' Invisible King; and there was much to the same effect in the curious theological essays of Professor William James. But, quite apart from the aberrations of Pragmatism and similar philosophies, the bulk of recent religious writing, whether doctrinal or hortatory, is marked by an extreme subjectivity. The evidences of religion, as we have already noted, are sought almost exclusively in religious experience. Such evidence is doubtless of the greatest possible value, but it unmistakably throws the seeker back on himself, or on the recorded experiences of other men. Above all, it makes the religious life a matter of unremit-

ting effort and tension. Unfortunately that is also the character of secular life for most of us under modern conditions, so that religion comes in many cases to resemble the flogging of a tired horse. It is, therefore, hardly surprising that many churches are empty. They are offering a dynamic religion to men who are, above all, in need of rest—a subjective religion to men who desire most to be taken out of themselves.

There is, in fact, a widespread craving for some entirely objective embodiment of the beauty and mystery for which our souls hunger—for some divine reality which shall impose itself, without possibility of question, on mind and heart and senses alike. For it is of the essence of the numinous that it cometh not with observation: it is not to be found at the conclusion of a chain of inference; nor must it be dimly descried as the goal of moral effort. It must be immediately—I had almost said sensibly—apprehended, or not at all. On the other hand, our awareness of it is readily distinguished from mystical experiences, properly so called, because the mystic's vision (so far as the ordinary man can judge) always involves a consciousness of union, more or less complete, with its Object; whereas the feeling of which we are speaking is elicited by something that remains strictly external to ourselves. The numinous deity is (to speak philosophically) transcendent rather than immanent.

The intellectual difficulties which surround belief in such a deity, in a God who manifests Himself in the external order, have already been suggested, nor shall I attempt to meet them by argument. I am concerned only with the fact that religious experience of a type congruous with this belief is extremely common at the present day. It may be called briefly, and not inaccurately, paganism. It will be objected that there is nothing specifically religious about the communion with, or contemplation of, Nature that is so widely prevalent, because it does not entail the recognition of any but impersonal forces behind the solemn or lovely aspects of the physical universe. Where it rises higher than a merely æsthetic enjoyment, it consists in an intellectual apprehension of the majesty of natural law.

In order to meet this objection squarely it is necessary to distinguish certain well-defined classes among those who share in the modern passion for Nature. At the one end of the scale will be the many orthodox believers who are almost equally conscious of the divine presence in places consecrated to religion and in the unspoilt country: at the other will be those who, like Mr. Housman or Thomas Hardy, combine an intense delight in rural solitudes with a philosophy of bleak despair. The remainder can be roughly divided into the two classes of the sentimentalists and the intellectuals. The former of these is the most numerous,

comprising, probably, the great majority of those who care for Nature in any real sense; and, being the most numerous, it is also for our purpose the most important, since it represents the attitude of the average modern man. Nor can there be much doubt that that attitude is genuinely, if vaguely, religious. The matter is hardly susceptible of proof; but the whole tone of popular literature in regard to sunsets and similar phenomena is inexplicable except on the supposition that the ordinary man still finds in natural beauty the evidences of a beneficent Power at work in the universe. Some lines of Professor Carruth's, which have found a legitimate place in many common-place books, may be taken as typical of this phase of thought and emotion:

A haze on the fair horizon,
  The infinite, tender sky,
The ripe, rich tints of the cornfield,
  And the wild geese sailing high,
And all over upland and lowland
  The charm of the golden rod—
Some of us call it autumn,
  And others call it God

With the intellectuals the case is somewhat different. They share the emotions of the last class, but they have received a critical training which leads them to distrust their emotions—at least, until they have justified them in some sort at the bar of reason. Such people have generally a preference for the severer types of beauty, and would be reluctant to admit that beauty was an evidence of anything beyond itself. Hence in regard to them there is a real doubt whether their feelings can properly be described as religious. Yet, unless one is forearmed with a pessimistic philosophy, it is difficult to return a negative answer to the question whether beauty has a message for the soul of man, while a message that comes from nowhere and conveys nothing is sheer nonsense. That the beauty of the world is a subjective illusion, born of a biological congruity between man and his environment, is indeed a tenable theory, in the sense that it can be stated without self-contradiction, but surely in no other sense. In default of such a theory the intellectual cannot escape the admission that the material universe is a vehicle of spiritual values, which is the main contention of sacramentalism. He may be religious *malgré lui*, but he is still religious, for he worships a beauty which he has not made; and beauty is the surest possible evidence of a creative purpose.

If we have established the existence of a large amount of nebulous religious feeling (which we have agreed to call paganism) as a fact of contemporary psychology, it may not be amiss to examine the fact a little more closely and consider whether it

cannot be turned to some profitable account. The forces which make against irreligion are not so numerous or so powerful in modern society that we can afford to neglect any of them. It is not a question of starting some fantastic Nature-cult—though that might be made a paying proposition—but of giving precision and direction to influences that are already at work. Moreover, the experiment has been made before, and made successfully, in circumstances that were at least equally discouraging.

As heirs of the Romantic movement we are apt to forget that it was not the first, nor even perhaps the most effective, movement of the kind. The Emperor Augustus assumed control of the Roman world after a series of catastrophes not less shattering in their total effect than the late war. His mission was to restore peace to a society racked by a century of futile and sanguinary revolutions—a society disillusioned, embittered and sceptical of good; and he was able to feel, and place on record, at the end of his long life, that that mission had been marvellously fulfilled. Yet the *Pax Romana*, which made the world safe for civilisation, was only one side, and the less remarkable side, of his work as a peace-maker. A spiritual as well as a material calm descended upon the Roman world during his reign. In part it was, no doubt, the calm of exhaustion; in part the gross placidity of men who felt that nothing was worth worrying about so long as a quiet and comfortable life was assured them. But such causes are inadequate, by themselves, to account for one of the strangest psychological changes recorded in history. Augustus set himself to revive the State religion—a religion in which neither he nor any other educated person believed; though that mattered the less, as it was purely a religion of ritual and institution. The astonishing thing is that in his time a revival of religion in general began which was sufficiently real to change the sceptical society of 30 B.C. into a society of believers by the time of Marcus Aurelius, a bare 200 years later. The beliefs which were then held were numerous, heterogeneous, and, for the most part, not elevating, but at least man had come once more to acknowledge the presence of the numinous in his daily walk—a condition of which Christianity was to take the noblest advantage.

A multitude of diverse influences contributed to bring about this change, but one of the most powerful, and quite the most salutary, was that renascence of paganism pure and simple, the religion of the countryside, which was initiated by Virgil and other members of the Augustan circle. Marcus Aurelius, in his *Conversations with Himself*, says quite casually and abruptly: 'They seek out for themselves retreats in the country, on sea-shores and mountains: and thou thyself art wont to yearn most earnestly for such things. But this is after all but a vulgar

fancy.' Could there be clearer evidence of a fashionable craze for communion with Nature? Such was the reverberation, after nearly two centuries, of the note struck by Virgil in his *Bucolics* and *Georgics*.

Considering the part played by Latin poetry in Roman education, the popularity (amounting to veneration) which Virgil enjoyed from the beginning, and the fascination which his style exerted on later prose writers as well as poets, we should hardly err in describing him as, in his day, which lasted for several centuries, one of the most influential writers that the world has seen. He did for his own generation, and those that followed, what Rousseau and a succession of great men, from Wordsworth to Thomas Hardy, have done for us. he sent them back to Nature.

He did it, however, with a difference, which has been reckoned as the great defect in his work. The country which he loved so passionately, and of which he sang so persuasively, was not the virgin earth, ' the waste of sea and forest,' but the land which his yeoman ancestors had tilled, and covered with corn and vine, with flocks and herds and ancient homesteads Here we have undoubtedly one of the causes which led to a marked decline in his reputation during the nineteenth century, when for the first time competent critics were tempted to rank him below the more fiery and primitive Lucretius, and when it seemed inexplicable that he should once have been thought the equal or the superior of Homer. The scenery of the *Georgics* and the *Æneid* is ' tame ' ; and though the quiet country life which he depicts was admittedly charming and delightful, it seemed fragile and unreal as a china shepherdess. A Nature so trimmed and civilised, it was felt, could have no valid message for the soul of man. It was, from the first, a cardinal doctrine with the Romantic school that nothing, except what was elemental, was truly natural or, in the last resort, real; and this doctrine seemed to be immensely reinforced by the theory of Evolution and by the scientific study of origins in every field.

Of late years, however, a certain reaction has set in. It is being slowly realised that the concept of ' Nature '—the most confusing in the history of thought—cannot be safely used as affording a standard of either truth or goodness ' Back to Nature ' would seem to mean, if we are to be logical, ' back to protoplasm,' or even ' to the atom ' ; and that is an ideal which hardly seems worth pursuing, even to the most scientifically or realistically minded among us. Simultaneously a very striking change is observable in the attitude of Nature lovers, at least in England. In a letter to *The Times* of July 26 Mr. Galsworthy describes the Sussex Downs as ' the most spiritual feature in all

English scenery.' Such a statement would have sounded like rank blasphemy in the ears of Ruskin, but it reflects a very large mass of cultivated opinion at the present day. It symbolises the return from Wordsworth or Shelley to Virgil; for the Downs, with the Weald to the north and the sea plain to the south, are the most placid and humanised hills in England, and therefore probably in the world.

Mr. Galsworthy's testimony is the more valuable in that he is fundamentally as pessimistic as Mr. Housman or Thomas Hardy. But to appreciate the full import of the revolution in taste (to use a feeble word for want of a better) which is taking place, one should consider the influence of writers like Belloc and Kipling, whose outlook is frankly religious and optimistic, and, in the case of the former, definitely Christian and orthodox. The feelings with which they contemplate rural England are simply and undeniably numinous, in the full sense. To them the country, 'made land all, that our fathers made,' is a symbol, and more than a mere symbol, a sacrament or mystery of the goodness of God—not, be it noted, of a remote or formless Power, but of a God whose 'delight is with the sons of men.' With them, as with Virgil, it is precisely the human associations of the scenery—the co-operation, so to speak, of man with God in the shaping and colouring of the beloved landscape—that give it its religious value. Two quotations will serve to illustrate the point:

So to the land our hearts we give,
Till the sure magic strike,
And memory, use and love make live
Us and our fields alike.
Till, deeper than the reach of thought,
Beyond our reason's sway,
Clay of the pit whence we were wrought
Yearns to its fellow-clay.

And again:

He does not die who can bequeath
Some influence to the land he knows,
Or dares, persistent, inter-wreath
Love permanent with the wild hedge-rows.
He does not die, but still remains
Substantiate with his darling plains.

Add the power of 'memory, use and love' to the Romantic cult of Nature, and you get the religion of Virgil, or, as it might be called, paganism in its purest and least questionable shape—a much lower thing than Christianity, yet possessing affinities with Christianity which can scarcely be denied, since all the Christian centuries were unanimous in hailing Virgil as a prophet. Such

pagan sentiment is, in fact, as Pater said, 'a part of the eternal basis of all religions, modified indeed by changes of time and place, but indestructible, because its root is so deep in the earth of man's nature.' It is definitely not pantheistic, because Pantheism cannot, if it is to be consistent with itself, recognise distinctions of value, or regard the star as more divine than the clod, the smiling landscape as better than the calcined desert, whereas a true paganism acknowledges the divine blessing in fruitful harvests and peaceable habitations

Hence it embodies the element of tradition, the sense of continuity, which is so deplorably missing from most attempts at the revival or 'restatement' of religion It is humanistic in the fullest sense, because it depends largely on a recognition of the beauty and goodness that man, in harmony with Nature and with Time, has created in his environment We have already noticed that a halt has perforce been called in the movement back to Nature, since it was seen to involve either endless regress, or at best a return to the sub-human and non-rational For a while there was a tendency, not perhaps wholly exhausted, to react in the opposite direction, to babble of the superman, and to dream of a Golden Age in the future instead of the past, but, for obvious reasons, a slump in 'futures' has set in, from which they are not likely to recover On the whole it seems probable that we shall be driven to revise our conception of Nature, and, instead of identifying it with the primitive or the original, to interpret it on Aristotelian lines, and to hold that a thing is truly natural only when it has attained its proper 'end' or 'form' With such a doctrine the religion of the countryside would find itself in complete accord, for it is committed to a belief, not by any means in the superiority of the good old times, but in a common humanity linking us with the dead generations, who loved and fashioned the countryside, by feelings which spring from the very depths of our being To stand in the twilight of some little Norman chancel, or among the fragmentary pavements of a Roman villa, or even on the thyme-scented turf of a Neolithic encampment, is to be poignantly aware of the continuity of human life and of our identity, in all that deeply matters, with our remotest forefathers. And this consciousness, which is vivid and intense at particular times and places, is faintly but ubiquitously present in our normal, everyday apprehension of the mellow and ordered beauty of rural England As an American writer has said, 'The green fields and golden slopes of England are dearer, both to the inward and the outward eye, because the hand of man has immemorially cared for and caressed them'

It may still seem to many that there is little that is positively religious in a paganism of this kind. Religion is to them a direct

relation between God and the soul, and has its being in a region immeasurably remote from such æsthetic reverie. This may be true in idea; but in fact, and in history, that relation has nearly always been mediated by a multitude of agencies, of which local association has commonly been among the most powerful.

Another element that is to be found in most religions is that sense of solidarity with one's natural or spiritual ancestors which in Christianity has given rise to the doctrine of the Communion of Saints. It should scarcely be necessary, after what has been said, to emphasise how fully both these fundamental instincts are satisfied in the religion of the countryside. What is needed by the myriads in whom a love of the country is the strongest surviving spiritual force is a clearer recognition of the religious character of that emotion.

There is a certain irony in the reflection that, while many of the most 'high-falutin,' and often nonsensical, expressions of Romantic Pantheism are quoted with unction from Christian pulpits every Sunday in the year, hands and eyebrows would be lifted by the thousand at the utterance of a little healthy paganism from the same quarter. Compare these two passages from Wordsworth and Kipling:

> One impulse from a vernal wood
> Will teach you more of man,
> Of moral evil and of good
> Than all the sages can.

And:

> Take of English earth as much
> As either hand may rightly clutch.
> In the taking of it breathe
> Prayer for all that lie beneath.
> Not the great nor well-bespoke,
> But the mere uncounted folk,
> Of whose life and death is none
> Report or lamentation.
> Lay this earth upon thy heart,
> And thy sickness shall depart.

The second is more religious, more Christian, and philosophically more defensible, nor is the first much better poetry. It is also more recent, which is a healthy sign; but you are not likely to hear it in church, where you have probably heard the other a dozen times.

The explanation is to be found in the modern tendency, noticed in the beginning of this article, to eliminate the numinous element from life and thought. There are, however, as we have seen, indications that this tendency is weakening. Pantheism of the type of Wordsworth or Shelley is popular because, while

really excluding the numinous, it seems to offer an easy substitute for, or approach to, religion. But, if we will face the truth, this is only because it amounts, at bottom, to very little. It is 'a tale of little meaning, though the words are strong'; and so it supplies a neutral meeting-ground for Christian theologians and 'tough-minded' scientists, who agree for the nonce to make a solitude, from which even God is absent, and call it peace The paganism which I have attempted to describe is, by comparison, a real and solid religion, with implications that are worth thinking out, and it is unconsciously held and practised by thousands of people. At least it deserves to be distinguished from the feebler forms of Nature worship A proper comprehension of its doctrines would lend guidance as well as inspiration to the admirable movement for the preservation of the countryside It would remind us that a fertile acre in Sussex may be spiritually more valuable, as it is certainly in greater danger of desecration, than a barren mountain-top in Cumberland

PHILIP S RICHARDS.

CORRESPONDENCE

'THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE IMPERIAL'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER

SIR,—The production of M Rostand's play *Napoleon IV* almost immediately after the appearance of the article on 'The Death of the Prince Imperial' which I had the honour of contributing to the *Nineteenth Century and After*[1] has caused several people to write to me upon points connected with the tragedy I shall be grateful if you will allow me to reply to such queries through your correspondence pages.

What are the exact circumstances concerning the failure of the Prince to mount? It is certain (*a*) that the Prince was a small man and that the horse was a big horse, (*b*) that the Prince at first tried to mount in the normal manner by the stirrup, (*c*) that the horse sidled away from the Prince. What happened immediately afterwards can only be conjectured, but after a thorough consideration of the evidence available, and consultation with experienced cavalry and mounted infantry soldiers, I have formed the following conclusion While the Prince was trying to get his horse to stand, the volley came The horse plunged madly and the Prince immediately flung himself upon his horse ('vaulted,' if you like), and was borne away in this condition, lying across the horse, for some distance from the kraal A trooper of the escort was in a similar predicament But whereas the trooper managed to climb into the saddle, the Prince failed to do so A strap connecting the two holsters was afterwards found to be broken, and it is surmised that, owing to this, the Prince fell to the ground This, however, is merely conjecture

Is there any foundation for the suggestion that a cut girth—as referred to by M Rostand—was responsible? None whatever When the fleet footed Zulu pursuers had been shaken off, the corporal of the escort caught the (riderless) horse of the Prince and rode it back to camp, mostly at a gallop, without any change or alteration of the saddle

Who was actually in command of the ill-fated party? I have failed in my article if I have left the reader under any other impression but that the Prince Imperial was *de facto*, though not *de jure*, in command Against this, two pieces of evidence have since been adduced of these I was cognisant at the time of writing the article, but—as you will remember—I had to make large cuts in order to reduce the article to reasonable dimensions.

The evidence referred to consists of (*a*) a letter written by Lieutenant Carey to his wife on the night of the tragedy, and (*b*) a note alleged to have been discovered in the Prince Imperial's kit.

[1] June 1928.

As regards (*a*), this letter has recently been published with the announcement that now for the first time it has been made public This is not quite correct. Many years ago Archibald Forbes was shown the original, and he gives the gist of it in *Barracks, Bivouacs and Battles* There is, however, nothing in the letter of any real value as evidence as to the actual command. It was hurriedly written by Lieutenant Carey under the stress of great emotion, and, although some statements may be twisted into an admission of responsibility, a fairer judgment would be that a letter written in such circumstances is not evidence in the sense in which Lieutenant Carey's subsequent reasoned statement, and his cross-examination of witnesses, at the subsequent court-martial, can be so considered

As regards (*b*), this refers to a page from a notebook of the Prince Imperial alleged to have been found in the ticket-pocket of a light waterproof when his kit had been sent home to Chislehurst The page contains a sketch and an entry referring to 'Captain' Carey, with the date June 1, 1879—that of the tragedy It does not seem to have occurred to anyone that the Prince had never heard Carey called 'Captain' in his life The Prince was killed on June 1 The promotion of Lieutenant Carey did not appear in the *London Gazette* until June 5 He did not hold the local, temporary, or honorary rank of captain

When, however, the news of the tragedy reached England, about June 20 (there was no direct communication then with South Africa by cable) Carey was of course a captain and was always referred to in England as Captain Carey

If any lawyer reads this letter he will be interested in comparing the following —

1 'Original page,' as given to Sir Evelyn Wood 'ist June Started from Itelezi to find camping ground for 2nd Division Party under Captain Carey '[2]

2 'Fac-simile' (*sic*) made for Sir Lintorn Simmons 'ist of June Started from Koppie Allein to find camping ground for 2nd Division with E (*sic*, = escort) under Cap Carrey' (*sic*)[3]

'Captain Carey was court-martialled, but suffered no penalty because the Empress Eugénie interceded for him with Queen Victoria' A statement constantly made Entirely inaccurate He 'suffered no penalty' for the simple reason that the Judge Advocate-General informed the Queen that the charge of misbehaviour before the enemy was not borne out by the evidence. The whole proceedings were therefore quashed To omit to state this is an abominable injustice to the unfortunate Carey

Yours truly,

F E Whitton

Casilla, West Byfleet, Surrey, Nov 3, 1928

[2] See *From Midshipman to Field Marshal*, by Sir Evelyn Wood, p 102 The author does not mention here, or elsewhere in the book, the name 'Carey,' but from the context the missing word is obvious

[3] The *Morning Post*, November 2, 1928

'ROBERT POLEY: AN ASSOCIATE OF MARLOWE'

To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER.

SIR,—I have to thank Miss Eugénie de Kalb for the support that she gives, in her letter in your November number, to my view that Robert Poley could not have had two years' continuous imprisonment in the Tower after the break-up of the Babington plot. The 'Bills' of the Lieutenant of the Tower for the expenses connected with Poley's imprisonment from August 18 to September 30, 1586, from Christmas Day, 1587 to March 25, 1588, and from June 24 to September 29, 1588, are of great interest. Is it certain, however, that all the Bills have been preserved? The gap between continuous imprisonment and this 'cat and mouse' treatment is a wide one.

In any case, Miss de Kalb has proved that Poley was in the Tower between Christmas, 1587, and March 25, 1588. She therefore questioned whether the episode described by Mistress Hollford between Poley and Mistress Yeomans in her mother's house could have occurred about Shrovetide, 1588.

I have looked up again the deposition of Agnes Hollford before the Recorder on January 7, 158$\frac{8}{9}$, and I find that, owing to various causes, I misread 1585 as 1588. The episode therefore belongs to the earlier year and there is thus no conflict between the Bill of the Lieutenant of the Tower and the deposition of Mistress Hollford.

May I add that I hope to include, with your kind permission, the greater part of my article in the October number of your Review, with some emendations and changes, in a small book which will uphold the at present unfashionable view that the verdict of the coroner's jury at Deptford on June 1, 1593, was right, and that Ingram Frizer killed Christopher Marlowe in self-defence.

Yours faithfully,
F S BOAS

40, Bernard Gardens,
Wimbledon, S W

Communications should be addressed to the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER, 10 & 12, *Orange Street Leicester Square, W.C 2.*

Letters as well as articles will be considered for publication, but letters should be confined to criticism or amplification of articles which have already appeared in the Review. No anonymous contribution is published.

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